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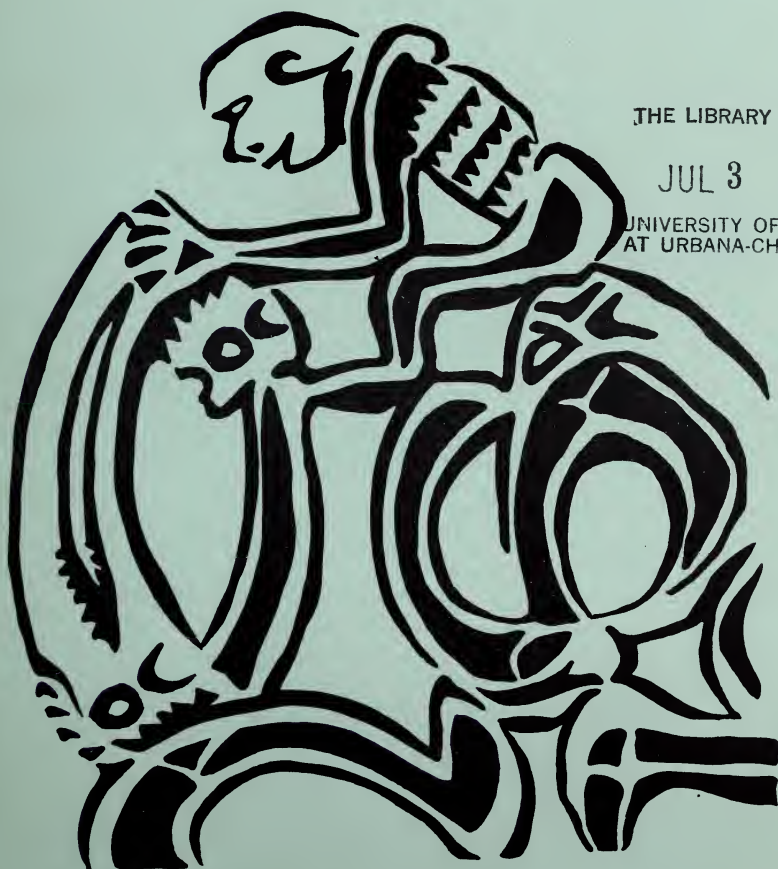
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# IRIAN

Bulletin of West Irian Development



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UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

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University of Tjenderawasih

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Information concerning publication policy and submission of manuscripts is contained on the back cover.

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The maps in this issue were drawn by R.D.Mitton of Newmont Mining Company.





## EDITORIAL

The printing of the IRIAN by the Summer Institute for Linguistics represents a decided step forward for this bulletin. Lack of finances and poor typing facilities still pose immense problems but with the printing of this and future issues a major hurdle has been overcome and there is reason to hope that the IRIAN will endure.

It is disappointing to report that although the number of subscribers to the bulletin has steadily built up, few American or Dutch scholars who have carried out field work in West Irian during earlier times have responded to appeals soliciting articles. The orientation of the Bulletin is practical rather than theoretical. However, a number of articles from scholars with research experience in West Irian would not only lend much needed status to the publication at this early point in its history, but also would be a demonstration on the part of former researchers of an enduring concern for the welfare of the indigenous peoples of the Province.

Research in virtually all fields is sorely needed in West Irian. But there is a clear need also to make existing data available to the authorities--particularly that which may have a bearing on policy decisions. It is to be expected that in their desire to achieve rapid social and economic development among the peoples of West Irian those charged with the responsibility for obtaining results will display impatience at what may appear to be obstinateness or an unwillingness to cooperate, but which, in fact, may stem from deep-rooted and quite reasonable cultural impediments to change. There is, after all, every reason why the Dani may be reluctant to abandon their traditional duelling--a unique adaptation to local social and physical factors--in favour of another type of dwelling and compound arrangements, just as there are many reasons why numbers of the Ekagi or any other inland or coastal people, for that matter, may display an understandable reluctance to relocate their villages along a road-side--a step which while making for easier contact and administration may well, through confusion over land rights and the kindling of old enmities, create more problems than it solves.

Perhaps it is as well at this point to clarify publication policy. On the one hand, we wish to make known what is taking place in terms of research, development and change or where, in the opinions of contributors, the most pressing developmental needs lie. In this latter connection articles advocating certain policies and programmes are equally welcome as those describing on-going programmes or appraising programmes that have already terminated. On the other hand, we wish to disseminate ethnographic data of all kinds on the cultures of West Irian. If we are to succeed in this regard we must have the cooperation of those scholars who have carried out research in West Irian as well as that of missionaries and government personnel now in the Province who are in possession of valuable data.

A serious shortcoming in the issues of the IRIAN thus far produced is the lack of articles by Indonesian contributors. There have been assurances from several quarters that the bulletin has been well received but clearly it is undesirable if the principal support in terms of published material must

come from foreigners. It is now planned to form an editorial committee for the IRIAN in order to spread responsibility and lighten the load which now falls on the present editors. It is hoped that the Indonesian members of this committee will succeed in soliciting more articles from their countrymen.

As is noted in the section dealing with University and Institute News, the next issue of the IRIAN will comprise the papers read at the Agats Seminar dealing with development in the Asmat. A later issue will be a special number entitled The Community at Kugapa, a short monograph by anthropologist Fr. B.O.van Nunen. It is our hope that this publication will be the first of a monograph series on the cultures of West Irian.

---

Pertjetakan IRIAN oleh Summer Institute of Linguistics merupakan sebuah langkah maju untuk penerbitan ini. Kurangnya biaya dan fasilitas penerbitan masih tetap merupakan kesulitan2 yang luar biasa, tetapi dengan penerbitan ini dan penerbitan2 berikutnya rintangan yang luar biasa itu bisa teratasi dan ada harapan bahwa IRIAN akan dapat bertahan.

Sangat mengetjewakan untuk melaporkan bahwa meskipun langganan bulletin ini telah meningkat, hanya sedikit sardjana2 Amerika dan Belanda yang telah bekerdja di Irian Barat selama waktu2 silam yang tertarik untuk menulis tulisan2 bagi bulletin ini.

Orientasi dari pada bulletin ini lebih menekankan praktek dari pada teori. Namun demikian, sedjumlah tulisan2 dari sardjana2 yang berpengalaman dalam penjelidikan di Irian Barat pada masa2 permulaan sedjarah daerah ini tidak hanya memberikan kesempatan untuk publikasi tetapi djuga merupakan petunjuk bagi penelitian2 kemudiannya yang sangat bermanfaat bagi peningkatan kesedjahteraan penduduk asli.

Pada hakekatnya penjelidikan pada semua lapangan masih sangat dibutuhkan di Irian Barat. Data lengkap tentang daerah ini masih sangat dibutuhkan, terutama bagi para penguasa Pemerintah Daerah dalam menentukan policinya. Hal ini diharapkan dapat membantu dalam usaha peningkatan kemadjuan sosial dan perkembangan ekonomi bagi orang2 Irian Barat yang selalu dituduh sebagai orang-orang yang tidak mau kerdja sama dan bermasa bodoh terhadap kenyataan2 yang dihadapinya; kenyataan, bahwa yang selalu mendjadi pokok rintangan dalam usaha peningkatan masjarakat didaerah ini ialah kurangnya approach kita, disebabkan oleh kurangnya pengetahuan kita tentang latar belakang kebudajaan2 yang dimilikinya. Seperti misalnja, mengapa orang2 Dani enggan melepaskan keunikan tradisinya yang selalu suka berperang antar suku, disebabkan pengaruh sosial dan alam sekitarnya. Demikian pula orang Ekagi di Paniai maupun orang2 dipantai tidak mengerti petunjuk2 untuk menempatkan desa2 mereka sepanjang djalan yang merupakan suatu langkah untuk mempermudah hubungan dan pemerintahan, sehingga permusuhan2 yang biasanya terdjadi pada waktu2 lalu lebih muda diatasi.

Alangkah baiknya apabila pada kesempatan ini kami memberikan pendjelasan tentang rentjana penerbitan pada waktu2 mendatang. Hal2 yang akan mendapat perhatian adalah tulisan2 dari para penjokong bulletin ini tentang



peranan penelitian, perkembangan2 dan perubahan2 yang terjdjadi didaerah ini yang mempunjai hubungan dengan pembangunan daerah yang sangat mendesak dewasa ini. Diandjurkan agar dalam rangkaian tulisan2 berikut harus adanja rentjana yang pasti dan program yang baik seperti yang diharapkan dan tidak terlepas dari program2 yang telah ada. Dilain pihak kami akan berusaha untuk mengelompokkan data ethnografis tentang kebudayaan2 yang berada di Irian Barat. Untuk maksud tersebut kami akan bekerdja sama dengan para sardjana yang telah mengadakan penelitian2 di Irian Barat baik dari pihak missi agama maupun dari Pemerintah yang sekarang berada di Irian Barat dan memiliki data yang bernilai bagi daerah ini.

Satu hal lagi yang patut mendjadi perhatian sebelum penerbitan2 bulletin ini dilandjutkan ialah kurangnya tulisan2 dari orang2 Indonesia yang mendjadi penjokong bulletin ini. Bahwa kelangsungan IRIAN dapatlah didjamin, tetapi tidaklah baik apabila yang memberikan support dalam bentuk tulisan2 hanya berasal dari orang2 asing. Sekarang direntjanakan pembentukan suatu badan yang bekerdja untuk IRIAN sehingga beban berat yang membebani para editors dapat ter-bagi2. Diharapkan orang2 Indonesia yang mendjadi anggauta dalam badan yang akan terbentuk ini dapat berhasil dalam pengumpulan tulisan2 bagi bulletin dari orang2 pedalaman atau orang2 asli daerah ini.

Sesuai dengan persetudjuan antara Universitas dan Institute News, maka pada terbitan berikut akan memuat prasaran2 dari para pemrasaran yang mengikuti Seminar Agats, suatu seminar tentang perkembangan2 di Asmat.

Terbitan yang berikut lagi merupakan nomor khusus dengan djudul "THE COMMUNITY AT KUGAPA", jaitu suatu monograph penduduk yang ditulis oleh anthropolog Fr. B.C. van Nunen. Mendjadi harapan kami, bahwa publikasi ini merupakan monograph seri pertama dalam kebudayaan2 di Irian Barat.

---

# STONE AS A CULTURAL FACTOR IN THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN HIGHLANDS

R.D. Mitton

## ICHTISAR :

Tulisan ini adalah suatu gambaran mengenai kebudayaan daerah pegunungan tengah bagian Timur Irian Barat yang masih menggunakan alat2 batu, dan satu adjakan untuk mereka yang menaruh perhatian dibidang Archaeologis. Hal ini akan dapat dikembangkan lebih djauh apabila perhatian yang lebih banjak ditujukan kepada kebudayaan saat ini dan didalam benda2 prelistori yang dapat merupakan potensi kearah itu.

1. Dilembah Baliem batu2 itu digunakan sebagai dinding2/pagar kebun. Waktu mengerdjakan kebun, batu2 ditemukan dan dikumpulkan untuk kemudian didjadikan pagar2 batu.
2. Kapak batu dan benda2 kebudayaan lainnja diperoleh dari 3 sumber:
  - a. Jalemo, sebelah utara Mulia
  - b. Tagi dekat Pyramid (Argillite)
  - c. Bagian selatan dari rentetan pegunungan diantara Koruppun dan sungai Eil (microchorite)
 disitu terdapat perdagangan yang intensif dan terdjadinja perpindahan batu2 itu.
3. Batu2 digunakan sebagai ornament atau hiasan didaerah Oksibil dan Naltja.
4. Disc.clubs ditemukan didaerah oksibil dimana penduduk disitu tidak mengetahui untuk apa benda2 itu digunakan.
5. Banjak dari batu yang digunakan dalam upatjara (terutama suku Dani) yang mungkin memperolehnja dari Jalemo, tapi mereka djuga memiliki batu2 alam yang djarang ditemukan. Disana terdapat kemungkinan yang kuat dimana ukiran2 prelistori2 dan djuga memiliki persamaan dengan batu2 yang ditemukan dipegunungan PNG yang mungkin masih ada dalam koleksi batu2 upatjara.
6. Ukiran pada dinding2 batu djarang, sebagai tjontoh di Baliem terdapat tjat kapur dekat gunung Mandala.
7. Pengukiran batu yang terdapat di Sentani djuga terdapat dipegunungan dekat Karubaga. Keduanja berada dalam antjaman karena pengrusakan2 yang disengadja maupun tidak.

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This is a purely descriptive paper on the uses of stone by the people in the central and eastern mountain range of Irian Barat. It is also a request

that some thought be given to the prehistory of the area. When a region has its whole mentality oriented to development the past is easily overlooked. However, the more developed a people become, and the more they are projected into an insecure, future-biased attitude, then the more they will want to seek out their past. Their past does not begin with the documented penetration of Melanesia by the English, the Dutch or the Indonesians; it is to be found in the mythology or hidden in the remains of the material culture. To discover the prehistory one must look to the stone artifacts and any associated bones, immediately placing restrictive parameters on the search. Unfortunately, this is a fact of life that prehistorians have to face. Early documentation of possible prehistoric sites or of existing examples of stone age culture will be a service well appreciated by future students of the past.

An approach to the Grand Baliem from the south takes a person through some of the most spectacular gorge scenery in Irian Barat. South of the gorge the population is sparse, the cultivated areas holding a balance with forested fallow. Above the gorge the scene dramatically changes. The population is dense, the forest recedes up the valley walls, and the agriculture is more intensive. Unlike most mountain areas of Melanesia where terracing is a rudimentary, fencelike structure of logs running with the contour, the Baliem gorge is terraced with stone walls. These walls would probably have two functions:

1. Convenience. The walls are a direct function of the stony environment: they are the rejected stones from the garden stacked in a utilitarian fashion. In the more level areas where terracing is not required walls are still constructed around individual garden plots. Main walls may be more than three feet thick and serve as walkways. In the Grand Valley it is possible to see the phasing out of stone walls between Wellesi and Wamena as the finer sediment of the valley floor is approached.
2. Permanence. The pressure on the land would be such that gardens would not revert to forest in their fallow period. The garden form would not be lost and replanting the garden would be a substantially simpler task requiring only minor restoration of walls.



On a prominent bluff, overlooking the Baliem between Metigima and Tangina, there stands an old, deserted village site. At first glance it looks like some razed fortress, an ancient memory guarding the valley portal. It could possibly be a potentially interesting archeological site. The low stone walls delineate the basic plan of the Baliem Sili. They are not the destroyed walls of the buildings, these were the traditional Dani vertical plank and grass roofed structure. The stone walls only substitute the fences. The plotting of the location of this particular structure and any other similar structures, and also the gathering of information from the local population on any deserted village sites would be of assistance to future prehistorians.

The stone terracing of the Baliem gorge is the most visually striking manifestation of the use of stone by the Neolithic people of Irian Barat. Other well known aspects of the stone technology are the tools and portable articles of the material culture. Whereas the stone for the walls was collected in situ and there was no effort at modification, the axe blades and exchange stones are traded over considerable distances from specific source sites and are often superbly formed and polished.

In the Baliem there were two types of stones in use for axe and adze blades.

1. A hard green-blue variety which was traded from a quarry site on the Jelime River approximately thirty kilometers north of Mulia (Harrer, 1965; Heider, 1970). Hand specimens have been identified by geologists as being transitional from peridotite to serpentinite; other specimens are predominantly epidote and chlorite. A minority of the blades are glaucophane schist.
2. A softer black stone originates from a site in the Tagi area (between Pyramid and Kelila). The stone is an indurated mudstone (argillite) from the Kembelangan formation. Normally the mudstone of this formation is fissile and readily breaks down into the loose shaly rock which is very prominent in the Karabaga - Kelila area. However, there are pockets of the formation in which the fissile quality is lost where the rock is slightly calcareous (Visser and Hermes 1962).



The Tagi stone had a restricted use --mainly as axe blades, although adze specimens have been observed and I have seen one small exchange stone of this material. The Jelime stone had a far wider acceptance. It is used mainly for adze blades, for small chisels, occasionally as axe blades, and for most exchange stones.

The spread of the stones is extensive. I have seen specimens of both Jelime serpentinite and Tagi argillite in the Casuarina Coast region of the Asmat (Fijit River). This is probably close the southern limit of diffusion as the specimens appeared to be exceptional. Most of the Asmat stones were of poorer quality: sandstones and granites presumably obtained from river beds on the southern flank of the range. The eastern extension currently established for the Jelime stones is Maltja where they are used as spirit stones. However, the adze form begins to phase out in the Angguruk valley. I have no knowledge of the northern or western limits of spread, although from photographs of axes from around Lake Paniai (Le Roux, 1948 ) I would assume that they extend to the Ekagi group.

Between Angguruk and the Papua, New Guinea border the adzes are of a different appearance. While the Jelime stones are generally of triangular plan, oval cross-section, and finely finished, the Angguruk-OkSibil stones are long, triangular in cross-section and roughly finished. In most of the blades the flaking can be seen with only the apex edges and cutting edge being polished. The stone is a microdiorite which occurs in a dyke form on the southern fall of the range between Koruppun and the Eilanden River. The stones would probably be taken from the river beds rather than from a specific quarry.

The introduction of steel has meant that the stones are no longer being obtained from their source. Very soon the skill of flaking and polishing will be lost and the stones will be relegated to the historical environment of the museum.

It is comparatively rare in Irian Barat to see stones used as body ornamentation, but the mountain people from Maltja to the Star Mountains do use a stone nose decoration. In the OkSibil region this is a worked sliver of calcite between two and four inches long. The calcite originates from the



Denam River which has its source on the southern fall of Antares in the Star Mountains. The Naltja nose stones are smaller and have a much higher polish. They also originate in the east and could be a form of the Denam calcite. However, as there is also found at Naltja a calcite dough-nut shaped ornament which is carved and polished locally it is probable that there is a second source between OkSibil and Naltja. This circular ornament (locally called Em Doldol) is quite rare, only being worn by a person of considerable importance.

To my knowledge the only other form of worked stone found in the eastern region are stone club heads which have probably been traded in from the southern Fly Digul region where they were once relatively common. A painted club disc was collected by the Star Mountains Expedition in 1959. The people from whom it was obtained apparently had no knowledge of its original purpose (Kooijman, 1962). I know of the existence of one other stone disc in a village in the valley of OkSop.

The significance of the stone club discs is considerable. That they are kept by a people who have no practical application for them indicates that it is quite possible that there are other stones in the highlands retained for their curiosity value, or, more likely, their assumed spiritual value. Very little is known of the Dani spirit stones. Many appear to be similar to the peridotite-serpentinite exchange stones, although they may also be stones that have not been worked by the Dani. These may be fossils (ammonites are common to the north of the Baliem), concretions, or other unusual natural formations. Recently on display at the University of Tjenderawa-sih was an unusual stone that has been classified as coming from the Baliem. Unfortunately, the documentation stops there, but the stone which appears to be a concretion, is definitely phallic in form. Its natural characteristics have been accentuated by a rudimentary carving.

In Papua, New Guinea there have been a number of discoveries of prehistoric stone carvings. These are mostly of the simple mortar and pestle, although some like the Ambun stone are skilfully and stylistically carved. There is no reason to believe that similar prehistoric stonework does not

exist in Irian Barat. If they do exist then this would indicate that the highlands had at one stage a quite different culture to the ones that currently exist. Objects that were alien to the culture of the current highland societies would be likely to be incorporated into the ritual life of the community. Thus, in the case of the Dani, they would be kept hidden among some spirit stone collections. I have been told by a Dani of the Wolo valley (to the northeast of the Grand Valley) about a strange stone with a hole in it that was found in a garden and immediately placed in the spirit stone compartment of an important mans house. Unfortunately, with the breakdown of old culture values these objects may lose their significance and be lost. It is possible that some of the missionary fetish pyres of the early sixties may have already consumed significant objects.

Other sites of archeological value are relatively unmovable but not protected from damage and destruction. It is a well known fact that the central highlands are art poor. A few caves in the Baliem contain some crude drawings and Heider has recorded two art styles from the Dugum neighborhood (1970:181 ff.). The only other rock shelter paintings that I personally know of in the highlands were seen by Dr. Robert Wight and myself at about 3,500 meters on the slopes of Gunung Mandala (Mt. Juliana). These "paintings" were merely a number of ochre smears covering the walls of a rock overhang. Why they should exist at this high altitude, and in such a remote section of the country presents an interesting problem. The shelter is beside a dead-end hunting trail and quite removed from any population centres.

On the hill behind Dojo village at Lake Sentani there is an unusual arrangement of stones. The largest upright is about 0.6 metre high, so the stones cannot really qualify as being megalithic. However, the unfortunate aspect of the stone arrangement is that, according to the local villagers, it was broken down by American servicemen during the war. This senseless, intentional vandalism appears to be just as strong today. Near the stone arrangement are a number of large boulders bearing engravings, the animist style of which appears to be contemporary with recent Sentani Art. These engravings



are also in danger of vandalism as the rocks are a perfect medium for people who wish to emblazon their names across the countryside.

How do the Sentani engravings relate to anything in the highlands ? Only in their susceptibility to damage. In the village of Nabunage near Karubaga there is a large boulder that is covered in chip engraving. In comparison to the Sentani engravings the Nabunage ones are crude in both execution and form. Much of the boulder is covered by rows of pecked holes, but there is also a crude face and what appears to be a figure. The villagers have no knowledge of the origin of the engravings; they had always been there. Again, this boulder has recently suffered considerable damage. The village decided to extend its church and, when first noticed, the boulder was in the process of being broken up. Hopefully, some of the engraving can be preserved. The people were also quite definite that the example was not unique to the area.

The future of archeology and prehistory in Irian Barat depends to a large extent upon the current interest shown by all sectors of the community. Adequate protection of valuable artifacts and sites will ensure a potentially bright future. However, a barrier of ignorance may mean that many important objects are lost and some sites disturbed or damaged. The growing trend towards the preservation of artifacts is very encouraging, but only of use if there is adequate documentation. This also extends to cultural artifacts in situ.

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## NEW MEDIA IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

A.Domaingue and W.Manua

ICHTISAR :

Telah diketahui keuntungan<sup>2</sup> dan kekurangan<sup>2</sup> yang terdapat pada radio dan TV sebagai media pendidikan.

Mengingat fasilitas yang terdapat di Irian Barat maka pilihan kita jatuh pada radio. Radio sebagai media baru dapat kita pakai menanggulangi masalah-masalah pendidikan yang dihadapi karena :

- di Irian Barat terdapat pemantjar baru yang berkekuatan 20KW yang terdapat di Djajapura sedang di tiap kabupaten terdapat station pemantjar lokal.
- pesawat radio tjukup murah dan banyak terdapat dimana sadja di Irian Barat.
- adanja radio transistor memungkinkan radio dapat dibawa dan dipergunakan dimana sadja bahkan sampai djauh ke pelosok.

Siaran pendidikan yang setjara luas ditudjukan kepada murid<sup>2</sup> sekolah Dasar dapat membantu mengatasi masalah kekurangan guru. Siaran ini akan meringankan tugas guru bahkan bagi guru yang merangkap kelas, merupakan bantuan yang sangat besar. Bagi small-schools atau one-two teacher schools yang terdapat di beberapa tempat dipedalaman adanja siaran pendidikan yang dikombinasikan dengan pengorganisasian kelas yang tertentu akan merupakan djalan pemetjahan terhadap masalah kekurangan guru.

Usaha untuk meningkatkan mutu profesionil guru<sup>2</sup> Sekolah Dasar dapat djuga ditempuh dengan djalan mengadakan sematjam "teacher training course of the air" yang disertai dengan bahan<sup>2</sup> tertulis lainnja sebagai penundjang siaran.

Melalui siaran pendidikan pandangan<sup>2</sup> baru dalam mengadjar beladjarpun dapat segera disampaikan kepada guru<sup>2</sup> untuk ditjobakan.

Sehubungan dengan adanja siaran pendidikan nanti, perlu dipikirkan pembentukan suatu badan yang bertugas mengkoordinir serta memikirkan segala sesuatu yang berhubungan dengan siaran pendidikan yang anggautanja terdiri dari wakil<sup>2</sup> Perwakilan Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Dinas Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan otonom, dari Untjen, dari Pemda, Dinas Penerangan, R.R.I., serta dinas<sup>2</sup> lain yang erat hubungannja dengan pendidikan seperti dinas Kesehatan dan dinas Pertanian. Apakah badan ini disebut Educational Broadcasting Board atau lain, namun satu hal yang pasti bahwa badan ini perlu diadakan.

Disamping itu perlu segera dibentuk satu team yang terdiri dari guru<sup>2</sup> Sekolah Landjutan Atas yang dibantu oleh Untjen untuk mendjadi script-writers, producers dan tehniisi dan sebagainja yang diperlukan demi kelantjaraan djalanja siaran.

Adanja Teacher Training Center (T.T.C.) di Abepura yang didalamnya terdapat satu bagian Educational Broadcasting lengkap dengan studio perekaman, sesungguhnya siaran pendidikan di Irian Barat sudah dirintis bahkan sudah di-

mulai dalam format ketjil, yang disiarkan melalui studio R.R.I. Djajapura.

Usaha-usaha Pendidikan Masyarakat serta usaha2 meningkatkan kesadaran rakyat akan kesehatan, child and mothers care, masalah-masalah kesedjahteraan keluarga serta keluarga berentjanapun dapat diadakan melalui siaran pendidikan ini.

Disamping penggunaan siaran pendidikan untuk menanggulangi masalah pendidikan yang dihadapi, perlu dipikirkan pula kemungkinan penerapan programmed - instruction pada sekolah sekolah. Programme - instruction dan programmed learning merupakan salah satu djalan djuga untuk mengatasi masalah kekurangan tenaga guru.

Untuk ini perlu segera Perwakilan Departemen P dan K Propinsi Irian Barat bersama Untjen memikirkan serta merintis kemungkinan penggunaan programmed-instruction itu di-sekolah2.

Demikianlah kemungkinan2 yang ada pada media baru pendidikan itu yang dapat kita pakai untuk mengatasi masalah pendidikan yang kita hadapi di-Irian Barat.

It was in the years after the second world war that the term 'new media' was coined to cover all sorts of devices used in instruction--devices other than the formal, old-established book-blackboard method. It cannot be denied that in the thirties, and probably even before, educators were experimenting with teaching aids. However, when the war started in 1939, although many devices and methods were about to lead to new inventions, they had to go into cold store, so to speak, or else they were directed to the war effort.

When a country goes to war it becomes faced with the problem of training large number of recruits who come from different walks of life, and having widely differing levels of education. Instruction must be given in the handling of weapons and other sophisticated equipment, and such instruction must proceed as rapidly as possible, because war is an emergency, and time is vital. In the instruction of recruits during the war years successful use was made of pictures, diagrams and charts that would convey much information at a glance and of maps of different scales. Still and movie films were used to teach processes involving movement using close-ups, enlarged pictures, slow-motion or speeded-up filming as required. Models, scaled up or down were used allowing study of complex or of hidden mechanism. The aim of all this was to accelerate the process of learning. It should also be recalled in that we are



referring to a war situation that generals played with sand-trays, little flags, dinky toys and lead soldiers--all very seriously because it was the best way of making a situation as clear as possible while planning campaigns.

When the war was over the methods that had been tried and the aids which had been concocted could be turned to peaceful ends. As life gradually returned to normal, schools and educational systems reorganized and teachers retrained these aids to teaching (which should be more appropriately called aids to learning) began to enter the schools. It should be noted, however, that no country has ever financed further development of teaching aids to the extent that occurred during the war. Nevertheless, many things were to revolutionize education and these teaching aids were to play their part effectively within the school, and outside the school in the teaching of adults and specially, as far as radio and television are concerned, in mass education.

Within schools, colleges, universities and other training institutions where all sorts of skills are taught, teaching aids both visual and aural, some extremely simple and others highly sophisticated are now to be found. Teachers have often been reluctant to use aids of any kind either through apprehension or through insufficient knowledge of their use and value. The need for the teacher to be made familiar with the methods involved in their use has been recognized in most countries, and facilities are being provided sometimes sparingly, and sometimes extravagantly. The use of any resource other than chalk, talk and book is no longer regarded as a novelty. However, some teachers develop an interest in the use of aids more than others, and many remain indifferent. The reason is often because the teaching aid which is supposed to make teaching easier, is in reality a device which demands extra preparation. The conscientious teacher who has patiently experimented and assessed results is soon convinced of the value of aids. Generally he becomes an enthusiast who spreads the good word among other teachers.

It would not be out of place here to review a list of teaching and learning aids. This list is by no means exhaustive..

Reference is often made to non-projected aids, some of which have already been mentioned: the picture in its many forms, the diagram, the chart,

the map and the flannelgraph. There are also samples, specimens and models; here we have multi-dimension and the possibility of involving more active student participation. Next we have projected pictures requiring some form of projection equipment. The material may be available on slides or on film-strips often produced by the teacher himself. Photographs, pictures from books and documents can be projected using an epidiascope. Also transparencies prepared by the teacher or available from commercial sources may be shown using the overhead projector which also allows the teacher to add details to the projected picture, using a felt pen. All the above-mentioned projected methods involve still pictures.

Motion pictures, although first used in education in 1910, still constitute a respected novelty in many otherwise advanced educational systems. The film, with or without sound is expensive, requires more preparation and manipulation of equipment by the teacher, but can bring the world into the classroom with considerable reality. It should be noted in passing that records and recorded tapes also have a part to play here. The most widely used educational film is 16mm. The smaller 8mm dimension gives greater scope for local production by teachers and pupils as the equipment involved is cheaper. It is also the dimension of film being widely used in making film-loops, which are usually short and have value in teaching a particular situation where movement has to be observed, as the loop film repeats the recorded picture as long as it is allowed to run.

The aids mentioned so far have one thing in common: they can be available for use as and when required under close control of the user. Radio and television fall into a different category as they come from outside the school and when used create a situation whereby the class teacher temporarily withdraws from the teaching scene. He is also required to submit himself to a schedule as to time, contents, method and means of transmission. All these factors are outside his control.

Radio broadcasting is the medium most relevant to situations with which we are familiar. Perhaps a rapid survey of developments and reference to some experiments carried out in developing countries may not be out of

place here.

Radio broadcasting is hardly fifty years old. During the years between the two world wars it went through various stages of experiment and development, with gradual improvement in power and quality brought about by research in new materials and equipment. The long playing record and the tape recorder have only become the tools of the broadcaster, as well as becoming accessible to privileged sections of the general public, within the last twenty years or so. But by that time broadcasting had already emerged as a great force that knew no physical boundaries. The world still remembers the part played by the BBC's overseas broadcasts in the critical years of the Second World War. It was the voice that brought hope, boosted morale, co-ordinated widespread underground movements and helped prepare the way for liberation.

Since those days, new developments and new techniques have brought constant and immense improvement in the field of radio communication. Most nations now have their own internal broadcasting service and many have external services as well. In the decade 1950 to 1960 the number of radio transmitters in Africa increased from 140 to 870. In Europe it rose from 566 to 2,700. In the USSR alone the number quadrupled and it is therefore not surprising that the USSR should have the greatest volume of external broadcasting in the world--approximately 1,400 hours per week. China is second, the Voice of America third, and the BBC fourth, broadcasting in forty-one languages. A point of saturation has almost been reached in frequency allocation. Latest techniques involve the use of satellites.

And what was happening at the other end, at the receiving end? There that remarkable invention the transistor was causing a revolution in receiver production techniques making 'portable' a word that could truly be applied to radio receivers. It also made them more efficient, more reliable and cheaper. It thus contributed to make radio broadcasting a truly popular mass communication medium and its place in programmes of development projects anywhere in the world can no longer be considered a sophisticated tool. Another figure which speaks for itself is the increase in the number of



receivers in tropical Africa over the last twenty years: from one and a half million to over fifteen million.

The average citizen expects his national broadcasting service to provide him at almost any time with what he considers to be entertainment, whatever his taste be and with information which must sound to him exact and impartial. He has also come to expect that programmes will contain a certain degree of education. He expects value for his money in all fields--art, sport, business and religion. Everything must sound perfect and when he has worries, he turns on his radio in the hope of forgetting them. The average national broadcasting service also sets out to provide these three basic needs for home consumption: entertainment, information and education. How many nations can claim success ?

When the local radio programme is not satisfactory or is not on the air, our average citizen turns the tuning knob of his set in search of something that appeals to him. Does he always come across sounds that will quench his thirst for entertainment or news, or enrich his imagination in some way or other? Or does he not become caught in the spell of some subtle presentation coming from outside his country intended to create doubts in his own mind as to his traditions, his loyalties, his culture, his faith? What a versatile tool indeed, radio can be, in different hands! But to look on the positive side we may consider some remarkable achievements that have taken place in Columbia.

Columbia, with a mostly rural population of seventeen million is an exceedingly poor country. Some 41% of the under sixteens are illiterate. Only 7% receive secondary school education and less than 1% a university education. Healthwise the situation is no better. There are about four doctors per 10,000 inhabitants and it is estimated that one hundred Columbian children die each day because of malnutrition. Parasitic and venereal diseases are primary concerns; only about 20% of the houses have toilets.

Confronted with such huge problems, a difficult terrain, and without adequate means, one would be reduced to despair. However, a group called Accion Cultural Popular (ACPO) with missionary backing did not despair but

set out to initiate various forms of rural development using mainly the radio. The objective of one of the first campaigns was to encourage the scattered population of the rural zones to build latrines and to use them. By repeatedly outlining the dangers associated with diseases carried by insects and microbes and also by means of illustration carried around by trained rural leaders, the possession of a latrine very soon became a sign of prestige and progress. Another radio campaign brought about the creation of some 77,000 family gardens for the cultivation of vegetables for home consumption. A further programme encouraged the preparation of 'compost trenches'. Listeners were taught to combine manure together with roots and a mixture of ashes and limestone in a properly ventilated pit. Hundreds of thousands of such trenches were started, using organic matter to enrich soil stratum. Perhaps more important than these specific campaigns the radio served to create a sense of national community and by the knowledge imparted through the radio helped bring about liberation from fear.

In another instance, the results of a rural radio campaign far surpassed all expectations and even raised politico-economic issues in which the state had to take action on behalf of the villagers. The campaign had started as a simple, straightforward attempt to teach villagers in a region of Senegal to improve their methods of cultivating one particular crop - the groundnut. The reactions of the villagers to the broadcasts were collected and included in programmes but the effect of this was to bring before the public all the difficulties which the peasant encountered - from plant diseases and inefficient co-operative societies to the repercussions of world market price fluctuations on the sale of their crop. The economic value of this radio campaign was immense although the campaign had been launched with very limited funds.

Now let us consider the situation which confronts us here in Indonesia. In the process of educational development several projects have been started. A priority has been set for establishing a radio education service for teachers of primary schools, to be followed in due course by broadcasts for schools, then for the education of adults, and finally, in the widest



sense, educational programmes for the general population. There are 1128 primary schools in West Irian at the moment but only 3992 teachers, of whom a high proportion is insufficiently trained.

In the implementation of this particular project a radio education department has been set up at the Teachers' Training College (Pusat Pendidikan Guru), Abepura. The training of a team of four teachers in basic radio production started in January 1971, with a minimum of equipment. In view of the lack of technical facilities and of personnel at the local Radio Republic Indonesia station, it was decided to convert two adjoining storerooms in one of the new buildings under construction at the Abepura site for use as a recording studio. At the same time the necessary equipment, including radio sets to be distributed to the primary schools, was ordered.

The aim of the broadcasts to teachers was twofold: to improve their general background, and to help them improve their teaching skill. With this in view a series of programmes was prepared with the co-operation of the various departments of the Training College. The studio became operational in July 1971, and by September experimental broadcasts were under way. These broadcasts coincided with transmission tests carried out by RRI Djajapura with a new twenty kilowatt transmitter. Since January the programmes for teachers have been included in the normal RRI broadcasting schedules, now that the new transmitter has been put into regular service.

Four hundred radio receivers have already been handed over to the Government for distribution to the primary schools, for use by teachers in the first instance. The sets selected have sufficient tonal quality to enable them to be used by a normal class. The total number to be so distributed will be approximately one thousand. Other matters receiving attention at the present time are evaluation and feedback. It is hoped that at least one member of the team will be able to attend a course on these aspects, which it is proposed to hold in Djakarta. Last year two staff members attended a two-month course in educational radio production, the first in a series of courses intended to promote educational development by radio.

The project started in West Irian in the first of its kind in Indo-

nesia, and is being given wide attention as an experimental pilot project. The progress of the project will be constantly assessed in terms of its contribution to educational development here in West Irian and its possible extension to all of Indonesia.

POSTSCRIPT :

The programmes for primary school teachers were broadcast by the Djajapura station of Radio Republik Indonesia during the period October, 1971 to June, 1972, using their new 20 Kilowatt transmitter, in the 49 metre band (6.78 Megahertz), on weekdays from 17.15 to 17.30 hours. Another series is being planned to begin in September. The co-operation of teachers, other government personnel and missionaries in submitting reports as to the quality and contents of the programmes, would be greatly appreciated. Feedback is of the utmost importance in the planning of future programmes.

Communications may be addressed c/o The IRIAN or direct to PLPG, Abepura, Djajapura, West Irian.

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# NOTES ON THE PHONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES OF THE SARMI COAST<sup>1</sup>

George W. Grace

## ICHTISAR :

Artikel ini merupakan suatu usaha pendahuluan untuk menentukan perubahan perubahan bunji yang telah terjdadi dalam enam bahasa yang terdapat di pantai Sarmi. Bahasa2 ini adalah: Sobei, Wakde, Masimasi, Anus, Bongo, dan Tarpia. Penerbitan2 sebelumnya yang memberikan informasi tentang bahasa2 ini dju ga disebutkan, tetapi semuanya sangat terbatas dalam "scope"nja. Data yang dipakai dikumpulkan oleh penulis sendiri di Irian Barat pada tahun 1955-1956.

Kata2 dari bahasa2 ini dibandingkan dengan kata2 yang telah di rekonstruksi yang tergolong dalam rumpun bahasa Proto-Oceanic. Istilah "Proto-Oceanic" ini dipakai dalam situasi dimana sebuah bahasa dianggap ada dan hidup ribuan tahun yang lalu, dan yang djuga dianggap sebagai sumber bahasa2 Austronesia yang menurunkan bahasa2 di Melanesia, Mikronesia, dan Polonesia. Dalam daftar kata "cognate" terdapat 88 kata Proto-Oceanic yang masih diketemukan didalam salah satu atau lebih dari bahasa2 di daerah Sarmi itu.

Konsonan dari Proto-Oceanic ini dibahas satu per satu, dengan maksud agar perkembangannya bisa ditelusur pada masing2 bahasa modern Sarmi. Kelihatannya yang paling menjolok adalah penjatuan dari R, l, dan d menjadi satu bunji dalam bahasa2 ini. Satu hal lain yang perlu ditjatat ialah bahwa bukti yang bisa dipakai untuk membuktikan adanya satu seri tersendiri dari konsonan pre-nasal dalam sedjarah bahasa2 ini sangat terbatas.

Perkembangan vokal dari Proto-Oceanic lebih kabur lagi. Sebelum soal ini dibahas, diberikan suatu pembitjaraan mengenai fenomena2 yang lebih umum. Upamanja sadja, masing2 dari bahasa2 ini kehilangan vokal apapun dalam keadaan

<sup>1</sup> The data for this study were collected in West Irian in 1955-56 under a grant from the Tri-Institutional Pacific Program, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This support is gratefully acknowledged. I am also grateful for the generous cooperation I received from members of the Netherlands New Guinea government. Especial mention is due to the Governor, Dr. Jan van Baal, and to H.K.J. Cowan, K.W. Galis, and C.J. Grader. Above all I am indebted to Dr. and Mrs. J.C. Anceaux, who provided me with the hospitality of their home in addition to aiding me in my research on a day by day basis.

The analysis of these data was carried out at the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, of the Australian National University Institute of Advanced Studies. I am grateful to those concerned, and in particular to Professor Stephen Wurm, for the facilities and the tranquility that made it possible.

The materials collected consisted in vocabularies following the TRIPP list. The most complete lists were obtained for Sobei, Bongo, and Tarpia. There is somewhat less material for Wakde and Anus, and only a short list



an keadaan tertentu, jang berbeda dari satu bahasa ke bahasa jang lain. Ada djuga ber-matjam-matjam fenomena jang didjadikan satu dibawah nama "Breaking". Jang dimaksud dengan istilah ini ialah perkembangan dari suatu rentetan, termasuk semivokal atau vokal atas dengan paling tidak satu vokal jang lain. Bebe-rapa fenomena jang termasuk dalam kategori ini terdapat di semua bahasa2 jang sedang dibahas ini.

Penulis datang pada suatu kesimpulan bahwa bahasa2 ini kelihatannja termasuk dalam rumpun Oceanic itu tadi. Kalau kesimpulan ini benar, maka bahasa bahasa tadi merupakan pengembangan ke barat dari rumpun jang terdapat di-daerah Irian. Perlu ditjatat bahwa penelahaan ini didasarkan atas suatu data jang sangat terbatas. Djelaslah bahwa penjelidikan jang lebih mendalam masih diperlukan.

### I. Introduction

This study is intended as a small contribution to the large task of analyzing the sound correspondences of Oceanic languages. There are still very few Oceanic languages whose sound correspondences, either with other related languages or with reconstructed proto-forms, have been studied at all carefully. However, more such analyses seem essential if the reconstruction of Proto-Oceanic is ever to achieve the solid foundation and the scope of Dempwolff's reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian.

The languages treated in the present study are geographically among the westernmost languages of the Oceanic subgroup. They are spoken in what was, during the Dutch administration (I have not been able to find any information on current administrative divisions), the Sarimi Subdistrict of the Hollandia District of Netherlands New Guinea (now West Irian ).

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for Masimasi. Although I also have some limited paradigmatic material, it is insufficient in quantity and design to provide any consistent structural picture. All that can be said is that the languages do employ possessive pronominal suffixes on nouns and pronominal(subject) prefixes on verbs. There was no opportunity for systematic checking of the lists, and they cannot make any pretense of being systematically phonemic. However, at this remove (the lists are of course, quite cold now) I do not recall that these languages presented any conspicuous difficulties to the ear. Although it is to be expected that errors in transcription have introduced some problems into the present study, I would not expect that their overall effect is such as seriously to distort the results.

Six vocabularies were used for this study. They are designated here by the following names (ordered on the basis of geographical location from west to east): Sobei, Wakde, Masimasi, Anus, Bongo, and Tarpia. More specifically, the respective locations are: (1) Sobei--the region of the settlement Sarmi on the north coast of New Guinea at approximately  $138^{\circ} 45'$  east longitude, (2) Wakde--the island Wakde, (3) Masimasi--the island Masimasi, (4) Anus--the island Anus along with a settlement on the facing coast, (5) Bongo - the region of the settlement Armopa on the coast at approximately  $139^{\circ} 36'$  east, and (6) Tarpia--the coast around the mouth of the Sermo Wai River (approximately  $140^{\circ}$  east). Austronesian languages are spoken on some other islands in the area, but it is likely that all are at least dialectally close to languages represented in the sample.

There is very little material in print on these languages. I have a vocabulary list labeled "Arimoa" which I copied some years ago from Meyer 1874. I have not been able to identify the language with certainty, but it appears to represent a member of this group. Unfortunately, my notes do not include whatever information Meyer gave about the location of the language, and I have not been able so far to obtain access to his work again. More recently, some information on languages of this group has appeared in Cowan 1949-50, 1952-53, and 1953, as well as in Galis 1955-56.

The data which were ultimately selected for use in the present study appear in the cognate list at the end. It has been my intention to include all forms that show enough likelihood of being cognate with the Proto-Oceanic reconstructions cited in conjunction with them as to require consideration in an investigation of the sound correspondences. In the case of these languages, as is so often the case in Melanesia, the number of cognates is not at all large. This would be true even if all of the forms cited were valid cognates, and this, of course, is not being claimed.

#### The Reconstructions :

I have attempted to use Proto-Oceanic, rather than Proto Austronesian reconstructions. This procedure involves some difficulties as there is no body of Proto-Oceanic reconstructions comparable in scope to Dempwolff's (1938)

Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis. However, I find the difficulties and uncertainties involved in attempting to use Proto-Austronesian reconstructions even greater. I believe these difficulties will be apparent to anyone who carefully examines the Oceanic cognates proposed in Dempwolff 1938. Chrétien (1962) reported that there are 762 Proto-Austronesian reconstructions for which Oceanic cognates were proposed in that work. However, in the case of a very large number of these proposed cognates there are good grounds for questioning whether or not they are in fact cognate. Many show irregular phonological developments. Others require an analysis (often with no independent motivation) of the forms actually reported so as to permit certain phonemic sequences, abstracted from the whole, to be considered as representing the cognate portion. In other cases the semantic connection seems far-fetched. And numerous examples simultaneously involve more than one of these types of problem.

One factor that generally makes the identification of Proto-Austronesian retentions more difficult in Oceanic languages than in Indonesian is the greater loss of phonological information in the former. All of the modern Austronesian languages have lost some information--through phonological mergers and the like--as compared with Proto Austronesian. As a consequence a given form in a modern Austronesian language could often be derived by quite regular rules from any of several theoretically possible Proto-Austronesian forms. Often, in fact, more than one of these theoretically possible Proto-Austronesian forms have actually been reconstructed. But this kind of ambiguity is much greater in Oceanic than in Indonesian languages. The number of Proto-Austronesian reconstructions that must be counted--on purely phonological grounds--as possible ancestors of a particular Oceanic form is, on the average, significantly greater than in the case of Indonesian forms.

I should make it clear that I have no doubt at all that the Oceanic languages belong to the Austronesian family and that many of the Oceanic cognates proposed by Dempwolff are unquestionably valid. The difficulty is that the relationship between Dempwolff's Proto-Austronesian and modern Oceanic languages is a quite remote one, and, as a result, the number of cognates that



can be identified with any degree of confidence is often disappointingly small. I have, therefore, gradually become convinced that the strategy that is most likely to lead to some progress in working out the later history of the Oceanic languages will involve the comparison of the modern languages with a reconstructed Proto-Oceanic rather than directly with Proto-Austronesian.

With this objective in view I prepared a finder-list of Proto-Oceanic forms, or what I took to be reasonable candidates for that status (Grace 1969). I attempted to include in the list all suitable reconstructions that had been made and published elsewhere. Actually, only Milke has made formal reconstructions that were labeled as Proto-Oceanic. However, I included the forms reconstructed as Proto-Eastern Oceanic by Biggs (1965). I also included a number of additional Oceanic cognate sets which were not reflected in previous reconstructions, assigning to each the appropriate Proto-Oceanic shape.

The fact that some of these reconstructions are designated as Proto-Oceanic while others are explicitly intended just as Proto-Eastern Oceanic is no problem. The phonology of Proto-Eastern Oceanic as conceived of by Biggs and that of Proto-Oceanic in my conception (Milke's conception differed only in unessential details) are identical. According to the sound correspondences as they are now understood a Proto-Oceanic form that had been retained in the proposed Proto-Eastern Oceanic would show no change in shape whatever in the interval. Therefore, there is no obstacle whatever to comparing languages which would be presumed to be Oceanic, but not Eastern Oceanic, with a set of mixed (Proto-Oceanic and Proto-Eastern Oceanic) reconstructions. If we find that the language has a form cognate with a reconstructed form labeled Proto-Eastern Oceanic, it simply means that the label of the reconstruction but nothing else-- is to be changed. The new label should reflect the fact that the form has been traced back at least as far as the last proto-language (e.g. Proto-Oceanic) common to the Eastern Oceanic languages involved and to the language being studied. In short, for present purposes these differences in labels can be disregarded.

Most of the reconstructions used in this study were taken immediately from the finder-list (Grace 1969). However, I have modified the orthography in

always enclosing in parentheses, first, all nasal consonant symbols that immediately precede another consonant (I find there is a tendency to take these indications too seriously), and second, all final consonants. These final consonants are generally based on the Proto-Austronesian evidence, and do not necessarily indicate that the consonant has been observed in Oceanic languages.

However, the finder-list, although I find it convenient, is not generally accessible, and does not in any case give the evidence on which the reconstructions were based. Moreover, in the course of the present study I have added a few reconstructions that are not represented on the finder-list. Therefore, I will briefly indicate where the evidence for the reconstructions appearing in the list at the end has been published, and when there is no previous publication, give some indications of the supporting evidence here.

I will take the reconstructions in numerical order, using the numbers appearing in the list. The abbreviations are as follows: B = evidence in Biggs 1965, C = evidence in Cashmore 1969 (occasionally accompanied by her spelling of the form), MA refers to Milke 1968, and MB to Milke 1961. The PAN citations are from Dempwolff 1938 in Dyen's orthography. The sources are as follows:

1. B, 2-4. C, 5-6. B, 7. Rotuman sole, Sa'a tolo, 8. B, 9. C (one(one)), but with initial \*q based on Tongan ?one?one, etc., 10. MA, 11-13. B, 14. C(kam(i)u), 15-18. B, 19. C, 20. PAN bunuq and Sa'a hunu 'slaughter, butcher', etc., 21 MB, 22. B, 23. PAN (t)avu/mataq, Fijian tamata, Tongan tanjata, etc., 24. MB, 25. B, 26. MA, 27. MB, 28. B, 29. PAN binay, Samoan mafine, etc., 30. C(pati), 31. B, 32. MA, 33-34. MB, 35-36. B, 37. C, 38. B, 39. Tongan matolu, Rotuman mafolu, etc., 40. MA, 41-42. B, 43. MA, 44-45. C, 46. MA, 47. B, 48. PAN meñak, Samoan momona 'be fat', Nggela mona 'greasy', 49. C, 50. Mota rowo, Sa'a loho, 51. B, 52. C, 53. B, 54. C, 55. PAN panas, Tongan mafana, Rotuman mahmahana, etc., 56. B, 57. PAN puki, Dempwolff cites Fijian matavuki 's disease of the foot'. If this is not valid, I am not certain of any Oceanic evidence. 58. PAN puluq, Fijian sanavulu, Mota sanavul, Sa's tanahulu, etc., 59. C(muri), 60. PAN nusa, Dempwolff cites Sa'a ñute 'Florida Island', but we also have, e.g., Roviana nusa 'island'. 61. C (piri), 62. MB, 63. Fijian vitolo, Sa'a hiolo, 64. MB, 65. B, 66. MA, 67-68. C, 69. B, 70. MB, 71. B, 72. C, 73. B, 74. C, 75. B,



76-77. MA. 78-80. B, 81. PAN gaur(r), the precise Proto-Oceanic shape is in some doubt, but there seem to be cognates, e.g., Sa'a āu, Mota au, Nggela gau, Tolai kaur, etc., 82. B, 83. C, 84-85. B, 86. C(piri), 87-88. B.

## II. Consonants

### Proto-Oceanic P.:

\*p becomes f in all languages but Tarpia, where it appears as p. Tarpia p is in fact frequently articulated as a bilabial continuant. The name of the language in other sources is usually written "Tarfia". Numerous examples of these correspondences can be found in the list. Sobei provides some evidence for a separate reflex for \*mp (and \*np).

We find sobei p in items (46, 71, 73, 76). Of these only (46) shows cognates in other languages. In this case, Bongo agrees in showing p instead of f. However, Tarpia p in this form does not differ from the regular reflex of \*p. There does not appear to be any hypothesis of environmental conditioning that could account for Sobei, Bongo p as regular reflexes of non-prenasalized \*p.

However, we also find Sobei, Wakde b in (56). Since the following vowel in (56) is e in both languages, and since all examples of Sobei p cited above have following a, it seems possible that the distinction between Sobei p and b results from environmental conditioning. Note that Masimasi has f in (56) but that the following vowel is a. There is not sufficient information to attempt any further comment on this Masimasi form.

### Proto-Oceanic t :

\*t appears to have fallen together with \*s in Tarpia. The reflexes appear to be: t before Tarpia non-high vowels (a, e, o), s before high vowels, and ʔ before a consonant or word boundary. For t from \*t, cf. (5, 10, 16, 17, 23, 41, 49, 63). For t from \*s, cf. (7, 21, 24, 27). For s from \*t, cf. (4, 32). For s from \*s, cf. (8, 33, 34, 60). For ʔ from \*t, cf. (12, 22, 23, 45, 87). For ʔ from \*s, cf. (33, 62).

One example shows s before o from \*s (28). As there is only one ex-

ample (7) of t as the reflex of \*s in that environment, the present interpretation—at least the specification of environments—may seem somewhat doubtful. However, in view of the substantial evidence that the reflexes of \*s and \*t have fallen together and the evidence that \*t becomes t before o (16, 63), it seems best to retain the interpretation given, and leave (28) as the unexplained exception.

\*t appears generally as t in all of the other languages. There are numerous examples in the list. However, there are a few apparent exceptions. Sobei has r in (17, 88) and ʔ in (39). (88) is the only example of a reflex of \*t immediately following Sobei i, and (17, 39) are the only instances immediately preceding a Sobei consonant, the consonant being different in the two cases. It seems at least possible that one or more of these forms are genuinely cognate and that their reflexes may be explainable by some regular rule.

Masimasi shows s in one example (17) (note that the proposed Sobei cognate is also aberrant). I can propose no explanation, except the possibility that n represents the word-final reflex of \*nt. However, this would constitute the only evidence that any of these languages reflect \*t and \*nt differently.

#### Proto-Oceanic s :

\*s falls together with \*t in Tarpia, as noted above. The reflexes of \*s in that language have been discussed in the discussion of \*t. Otherwise, \*s appears as h in Wakdé and as s in the remaining languages. There are numerous examples in the list, and exceptions are few. One unexplained exception is the loss of \*s in initial position in one Wakdé form (33). In the case of (34) the proposed Sobei cognate is presumably morphemically complex. It should be explained that Sobei form is included on the assumption that the sequence -sa- (not the sequence, dei-) represents a morpheme cognate with the reconstructed root.

#### Proto-Oceanic R, l, d (and r) :

\*R, \*l, \*d, (and \*r?) appear to have fallen together in all Sarimi languages,

although the conditioning is somewhat complex.

In Sobei, the reflex appears to be d before vowels other than a. Examples are: (1) from \*l, (a) before i (5, 11, 38), (b) before o (7, 18); (2) from \*R, (a) before i (72), (b) before o (26, 46); (3) from \*d, before u (15).

The reflex appears to be r before Sobei a. Examples are: (1) from \*R (43); (2) from \*d (6, 13, 75). We also find r before t in the one example (45) of a reflex before a consonant. One exception to the above rule shows d before a in (77). However, (77) is one of only two cases in which the reflex appears as the second member of a consonant cluster--the other is (75). (77) differs from (75) in that the cluster is medial rather than initial, and that the preceding consonant is voiced and nasal.

Two further apparent exceptions show the loss of \*l (16) and \*R (25) before Sobei (u) (where d would have been predicted). However, (16, 25) represent the only instances of the specific environment / o-u. Thus the loss may be conditioned by that specific environment (or a more generalized environment, say, between rounded vowels). Wakdé and Anus show parallel developments in (16, 25).

The final reflexes are not clear. We find r from \*l (84), from \*d (59) and from \*r (?) (47); but t from \*l (58) and from \*d(r) (61). Although t is preceded by high vowels in both cases and r by a in two cases, we find r preceded by i in (84). In any event the examples do not suggest that the different reflexes are due to any preservation of original consonant distinctions.

One additional case of an apparent exception should be mentioned. (43) shows apparent loss of the second instance of \*R. However, in most examples, CVCVCV forms that were either inherited or developed through partial reduplication lose the second vowel in Sobei. Normally a consonant cluster results. However, the loss of the second vowel in (43) should have resulted in a cluster of two identical consonants. Since I have not noticed any geminate clusters in Sobei, it seems possible that they are regularly reduced, and that the r in (43) actually reflects both instances of \*R.

In Wakdé and Masimasi the reflex seems uniformly to be r. Examples



are (5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 15, 18, 26, 38, 58). However, as mentioned above (16, 25) show loss in Wakdé. However, we may again tentatively assume that loss occurs just between rounded vowels. No Masimasi cognate of (25) was recorded, but (16) shows an aberrant development. Although the r is retained in this form, it appears to metathesize with the following u. It is possible that that is the regular Masimasi development in the specific environment.

Anus, Bongo, and Tarpia show d from \*d in (16, 13). The following vowels are Anus e in (13), and a in the remaining forms. There is no other example of a reflex before Anus e or a. For Bongo and Tarpia there is one further example of a reflex (in this case, of \*R) before a. In the latter case (43), the reflex in both languages is r. This might suggest different reflexes for \*d and \*R. However, the first two cases (i.e., 6, 13) are in initial position, while (43) involves medial position. The medial reflexes of \*d appear to be r (cf. 15, 59, 61, 82, 86). However, there is only one other example of a reflex of any of these consonants in initial position, and that is Tarpia r (38) from \*l. In this form the following vowel is i. In other positions the reflex of all is generally r (cf. 5, 7, 11, 16, 18, 26, 38, 45, 46, 47, 50, 63, 81).

I tentatively propose the hypothesis that these consonants have indeed fallen together, and that the reflex is d initially before a (or Anus e from an earlier a) at least, and at least not before i in Tarpia. Elsewhere it is r.

However, a few problems remain. Anus, like Sobei and Wakdé, shows a zero reflex in (16, 25). Again, we can explain this as conditioned by the environment between rounded vowels if we can assume that the initial o of (15), which is not part of the inherited root, was added at a time subsequent to that in which the environment in question had its effect.

Further, we find Bongo final i from \*R in (43, 46), and in (63) my notes show i where there was a second person subject, but r elsewhere (this is from \*l). Since no other verbs showed this pattern, I cannot comment further except to suggest that final r in Bongo sometimes shifts to i under some—probably not phonological—conditions.



One further problem involves Bongo d from \*l in (39). It represents the second member of a consonant cluster, but we find r as the second member of clusters in (11, 18, 45, 86). (39) differs from the first three of these in that it is a medial cluster which is involved. However, (86) must also be considered as involving a medial cluster since the root would be preceded by a pronominal prefix. Moreover, the following vowel is i in both cases. The only difference which it is possible to seize upon as a potential conditioning factor is the first consonant of the cluster, viz., t in (39).

Proto-Oceanic k :

\*k is consistently reflected as k in Anus, Bongo, and Tarpia. There are numerous examples in the list.

In Sobei, it appears that \*k is reflected as k before high vowels (22, 35, 37), otherwise as ʔ medially (47, 85), but in all other environments it is apparently lost (11, 14, 28, 31, 45).

\*k disappears in all Wakde and Masimasi examples in the list (11, 14, 22, 28, 31, 42, 57). However, in both languages the first person singular possessive suffix appears as k. The explanation is not clear. The suffix is most often reconstructed as \*aku. This suggests that Wakde, Masimasi k may reflect only the prenasalized consonant, while \*k without prenasalization is lost. However, I have no further evidence of a separate reflex for \*ak.

A second hypothesis would be that \*k is retained in final position, but lost elsewhere. This hypothesis would require us to assume that the \*k of (28, 42) was lost prior to the loss of the following vowel, but that the loss of the final vowel of \*aku occurred earlier (i.e., before intervocalic \*k was lost). The question cannot be resolved at present.

With respect to lost consonants it should be pointed out that in most of the languages y sometimes develops before initial a-including a which has become initial through loss of a preceding consonant-and that initial y sometimes develops when an initial consonant that was followed by a Proto-Oceanic rounded vowel has been lost. Cf. (14, 19, 41) for y, and (9, 11, 22) for w.

Proto-Oceanic m :

\*m is reflected as m in all of the languages (numerous examples).

Proto-Oceanic n :

\*n is reflected as n in all languages (numerous examples).

Proto-Oceanic ŋ :

\*ŋ appears to have fallen together with \*n (as ŋ) in all (4, 5, 58, 71, 73, 82). However, \*ŋ appears not to be reflected in Sobei, Wakdé, and Masimasi (5). I can only speculate that, as was suggested for \*R in Sobei (43) above, the second vowel of the trisyllable was lost, and that a non-permissible internal cluster resulted. However, a similar cluster, although presumably across a morpheme boundary, does occur in Sobei (17).

Proto-Oceanic q :

\*q disappears in all languages (9, 25, 27, 41, 53, 56, 74). As was noted above, of course, w or y sometimes develops before a vowel which comes to stand in initial position as a result of the loss of a preceding consonant.

Proto-Oceanic w :

\*w appears to be reflected as w, at least in initial position, in all languages (26, 42, 51, 85).

### III. Canonical Forms

Before dealing with the vowel reflexes it is useful to consider the canonical forms of inherited morphemes, particularly since vowels are regularly lost in some environments. Except for such regularly recurring morphemes as subject pronominal prefixes to verbs and possessive pronominal suffixes to nouns, I will generally disregard those cases where the form recorded appears to contain morphemic material which presumably does not belong to the proto-morpheme in question. This omission of forms which appear to involve compounding or unknown affixes seems necessary. In the first place it is impossible to know the earlier canonical shape of the unidentified elements. In the

second place polymorphemic forms will usually be of more than two syllables, and the data available to me permit only rather tentative suggestions about the development of trisyllables, while almost nothing can be said about longer forms.

#### Inherited Forms of the Shape (C)VCV :

Of the forms that qualify for consideration here, no verbs except for Bongo (86) and the quite doubtful case of Bongo (35) retain the final vowel of the proto-form in any of the languages.

With three exceptions, proto-forms of this shape, other than verbs, never lose the final vowel in Sobei, Wakdó, and Masimasi. The exceptions might with more information, prove to be regular. Most of the non-verbs are nouns. However, two of the exceptions are not nouns. (14) and (38) are, respectively, a pronoun and a numeral. It seems possible that some reformulation of the distinction, stated here as holding between verbs and non-verbs, would accomodate these cases. The remaining exception is Masimasi (42). This form involves an inherited medial consonant that is regularly lost in Masimasi. It seems reasonable to suppose that the single vowel which was recorded for this form reflects a sequence of two vowels that resulted from the loss of the intervening consonant. If that is the case, the loss of the final vowel would involve the development of a CVV, rather than a CVCV shape.

In Anus, Bongo, and Tarpia these non-verbs fall into two classes of approximately equal size. One class loses the final vowel (2, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 19, 22, 26a, 33, 38, 40, 44, 46, 65, 78, 79). The other (8, 10, 11, 17, 18, 24, 26b, 35b, 37, 42, 48, 49, 52, 57, 64) does not. Although it is impossible from the available data to give a precise characterization of the basis of the classification, it is striking that the first class does not contain any nouns that were recorded with possessive pronominal suffixes. In fact, almost none of these forms would, on the basis of their meanings, be expected to take such suffixes. On the other hand, a number of forms in the second class were recorded with such suffixes, and several others might reasonably be expected to be permitted to take them. It seems possible, in fact, that some or all of these



forms might actually be marked for possession by a third person singular possessor.

In the limited paradigmatic data that I collected, I tended to neglect the third person singular forms. The reason was, I think, that they appeared uninteresting. Those that I have (for all of the languages) seem to consist of nothing but the root—that is, they lack the suffixes that are present for all other persons and for the plural. However, they do retain the final vowel. Thus, I am unable to suggest any means for distinguishing the form of unpossessed nouns of this class and nouns marked for a third person singular possessor.

There is, in Anus, a particular subclass of the class of forms which lose their final vowel which should be mentioned. The subclass in question consists in those proto-forms which has a as the first vowel and a high(i, u) second vowel, that is, the shapes (C)aCi and (C)aCu. These appear as Anus(C) eiC (2,4, 12, 13, 19, 35). The rule does not apply to (27, 53) which lost their second consonants. Two further exceptions are (79), which is perhaps a doubtful cognate anyway, and (14) where the expected development seems to have occurred except that the final vowel somehow remains. It may be of some significance that both of these problematic forms are pronouns.

Only four of the proto-forms under discussion here have vowels in initial position. In some cases the initial vowel is lost. Only one of these forms (19) belongs to the class which loses its final vowel in Anus, Bongo, and Tarpia. (19) is also the only one of the four forms which always retains its initial vowel. (8) loses the initial vowel in all six languages. In (24) the initial vowel is lost, at least in Bongo and Tarpia, and perhaps in Anus which has an unidentified prefix. The fourth case (37) is most unclear. The initial vowel is clearly lost in Tarpia. Anus and Bongo both show something in the position of the initial vowel, but in each case the particular development from <sup>\*</sup>i is difficult to explain. If we were to regard the first vowel in these two forms as belonging to separate morphemes, we would be obliged also to question the Sobei form. One is tempted to suggest that perhaps, in forms



which regularly retain the second vowel \*i is lost in all of the languages while initial \*a is lost just in Anus, Bongo, and Tarpia.

#### Inherited Forms of the Shape CVV :

Included here also are forms whose Proto-Oceanic reconstruction has the shape CVCV where, in one or more languages, the second consonant has been lost. The vowel sequence of the CVV forms is usually reduced when the form has been lengthened by reduplication or added morphemes. Otherwise, where the second vowel of the sequence is a phonetically higher vowel than the first, the sequences prove quite stable (3, 6, 16, 27, 31, 51, 53). However, sequences where the second vowel is not higher are instable, except perhaps in Bongo. In these cases they appear reduced (Wakd  , Masimasi (15)), or may break into two syllables with a semivowel inserted between the two vowels (Anus, Tarpia(1,21) Sobei (76)).

#### Breaking :

In addition to the cases just mentioned there are a number of other cases of phenomena which may tentatively be grouped together under the heading of "breaking". All of them show the development of sequences involving a semivowel or a high vowel and at least one other vowel. One such phenomenon which has already been mentioned is the development of y before an initial vowel in (9, 11, 22). For completeness, at least, the development of initial y (14, 19, 41) should also be recalled.

We may include also the development of Bongo ua from \*u (8) and from \*o (52, 63). There are further cases where Bongo ua does not correspond to a Proto-Oceanic rounded vowel, but where cognates in Tarpia or Anus do have a rounded vowel, thus raising the possibility that a rounded vowel was present in these forms at some stage in Bongo history. The examples are (23, 44, 48), and perhaps (15) might be regarded as providing further evidence. We may also mention the apparent breaking of \*a to Bongo ia in (12, 24) and to Tarpia aya in the cognate forms in that language.

The examples suggest that Bongo ua normally corresponds to a rounded

vowel in Tarpia, but that when that would result in a Tarpia monosyllable of the shape CV, Tarpia shows breaking to VwV. An analogous rule would account for the breaking to Tarpia aya in (24), but (12) would require some sort of modification of the rule.

We should also cite a scattering of further forms which possibly are relevant to the question of breaking. These include Sobei (59, 68, 75), Wakdé (8), Masimasi (16), and Bongo (34, 37, 81). Finally, we should probably recall in this connection a development in Anus that was mentioned above. That is the development of Anus ei from Proto-Oceanic a which stood before a consonant which was followed by a high vowel that was subsequently lost (i.e.,/(C) - C<sub>i</sub>, u).

#### Inherited Forms of the Shape CVCVCV :

Included here also are forms whose Proto-Oceanic reconstruction has the shape CVCV where in one or more languages the form has been expanded into a trisyllable, apparently by partial reduplication or, in some cases possibly, prefixation. As in the case of the (C)VCV forms, there seem to be two classes in Anus, Bongo, and Tarpia. One class (23, 29, 43, 45, 63) loses the final vowel; the other (5, 39, 54, 55, 80) retains it. Bongo (5) is misleading in that the form cited cannot immediately precede the possessive suffix, but rather is followed by the plural marker -di- which thus alters the canonical shape. When the final vowel is lost, the second vowel is retained. Conversely, when the final vowel is retained, the second vowel is lost--except in two Anus examples (39, 54). It seems at least possible that the second vowel of those forms is epenthetic.

Again as in the case of the (C)VCV forms, Sobei, Wakdé, and Masimasi regularly retain the final vowel (there being no verbs among the examples for these languages). Generally, as in comparable cases in Anus, Bongo, and Tarpia the second vowel is lost (23, 45, 55, 60, 77, and Sobei 29, 39). However, it is retained in two cases in Wakdé (29, 39) unless the a found there is epenthetic.

In two cases (5, 43) we find the shape CVCV. My hypothesis, which was

mentioned above, is that the second vowel was lost as expected and that the resulting cluster was subsequently reduced.

One case (56) involves a Proto-Oceanic consonant which is regularly lost. The loss of this consonant, if it occurred prior to the loss of the second vowel, would leave the shape CVCVV. That is what we actually find in Sobei. The Masimasi form is comparable except that for Masimasi I wrote the semi vowel w where in Sobei I recorded u. The Wakde form possibly represents the same development followed by reduction of the vowel sequence.

One final case (25) presents a variety of problems. The second consonant and very possibly the third (cf. discussion of \*l, \*R above) are regularly lost. The canonical shape has, furthermore, been altered, especially by reduplication, in most of the languages. It seems quite possible that the forms in at least some of the languages are genuine cognates with their current shapes resulting from quite regular rules.

I will not propose an explanation for the retention or insertion of a second vowel in some Wakde and Anus examples. In view of the limited evidence available it would be possible to suggest a rule specifying either retention or epenthesis in environments defined in terms of the specific phonemes involved. However, I have found no rule that seems particularly attractive.

#### Lost of High Vowels in Bongo :

In our consideration of forms of the shape VCV we saw two forms in which the initial was \*i. We observed that in one of these cases (8) and possibly the other (37), the initial \*i had been lost in Bongo. There was no example of initial \*u among the VCV forms, but we find that both \*i and \*u are lost from the first syllable of a number of forms of other canonical shapes (11, 18, 45, 57, 63, 86).

However, we find that the Proto-Oceanic high vowels are retained in cases where the following vowel has been lost (5, 20, 22, 29, 33, 62). This appears to suggest that the loss of these Proto-Oceanic high vowels in Bongo occurred at some time subsequent to the vowel losses (i.e., of some final vowels and some second vowels of trisyllables) discussed previously. One counter



-example appears in (86) where the proposed rules should have led to the loss of the second vowel and should, therefore, have blocked the loss of the first. I have no explanation of that form. The fact that it is the only verb showing that kind of vowel loss is probably not significant.

With regard to *Bongo* (86) it would be remiss not to mention Wang 1969. Superficially, at least, this form appears to represent precisely the kind of problem that would be expected as a residue of competing sound changes which intersected in time.

It should be added, moreover, that the loss apparently does not occur in the case of CVV forms (68). As we have seen, the development of forms of this shape seems to be governed by quite different conditions. Thus, it seems that the environment in which the vowel loss occurred must have required a following consonant as well as a vowel subsequent to that.

There are two remaining counter-examples (32, 52). Both of these forms show vowels apparently reflecting \*i and in each case the vowel in question is followed by a consonant and a vowel as required. However neither of the actual reflexes is a high vowel. I would tentatively suggest that these vowels had already been lowered before the time in which the rule in question (which, as we have seen, is probably chronologically recent) operated.

#### IV. Vowels

##### Proto-Oceanic e :

There are very few examples of \*e. These suggest that the regular reflex is perhaps e in all languages. Examples are *Sobei*, *Wakdé*, *Masimasi* (9), *Sobei* (29), and *Wakdé*, *Anus*, *Bongo*, *Tarpia* (41). However, we find unexplained *Sobei* o in (70) and *Wakdé* i in (29).

##### Proto-Oceanic o :

With the possible exception of *Wakdé* and *Masimasi*, where the limited amount of evidence leaves some uncertainty, the most common reflex in all languages is o. However, we find a as a second regular reflex in certain environments in *Sobei*, and presumably *Wakdé* and *Masimasi*.



In Sobei, Wakdé, and Masimasi \*o appears as a when followed by a consonant plus a vowel (7, 9, 46, 67, 70, 73). All of the examples just given involve the initial syllable, but Wakdé (39)—if the vowel in question is not epenthetic—is evidence that that is not a necessary characteristic of the environment.

Sobei generally shows o in other environments (7. 21, 26, 28, 46, 74). All examples except (21, 25) involve final position, and neither of the latter involves both a following consonant and a vowel. Of these etyma, Masimasi has o in (7), and Wakdé has o in (7, 28) but u in (21, 26) and perhaps (25). I can offer no explanation of the distribution of o and u reflexes in Wakdé; (7) and (26) are a near minimal pair.

One Sobei exception is (77), which shows a. The fact that this is the only case where a consonant cluster precedes may be significant. An additional exception is (56), where the reflexes appear to be Sobei e, Masimasi i. There is no basis for attempting an explanation.

Anus, Bongo, and Tarpia consistently show o in closed monosyllables (7, 28, 46, 50, 65, 67, 70) with the single exception of (9), where all have e. (9) exhibits a kind of breaking which has been mentioned above. Its explanation may lie in that fact.

Aside from the closed monosyllables the only other examples of reflexes of a first syllable \*o are (21, 48). (21) involves an originally unstable vowel sequence and subsequent breaking (cf. Canonical Forms). (48), which has Anus o, Bongo e, and Tarpia a, is a generally aberrant form—a fact that raises doubts about the etymology.

(25) can only be mentioned for completeness. It presents unique conditions. There are, likewise, no comparable data for assessing the conditions involved in Anus e in (39), but there is the possibility that it is epenthetic.

In all other cases of \*o which was not in the first syllable of the root, the Tarpia reflex is o (26, 52, 63, 83). However, although Bongo has o in (26), it shows (breaking to ?) ua in the other two instances (52, 63). An Anus cognate was recorded only for (52), where the reflex is u. I cannot propose an

explanation.

Proto-Oceanic u :

The most usual reflex in all languages is u. However, there are a number of examples of i, particularly in the western languages. The conditions determining the appearance of i cannot be stated conclusively, but some suggestions are possible.

The reflexes of \*u in Sobei, Wakdé, and Masimasi present a number of uncertainties. \*u as the first vowel of CVV forms generally appears as u: Sobei, Wakdé, Masimasi (15), Sobei (76), Wakdé (1). However, we find Sobei, Masimasi o in (1).

In closed monosyllables we find Sobei, Wakdé u in (20). However, there are two possible counterexamples in Sobei (47, 59). If the etymologies suggested for the forms are correct, elements have subsequently been attached so that the vowels in question are no longer in the first syllable of the words. This circumstance may have played a role in their subsequent development.

We may now consider the cases where the first syllable reflex of \*u is followed by a consonant plus a vowel. Where the following vowel is rounded, the usual reflex is i: Sobei, Wakdé (18), Sobei (33, 72, and the doubtful 88). Wakdé (33) shows i, but the Proto-Oceanic rounded vowel of the second syllable has now become unrounded. Whether or not this form constitutes a counter-example to the proposed rule depends on the chronological ordering of the changes. However, it is possible that the environment that conditions the reflex i in Wakdé involves a high vowel rather than a rounded vowel in the following syllable.

One counter-example appears to be Sobei (60), which has e. However, the consonant cluster which follows that reflex may be the explanation for it.

Where the following vowel is not rounded, the conditioning factors are obscure. (11), with Sobei, Wakdé a and Masimasi i, may show the effect of breaking. However, according to the rules proposed for \*k in Sobei, the Proto-Oceanic u in this form must already have made some shift in order to permit

the loss of initial \*k in Sobei (thereby freeing the vowel for that type of breaking).

(22) shows Sobei u, but Wakdé i. This appears again to suggest that a following high vowel, rather than a rounded vowel as was proposed for Sobei, might be the factor that conditions Wakdé i. However, an alternative explanation might be based on the breaking in Wakdé.

Sobei (45) and Wakdé (57) are further problematic cases. There are environmental factors in each that cannot be properly evaluated with the data at hand.

The reflexes of \*u which was not in the first syllable are again usually i or u.

Where preceded immediately by a vowel, the reflex appears to be u: Sobei, Wakdé, Masimasi (6, 16), Sobei, Wakdé (53), Sobei (and perhaps Wakdé) (25) and perhaps Sobei (68) which involves either a suffix or breaking.

Otherwise, we find i in the following examples: Sobei, Wakdé, Masimasi (2, 12), Sobei, Wakdé (39), Sobei (67) and (13), but with Wakdé, Masimasi u in (13). It may be significant that in all but one case (67) the preceding consonant is an apical. It may also be noted that the preceding vowel is a in all cases except (39) (and the Wakdé form shows preceding a in (39) as well). However, two possibly significant facts concerning Sobei (39) should be mentioned. (39) is the only instance where the reflex in question is preceded by a consonant cluster rather than a single consonant, and the preceding vowel--Sobei e--derives ultimately from \*a.

In most of the cases where the Sobei reflex is u, the preceding consonant is not apical. Examples are (37), (44), (58) (also Masimasi), (33) (but with Wakdé i), and (8) (but with Masimasi i, Wakdé iu). However, two examples do show preceding apicals. In one (66), moreover, the preceding vowel is a. In the other case (56), Wakdé shows o which may represent the fusion of two vowels (\*uo), while Masimasi shows w. The preceding vowel is Sobei, Wakdé e, Masimasi a, from \*i.

There are two aberrant reflexes, in both cases preceded by an apical consonant. In (22), Sobei shows e (but Wakdé i). In (18), Sobei shows o and



Wakdé u. It may be significant that the preceding vowel is a high vowel in both cases.

It is apparent that the available data do not make it possible to formulate rules to account for all of these reflexes. However, there does seem to be sufficient patterning to suggest that, if we could obtain more accurate knowledge of the order in which the changes have occurred, and therefore of the environments that existed at various stages in the history of the languages, many of the present reflexes might prove to be precisely predictable.

In Anus, Bongo, and Tarpia, \* u generally appears as u. Examples are (1, 6, 8, 11, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 25, 33, 37, 45, 53, 58, 59, 68, and 88?). In Anus we find exceptions. Anus i appears in (18). Note that this reflex is followed by a consonant plus a rounded vowel--an environment that seems to condition the occurrence of i in Sobei, and possibly other western languages. In (11) we find Anus ə. It may be of significance that the reflexes of the cognates in the western languages were also unexplained. There are only two cases where the word-final reflex is not u. These turn out to be the only cases where the preceding segment is an apical consonant. This is reminiscent of the tendency, noted above, for \* u to be reflected as i in the western languages when preceded by a vowel followed by an apical consonant. In (39) the Anus reflex is i as in Sobei and Wakdé. In (18) it is ə as again in Sobei. No explanation for the reflexes in (18) is apparent.

There are several Bongo exceptions. (8, 81) do not present any problem except for what appears to be breaking of different kinds. (39) shows final i after an apical. (47, 66) represent more or less questionable etymologies, and each, if cognate, is complicated by combination with other morphemes.

There are two exceptions in Tarpia. (47) as in Bongo and Sobei must be regarded as representing a doubtful etymology. (57) shows the reflex i. With respect to the latter, it may be significant that proto-forms which had high vowels, like or unlike, in two successive syllables regularly show like high vowels (usually u-u) in Tarpia (cf. 11, 18, 45, 59).



Proto-Oceanic i :

The most usual reflex in all languages is i. However, there are sporadic instances of other reflexes. The possibility that the reflexes of \*i and \*u have fallen together in certain restricted environments is noted.

In Sobei, Wakdé and Masimasi the reflex is generally not i when followed by a consonant plus a vowel. The only counter-examples are Masimasi (38) and Sobei (37). In the latter case there is some doubt that the vowel in question actually derives from the reconstructed morpheme (cf. the cognates in other languages).

There are not enough examples to be specific about regular reflexes in this environment. We find Sobei, Wakdé e and Masimasi a in (56), and Sobei, Wakdé a in (32). Wakdé has a in (29), but there is the possibility that it is epenthetic.

In morpheme-final position we find i immediately after a vowel (31) (and Wakde 34?). Following a consonant we have i in three cases (11, 32, 73) and u in one (19). As it happens, all of the three cases where the reflex is i show a preceding apical consonant, while (19) does not. This parallels the rule suggested for i and u reflexes of \*u in these languages, and suggests that in the western languages, as perhaps also in Tarpia, the reflexes of \*i and \*u fall together in certain restricted environments.

Sobei (88) provides one further possible counter-example in final position. However, the etymology is quite doubtful.

All environments not so far covered consistently show i. The only examples are from Sobei: in closed monosyllables (38, 61, 84); followed by a vowel (68).

In Anus the reflex is consistently i. The only counter-example is the doubtful initial syllable of (37).

In Bongo and Tarpia the reflex is generally not i when followed by a consonant plus a vowel. Bongo (32, 52) have a (37) has wu, but, as has been suggested before, this may reflect a separate element. Tarpia (52) has a, while (63) has o, and (32) has i. (32) has i in the following syllable; this

may be the factor responsible for raising the first vowel (or for preventing its being lowered).

In final position i is the usual reflex (32, 35b, 57, 64, 86, 3, 27, 31, 51). However, (11) shows u in both languages. This may be connected with the tendency, noted for Tarpia, for high vowels of adjacent syllables of the same morpheme to become alike.

The same phenomenon may be involved in (45) in both languages. Generally the reflex in closed syllables is i (29, 38, 61, 62). Bongo (5), with e, represents an exception, but this reflex may be due to the following consonant cluster produced by the addition of the plural suffix -di.

The only example of i immediately before a vowel is Bongo (68), where the reflex is i.

#### Proto-Oceanic a :

The most common reflex in all languages is a. However, there are frequent instances of other reflexes. A number of hypotheses regarding environmental conditioning are proposed. In addition to several environments which appear to condition a in all languages, suggestions are made as to environments producing the following reflexes: Sobei e, Masimasi e, o, Anus ei, o, a, and e or ə and Bongo e and e or ə.

Sobei, Wakdé, and Masimasi generally show a in CVC forms. The one exception, Sobei (35) has no apparent explanation.

As the first member of a vowel sequence we find Sobei, Wakdé a (6, 30, 31, 53), but in Masimasi there is partial assimilation to the following vowel. In Masimasi, we find e before i (31) and o before u (6).

Before a consonant followed by a vowel we generally find a (2, 12, 13, 17, 19, 24, 26, 40, 41, 44, 54, 58, 66, 69, 71, 74), and Wakdé, Masimasi (10), Wakdé (25, 29, 39). However, Sobei has e in (10, 25, 43). Sobei e is the regular reflex before a consonant cluster (see below). Thus, the reflex in (43) provides additional support for the hypothesis that the medial consonant in that form represents a reduced cluster.

Sobei, Wakdé, and Masimasi show i in (5), which also involves a pos-

sible reduced cluster. Other unexplained exceptions are Sobei (85) and Wakdé (23).

Before a consonant cluster, Wakdé has a in the single example (23). There are no Masimasi examples. In the same environment, Sobei has e (23, 29, 39, 55, 77), but a in (45). There are two environmental factors in the case of (45) that might be significant. It is the only word-initial example (that is, without a preceding consonant), and it is the only case where the following consonant is an apical (viz., r).

In final position a variety of reflexes offer no discernable pattern. The most frequent are a and o. With a we find Sobei, Wakdé, Masimasi (10), Sobei, Wakdé (24), Wakdé, Masimasi (17), Sobei (43, 55, 71), Masimasi (5, 38). With o we find Sobei, Wakdé (54), Sobei, Masimasi (40), and Sobei (23, 60, 69, 72, 85). In addition, there is i (Sobei, Wakdé (5)), e (Sobei 45, 76)), and u (Wakdé (40)).

In the case of Anus, we have already mentioned the rule whereby an original CVCV form whose first vowel was \*a and whose second vowel was a high vowel, and which belonged to a class which normally lost the final vowel, assumed the shape CeiC. Examples are (2, 4, 12, 13, 35a, 39). The lone exception is (79), a pronoun. This form seems a bit suspect because of the fact that the comparable pronouns in the other languages cannot be derived from this proto-form, and yet seem suspiciously similar to the Anus form (e.g., Tar-pia dim, Bongo duom, Masimasi jem, Wakdé idim).

In CVCV forms where the second vowel was not high and where the second vowel was lost, the rules are not clear. The only verb (36) shows a. (26, 40) have o. The o in (26) may be due to what seems to be a rule changing a to o after an initial w (26, 42, 51). The different reflexes in (36) and (40) are not so easily explained. There are some reasons to speculate that the loss of final vowels in verbs and some nouns may have occurred independently. If that were the case, it would constitute no more than a possible clue as to the direction in which the explanation might be sought. On other hand, the parallel environments of (40) and (23), which shows the reflex o in a non-initial closed syllable is suggestive. (23) is also unexplained, and it may be mentioned



that both (40) and (23) present problems in other languages.

Before a consonant plus a vowel, when the latter was a, the reflex is generally e or ə. I find no way to account for the distinction between what I have written e and what I have written ə in either Anus or Bongo. I wonder if they do not represent the same phoneme. Examples of ə as a reflex of \*a in this environment are (49, 58). Examples of e are (10, 24, 54, 55). We also find e in (5, 17, 39). In each of these cases the following vowel is e. However, in (5, 17) this e presumably comes from original \*a (I will suggest below that it may be a recent development). Note, however, that \*a seems to be reflected as e before a consonant cluster (5, 55). Note further that the same reflex appears in two cases where we would have expected a cluster, but where that cluster is interrupted by a vowel (39, 54). The possibility has been mentioned that these vowels which interrupt the expected cluster are recently introduced epenthetic vowels.

Before a consonant followed by a vowel other than a, the reflex is generally a (41, 54, 58, 64). However, (23, 29) are unexplained exceptions.

In final position, the normal reflex is a (10, 24, 49, 55). However, we find o in (42, 48, 54). I would suggest that the first two are due to a recent rule that changed a to o where the preceding vowel was o. (54) remains a problem, and in view of the obscurity in which the history of its preceding vowel reposes, is likely to continue to do so for the time. We also find e in two cases (5, 17). I suggest that, as in the case of the final o, these represent a recent assimilation to the preceding vowel under some unspecifiable conditions.

In Bongo, \*a when immediately followed by a vowel generally appears as a (6, 27, 30, 51). In final closed syllables we find a (2, 13, 14, 19, 26a, 36, 43, 69) except where (unexplained) breaking occurs (12, 23, 44).

Before a consonant cluster the reflex is e (39, 55, 80). Before a single consonant plus a vowel, we generally find e or ə (which possibly represent the same phoneme) where the following vowel is a (10, 17, 35a, 43, 49). An exception is (42) where we find u (possibly significantly) between w and k.

Where the following vowel is not a, the reflex is usually a (26b, 41, 64, 66). However, there are exceptions. (23, 29) are unusual in that the following vowel is in a closed syllable (if the sequence ua can be regarded as falling in -to a single syllable). (4,5) both involve considerations (including added morphemes) that are difficult to assess.

Where final \*a has been preserved it generally appears as a (10, 17, 24b, 42, 49, 21, 55, 80), except in cases of breaking (24a, 48).

In Tarpia \*a generally is reflected as a. I have not discovered any conspicuous gaps in the set of environments in which this reflex occurs. Nevertheless there are a number of exceptions. In (12, 24) we find the breaking to aya which has been mentioned previously. In addition there are several cases where \*a appears as i or u. Examples of the i reflex-(4, 5, and perhaps 34,25) The first three of these involve \*i in the environment in such a way that one wonders if some kind of metathesis may have played a role. The same question arises with regard to some classes of u (e.g., 44, 60, and possibly 48). No such explanation is available for the remaining cases of u (23, 29). It must be significant that the items that are problematic in Tarpia are usually problematic in suggestively similar ways in Bongo and Anus.

Items showing at least one example of Tarpia a for \*a are (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 13, 14, 19, 21, 23, 26, 27, 30, 31, 35, 36, 41, 42, 43, 49, 51,83).

## V. Conclusions

Nothing in the results presented here appears to give any occasion to doubt that these languages do belong to the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian. Although, there were, not surprisingly, a number of cases where it was impossible to account for the particular reflex of a particular Proto-Oceanic phoneme in a particular form, I am not aware of any cases where the explanation would benefit from recourse to Proto-Austronesian reconstructions rather than Proto-Oceanic. On the other hand, all of the array of phonological developments that characterize Proto-Oceanic as distinct from Proto-Austronesian appear to be reflected.

I once suggested (Grace 1955:338) that the Oceanic subgroup (there called "Eastern Malayo-Polynesian") extends no farther west than approximately the western border of Australian New Guinea. The present study, therefore, gives notice that that earlier statement requires amendment.

One feature of this analysis that might be of significance is the paucity of evidence for a distinction between prenasalized and non-prenasalized consonants. Of course, such paucity of evidence can hardly be regarded as conclusive in view of the small number of cognates available at all. Moreover, a separate reflex in some languages for one prenasalized consonant, \*mp, seemed fairly likely. However, it does seem possible that the development of prenasalization in these languages has been different from that in some other parts of Oceania--particularly parts of eastern Melanesia--and presumably from Indonesia as well. Whether further information on these languages or other languages of the area might throw some light on this so far most mysterious phenomenon it is impossible to guess.

The number of individual segments that could not be fully explained is, of course, fairly large. However, I do not think that is at all surprising. The number of available cognates was small. Moreover, there seem to have been considerably more conditioned changes than has been the case (or than have been identified and reported) in many Oceanic languages. The vowels in particular do not show the remarkable stability that we find in some languages of eastern Oceania. Various indications in the course of the study suggest to me that many of the doubtful phenomena would become clear if we had more information that would permit us to reconstruct the sequential order of the various changes.

Finally, the only fitting conclusion must be the expression of the hope that these languages will some day receive the more serious field study that they deserve.



# VI. Cognate List

	Proto-Oceanic	Sobei	Waké	Masimasi	Anus	Boggo	Tarpia	
1.	pua (q)	*afo	afu	afo	fowo	fukwa	pawa	fruit/seed
2.	manu(k)	maninetio	mani	mani	mein	man	man	bird
3.	mai	ama	-ma	-ma-	-ma, -me	-mai, -mi	-mai	come
4.	tagi(s)	-tan	-tan	-tan	-tein	tanian	-nsin	cry
5.	talina	tidi-	tiri-	tira-	terne-	teren	tarni-	ear
6.	(n)daun(n)	rau	rau	rou	rau	dau	dau	leaf
7.	solo	sado	haro	saro	sor	sor	tor	mountain
8.	isu(q)	su-	hiu-	si-	su-	sua-	siwi-	nose
9.	gone	wane	wane	wane	wen	wen	wen	sand
10.	(g)mata	(meta (meta	-mata -mata	--mata--	meta	meta	mata	sharp tooth
11.	kuli(t)	wadi	wari	wiri	keri	kru	kuru	skin
12.	patu	fati	fati	fati	feit	fist	paya?	stone
13.	(n)danu(m)	rani	ranu	ranu	dein	dan	dan	water
14.	kamu	yam-	yam	yam	keimu	kam	kam	ye
15.	dua	daidu	ru	ru	oru	erkuat	ariko	two
16.	tolu	tou	tou	tour	tou	tor	tor	three
17.	mata	somarnam 'eye'	mata-ro 'face'	masa malna 'eye'	mete-keino 'eye'	meta-keidia 'eyebrow'	meta-dani 'tear'	
18.	pulu	fido	firu		firo	fru	puru	feather
19.	api	yafu	yafu		yeif	af	yap	fire
20.	punu(q)	(-fun	-fun		-fun -fun	-fun	-pun	hit kill

<u>P0</u>	<u>Sobei</u>	<u>Wakdé</u>	<u>Masimasi</u>	<u>Anus</u>	<u>Bongo</u>	<u>Tarpia</u>
21. soa	eson	ahun		sawe	sua	tawa husband
22. kutu	kute	witi		kut	kut	ku? louse
23. ta(ŋ)mata	temto	tamturi		timot	tumuat	tamu? man, person
24. a(n)sa(n)	asa-	aha-		nesa-	sia-, sa-	taya name
25. paqoŋu	fefou	afafu		fofou	fieu	pipiu new
26. waŋo	(a) (wado) (b)	waru		wor	war werkai- waro	war rope sini- vein
27. saqi(t)	sesi	-haha		-sai	-sai	-tai sew
28. (n)soka	(-so	-ho		-sok	-sok	-sok stab -sok shoot (gun)
29. mapine	mefne	mafani		mofin	mofin	mupin woman
30. pa(t)	fau	fau		fau	fau	pau four
31. kai	ai	ai	ei	kai	kai	kai tree
32. tini-	tani-	tani-			tani-	sini- body
33. susu	sieu-	ihi-			sus	su(sic) breast but, suʔdani 'milk'
34. (n)sai	deisana	heiha			siera	sira who?
35. kani(a) (b)	(kin (b)			-kein	-kena	eat eat meat
36. pana(q)	-fan			-fan	-fan	-pan shoot
37. iku	iku			aku	wuku	ku tail

<u>PO</u>	<u>Sobei</u>	<u>Waké</u>	<u>Masimasi</u>	<u>Anus</u>	<u>Bongo</u>	<u>Tarpia</u>
38. lima	dim		rima-	arim		rim
39. matolu	meʔdi	matari		meteri	metdi	five
40. (ŋ)mata	mato	matu	mato	mot		thick
41. qate	{	ate		nate-	ate-tatroi	snake
42. waka			wu	woko	wuka	yate-dau liver
43. paRaRa	fera				ferai	yate-akarup forget
44. namu(k)	namu				nuam	root
45. kuRita	arte				krut	parar adze
46. (m)poRo	pado				poi	num mosquito
47. kuru	maʔar				baker	kuru? octopus
48. (ŋ)mona(k)				mono	manua	por pig
49. tama				teema	tama-	baker thunder
50. Ropo				-rof	-rof	manu fat
51. wai(r)				voi	wai	tama- father
52. nipo(n)				nifu-	nafua-	to fly
53. paqu	-fau	-fau		-fau	naepo-	river
54. mapa	mafo	mafo		memafu		tooth
55. mapana(s)	mefna			mefna	mefna	to tie
56. pitugo	betue	fatwi				heavy
57. puki	fiane					hot, warm
58. saɣapulu	snafut	sanafur			firi	star
59. mudi	bitimuar					vagina
60. nusa	nenso					ten
						behind
						island



<u>PO</u>	<u>Sobei</u>	<u>Wakdó</u>	<u>Masimasi</u>	<u>Anus</u>	<u>Bongo</u>	<u>Tarpia</u>
61. pi(dr)i	-fit					twist
62. pi(n)sa				fisfis	pi?pi?	how much?
63. pitolo				ftuar, ftuai	potor	hungry
64. ta(n)si				tasi	tasi-	yo.brother
65. toko(n)				(kai)tok	tok	stick
66. natu	natu			teinateia		child
67. topu	tafi			tof		sugar cane
68. niu(R)	niue			niu		coconut
69. (n)sama	samo			sam		outrigger
70. po(n)se	faso			fos		paddle
71. paŋa	(kin)pana					eat(food?)
72. Ru(g)ma(q)	dimo					house
73. (g)poni	pani					night
74. qato(p)	ato rau					roof
75. pada(n)	frau					pandanus
76. (m)pua	puwe					betel nut
77. malo	memda					bark cloth
78. ki(n)ta				kit		we, incl.
79. kami				kim		we, excl.
80. mamasa					mensa	dry
81. qau(rR)					awur	bamboo
82. (n)dogo						to hear
83. lalo						in

<u>p0</u>	<u>Sobei</u>	<u>Vakdé</u>	<u>Masimesi</u>	<u>Anus</u>	<u>Boggo</u>	<u>Tarpia</u>	
84. pilli(q)	fir						choose
85. wa(g)ka(g)	woʔo						canoe
86. pi(dr)i					-fri		braid(rop
87. tanu(m)					-tniei	-ʔnei	bury
88. pu(n)ti	firo				fun		banana

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## BEBERAPA ASPEK KEHIDUPAN ORANG ARSO

Parsudi Suparlan

ABSTRACT :

This article is a preliminary ethnographic survey of the Arso people who live approximately forty kilometers to the southeast of Djajapura. There are some 2000 people in the district living in twenty-seven villages. The survey was centred in the village of Arso which is the headquarters of the Catholic Mission. Arso is one of ten villages speaking the Tajket (or Abrab) language; elsewhere Manem or Melowa is spoken.

Sago is the principal food but gardens for growing taro, sweet potatoes etc; are made; fish and shrimp are also important in the diet. Sago areas belong to the clan (keret) but in recent years trees have been planted; these belong to the nuclear family which is the principal unit in all economic activity.

Clans are exogamous patrilineal units and traditionally there were restrictions on intermarriage between members of certain clans; nowadays these restrictions are breaking down. Each clan has a head (juskwontor) who also functions as the war leader. The clan has its own totem which is represented by a symbol painted inside the house. Land ownership is vested in the clan. The mother's brother is a person of great importance in Arso social organization. He has the main responsibility for providing his sister's son's bride price; in return he is rendered various kinds of support by his nephew.

During pregnancy both husband and wife must observe various taboos. In earlier years delivery took place in a special house built apart from other houses in the village but such houses no longer exist.

Soon after birth the child is given a Christian name; the traditional name is chosen by the mother's brother and is given one to two months later. On this occasion there is a small feast; the parents provide the food and the maternal uncle brings arm bands and stone axes for the future bride price.

At the age of twelve or thirteen young boys enter the mum-ja, the house for initiants located away from the village. There they are kept awake all night and frightened by old men who strike them with banana leaves and sing and play sacred flutes. Each boy is given a new name by his jarwo, an old man who acts as guardian, and presented with a net bag and a waluh (penis covering). Boys stay in the mum-ja for two to three months during which time they receive instruction in the myths, learn to hunt and to play the sacred flutes. After this period they move to the bachelors' house (jati-ja) where they live until the time of marriage.

During the period of bachelorhood the young man will try to hunt as many pigs as possible; the pigs killed are given to his jarwo and maternal uncle. When the young man has killed more than thirty pigs a feast (jongwai) is held and the young man is deemed ready for marriage.

In early years bride exchange was customary and the family still, in theory, chooses the husband. In actual fact nowadays the girls themselves

initiate many of the marriages; the girl makes a gift of tobacco and betelnut to the boy of her choice. Elopement is not uncommon. Marriage is not an occasion for a large feast. The family of the bridegroom comes to the house of the bride where they are fed; the bride price is then handed over. There are still, it is noted, a few cases of polygyny.

The influence of the mission and government is very strong in the area and although some aspects of the traditional culture yet continue to endure, it seems that the Arso have moved into a new era.

Orang Arso tinggal dikampung Arso dan di-kampung2 sekitarnja jang terletak diarah tenggara dari kota Sukarnapura. Djaraknja dengan kota Sukarnapura kira2 40km, dan bila menggunakan pesawat terbang Porter Pilatus kira2 memakan waktu 20 menit.

Kampung Arso pada masa sekarang ini merupakan pusat pemerintahan dari Distrik Arso jang meliputi 27 buah kampung. Djumlah seluruh penduduk Distrik Arso lebih kurang 2000 orang. Dan penduduknja ini terbagi atas berbagai kelompok bahasa jaitu: Tajket atau Abrab, Manem dan Melowa. Jang termasuk dalam kelompok bahasa Tajket ialah kampung2: Arso, Wor, Kwana, Sajotami, Bagia, Sekware, Girere, Kwimi, dan Bate. Djumlah penduduk kesepuluh kampung ini ada 900 orang, dan djumlah penduduk kampung Arso jang merupakan pusat dari tulisan ini ada 341 orang.

Walaupun kesepuluh kampung ini menggunakan bahasa jang sama dan djuga ada djalinan2 hubungan2 kekerabatan diantara anggota2 masjarakatnja, tetapi setiap kampung ini adalah berdiri sendiri dan tidak berada dibawah supremasi kampung jang lain, ataupun merupakan sesuatu federasi, dan bahkan pada djaman dulu sering terdjadi perang antara satu kampung dengan kampung jang lain.

Disamping merupakan pusat pemerintahan dari Distrik Arso kampung Arso djuga merupakan pusat penjebaran agama Katholik. Disini terdapat Sekolah Dasar Missi Katholik tempat anak2 mendapat pendidikannja. Seluruh penduduk Kampung Arso beragama Katholik, ketjuali beberapa pegawai Pemerintah jang bertugas didaerah ini jang tidak berasal dari kampung Arso.

Walaupun pada zaman dulu sering terdjadi "peperangan" antara kampung Arso dengan kampung2 jang lain, lebih2 dengan kampung Jetti dan Kriko jang





terletak disebelah timur dari kampung Arso, tetapi hubungan damai antara satu kampung dengan kampung jang lain itu tetap ada pada waktu2 tertentu, jaitu pada waktu ada pesta2 babi, jang mempunjai nilai rituil, disamping merupakan tempat pertemuan berbagai kampung tempat mereka mengadakan tukar menukar benda-benda berharga seperti, manik2, kapak2 batu, gelang2 Trfia, dsb. Pesta babi seperti ini dinamai pesta "jongwai".

Daerah Arso dan sekitarnya sesungguhnya merupakan suatu daerah jang baru sepiintas lintas sadja diteliti, dan ini terlihat dalam berbagai karangan karangan lepas seperti misalnja tulisan dari Hoogland (Hoogland, 1955, hal. 85), dalam Verslag van de Militaire Exploratie van Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea 1907-1915: 1920, 290,, dan oleh later Rombout P.W. O.F.M. (Rombout P.W. O.F.M. 1959, no.1, 2, 3).

Penelitian didaerah ini kami adakan pada tanggal 23-3-1965 s/d tgl. 26-3-1965, dan pada tgl. 7-4-1965 s/d 14-4-1965, sebagai salah satu bagian survey jang diadakan dalam rangka penempatan transmigran didaerah ini. Djuga penulisan ini dapat dikatakan merupakan suatu "preliminary report" jang tentu akan diteruskan dalam suatu tulisan jang lebih luas dan lebih mendalamkan berdasarkan penelitian2 jang akan kami adakan lebih landjut.

### Kehidupan se-hari2

Seperti pada umumnja masjarakat2 di-kampung2 jang ada di Irian Barat, mereka hidup dari hasil2 sagu dan berladang (berkebun), disamping berburu babi hutan dan binatang2 liar lainnja, dan sekali2 mentjari udang dan ikan.

Pada umumnja hampir seluruh kegiatan perekonomian se-hari2 dilakukan oleh sebuah keluarga batin (nuclear family) sebagai basis. Djuga pada waktu berburu babi hutan dilakukan lebih sering setjara perseorangan dan setjara bersama-sama dalam kelompok2.

Pada umumnja pembagian kerdja jang ada didasarkan atas pembagian jang didasarkan atas perbedaan kelamin atau sex dan umur. Pada waktu mengambil (memukul) sagu, jang dilakukan tiga hari sekali atau seminggu sekali, tergantung dari pada banjaknja sagu jang diambil dan dibawa kerumah sampai habis untuk dimakan selama beberapa hari, si-suami memotong batang pohon sagu sampai ro-

boh ditanah, membersihkannya, membelahnya, memukul hati pohon sagu itu, dan kemudian si isteri jang memeras hati pohon sagu jang sudah hantjur itu, merendamnya dengan air sampai menjadi sagu, mengisikannya kedalam tumang (wadah dari djalinan2 daun sagu) dan kemudian membawanya kerumah.

Dulunya hutan2 (dusun2) sagu jang ada itu tidak ditanam orang, dan merupakan milik anggauta2 keret(clan) setjara bersama. Dengan bertambahnya jumlah orang, setiap orang mulai menanam hutan2 sagunya sendiri dan menjadi-kannya miliknya sendiri setjara perseorangan. Dusun2 sagu jang sekarang dimiliki oleh orang2 Arso setjara perseorangan itu, dulunya telah ditanam oleh orang2 tua mereka jang kemudian diwariskan kepada mereka setjara patrilineal, artinya hanya anak laki2 saja jang berhak untuk memperoleh warisan dusun2 sagu orang tuanya dan mempunyai hak atasnya. Anak2 perempuan hanya mempunyai hak untuk mengambil sagu dari dusun sagu saudara2nya, dengan seijin saudara-nya jang bersangkutan. Djuga ini berlaku bagi wanita2 jang sudah kawin.

Kalau mereka tidak pergi mengambil sagu, mereka pergi kekebun jang terletak beberapa kilometer disekeliling kampung mereka. Dikebun, mereka tanam pohon2 keladi, pisang, ubi kaju, ubi rambat, tembakau, pepaja, dan sayur2 an seperti, bajam, gedi, ketimun. Djuga mereka tanam pohon2 sukun, keluwi, dan djeruk, dan kelapa. Pohon2 ini djuga diwariskan setjara patrilineal.

Hari2 biasa, biasanya mereka pergi kekebun untuk memetik hasil kebun dan mengambil kaju bakar. Dikebun biasanya laki2 memeriksa tanaman2nya, mengambil hasilnya, dan si isteri dan anak2nya mencari kaju bakar., mengumpulkan hasil kebun, dan membawanya pulang kerumah. Selama pergi dan pulang dari kebun si suami tidak lepas dari parang, busur dan anak panahnya. Ini untuk menjaga adanya kemungkinan serangan dari musuh, dan kemungkinan adanya babi hutan atau binatang hutan jang lain jang bisa segera dibunuh, untuk nanti dagingnya bisa dimakan.

Rumah2 mereka pada masa sekarang didirikan diatas tiang2 dan berdenah segi empat, jang terdiri atas serambi muka, satu atau dua kamar tidur atau lebih, dan dapur. Dapur ini pada umumnya terletak diatas tanah. Sebuah rumah biasanya didiami oleh lebih dari sebuah keluarga batin. Tetapi ada djuga rumah2 jang didiami hanya oleh sebuah keluarga batin. Disekeliling dinding di-

dalam rumah dibuat tempat2 tidur dari kaju untuk tidur kaum pria, dan ditengah-tengah dibuatkan tempat2 tidur untuk kaum wanita dan anak2 (Verslag van de Militaire Exploratie van Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea, 1907-1915 1920, hal.290 skets no.10). Sesungguhnya taraf hidup mereka masih berada dalam taraf subsistence, artinya memproduksi hasil2 kebun dan benda2 lainnja hanya untuk dimakan dan dipakai sendiri. Tetapi dengan masuknja sistim wang, jang diintrodusir oleh Pemerintah dan Missi Katholik didaerah ini, maka taraf subsistence ini mulai tergojah. Orang2 mulai memproduksi hasil kebun dan hasil2 hutan sagu tidak untuk dimakan sendiri tetapi mulai diusahakan supaya ada surplus. Surplus surplus ini mereka dijual kepada Koperasi Pemerintah dan kepada Koperasi Missi jang belum lama berselang didirikan didaerah ini, dan wang hasil pendjualannja dipakai untuk membeli barang2 import, untuk keperluan rumah tangga dan konsumsi. Tidak ada usaha2 untuk menimbulkan kakajaan untuk mempertinggi status seseorang didalam masyarakat.

#### Sistim kemasjarakatan

Kelompok2 Kekerabatan. Kelompok kekerabatan jang terpenting dalam masyarakat orang Arso adalah suatu kelompok kekerabatan jang keanggotaannja diusut melalui garis orang laki2 atau berdasarkan prinsip keturunan jang dalam ilmu antropologi disebut prinsip patrilineal. Kelompok2 kekerabatan serupa ini disebut keret. Keret pada orang Arso itu dalam istilah antropologi dapat disebut clan, seperti apa jang dikemukakan oleh Murdock (1960:68). Anggota2nja sering tinggal dalam rumah2 jang mengelompok menjadi satu dalam pola perkampungan desa, dan diantara anggota2 sesuatu keret jang sama itu ada larangan untuk kawin.

Keret2 jang ada di kampung Arso ialah, keret Naujager, Barotian, Tajket, Tafor, Tuamis, Girbis, Girjar, Kijauwet, dan Wangot. Diantara anggota2 keret2 jang tersebut diatas itu ada jang tidak boleh saling kawin, dengan alasan bahwa nenek moyangnja masih bersaudara kandung. Seperti antara keret Wanggot dan keret Naujager, dan antara keret Tafor dan keret Girjar, itu anggotanya anggota keretnja sampai sekarang tak diidjinkan untuk saling kawin. Djuga antara keret2 Tajket dengan Naujager, Girjar dengan Naujager, Kijauwet dengan



Naujager, dan Tuamis dengan Naujager, itu dulunya tak bisa saling kawin. Tetapi pada masa sekarang larangan ini sudah dilanggar dan perkawinan<sup>2</sup> yang terdjadi diantara anggota<sup>2</sup> keret<sup>2</sup> tersebut dianggap biasa.

Setiap keret dipimpin oleh seorang kepala yang dalam bahasa Arso disebut juskwontor. Dengan statusnya sebagai juskwontor itu, mereka tidaklah mempunyai sesuatu hak istimewa yang tertentu yang membedakannya dari anggota<sup>2</sup> keretnya yang lain. Hanya dalam penggunaan tanah oleh orang<sup>2</sup> yang menumpang, dalam soal<sup>2</sup> perkawinan, pertengkaran atau perselisihan, biasanya juskwontor inilah yang memberikan kata yang terakhir dengan juga persetudjuan orang<sup>2</sup> tua. Bahkan pada waktu masih sering terdjadi perang antara satu keret dengan keret yang lain dan antara satu kampung dengan kampung yang lain, juskwontor inilah yang menjadi kepala perangnya. Setiap keret, juga mempunyai totem<sup>2</sup> tertentu dan "dewa" tertentu yang selalu mereka sebut atau minta tolong dalam keadaan susah. Dewa ini mereka sebut "Tuhan Tanah". Setiap totem mempunyai simbol simbol tertentu, yang selalu mereka lukiskan di-rumah<sup>2</sup> mereka masing<sup>2</sup>. Setiap keret mempunyai daerah tanah sendiri, ditengah mana anggota<sup>2</sup> keret yang bersangkutan membuat ladangnya dan berburu binatang<sup>2</sup> hutan seperti, babi, kasuari, burung<sup>2</sup> dsb. Juga setiap keret pada jaman dahulu mempunyai rumah budjang sendiri yang mereka namakan jatija, tempat tinggal orang<sup>2</sup> dewasa yang tidak atau belum kawin, tetapi karena kemudian satu kampung didiami oleh lebih dari satu keret, karena adanya sistem menumpang, maka kemudian satu kampung tjukup mempunyai satu rumah budjang<sup>1</sup>. Sesungguhnya keret yang memiliki tanah sekeliling kampung Arso adalah keret Naujager. Karena keret Naujagerlah yang pertama kali datang dan berdiam dikampung Arso. Keret<sup>2</sup> yang lain baru kemudian datangnja setjara ber-turut<sup>2</sup>. Dan karena keret<sup>2</sup> yang ada dikampung Arso itu sudah saling berkawin, maka semuanya bisa memakai dan menggunakan tanah disekelilingnya kampung Arso dengan tidak banyak persoalan.

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<sup>1</sup> Hal ini dikemukakan juga oleh Hoogland sbb.: De nederzetting bestaat daar uit: 1e een familiegroep (clan) met een hoofd; 2e. een grondgebied (oeten) en 3e. een kampong (dorp), en een vaak een mannenhuis met daarbij behorende fluiten (1955:85).

Diantara anggauta2 satu keret ada perasaan in-group, terutama dalam hal hubungannya dengan kawinnja seorang anggauta keret jang bersangkutan. Dengan kawinnja seorang anggauta sesuatu keret akan melibat seluruh anggauta2 keret jang lain dari keret jang bersangkutan dalam hal pengumpulan mas kawin jang harus dibajarkan (kalau laki2), dan dalam pembagian mas kawin jang diterima (kalau wanita). Djuga dalam "peperangan" dan pembalasan dendam, solidaritas diantara orang2 jang berasal dari keret jang sama tjukup kuat. Bahkan isteri dari keret jang bersangkutan jang tinggal bersama suaminya dikampung jang lain, bisa turut membantu keretnja untuk membunuh suami dan anggauta2 keret suaminya.

Perasaan in-group dalam kelompok jang lebih besar, adalah diantara anggauta2 masjarakat satu kampung jang merupakan suatu gabungan dari beberapa keret.

Walaupun demikian, tetapi keluarga batin djuga merupakan suatu kesatuan jang amat penting didalam kehidupan sehari2 seperti telah diutarakan diatas. Djuga hutan2 sagu merupakan milik suatu keluarga batin jang djuga merupakan suatu kesatuan rumah tangga (household) jang diwariskan setjara patrilineal hanya dalam hal tertentu, jaitu kalau tidak ada jang mewarisinja, karena tidak punya anak laki2, maka hutan sagu itu diserahkan kepada keretnja dan berada dibawah pengawasan juskwontor.

Walaupun perasaan solidaritas terutama terdapat diantara orang2 jang berasal dari suatu keret jang sama, tetapi didalam kehidupan sosial orang Arso peranan dari paman dari pihak ibu amatlah besar terhadap ego<sup>2</sup>. Seorang paman dari pihak ibu dari ego turut berkewajiban untuk membantu dengan memberikan sejumlah benda2 untuk mas kawinnja, pada waktu ia lahir dan pada waktu ia akan kawin. Begitu djuga seorang paman memegang peranan jang penting dalam proses sosialisasi kemenakannya ini.

Sebaliknya seorang ego mempunyai kewajiban2 tertentu terhadap paman dari pihak ibunya. Membantunya pada waktu si paman dari pihak ibunya ini membuka ladang2 jang baru. Memberikan bagian2 jang terbanjak dari hasil buruannya dihutan, seperti babi hutan, kasuari, dll., sedangkan ia sendiri tidak memakan apa2 dari hasil buruannya itu.

Istilah<sup>2</sup> Kekerabatan. Sistim istilah kekerabatan dalam bahasa Arso atau Tajket, terutama dibedakan atas perbedaan sex dan angkatan. Keterangan mengenai sistim istilah kekerabatan dapat dibagi menjadi dua matjam istilah kekerabatan jaitu: a. term of address jaitu dipakai oleh ego untuk memanggil seseorang kerabatnja apabila ia berhadapan dengan kerabat tadi dalam hubungan pembittjaraan langsung; dan b. term of reference, jaitu dipakai oleh ego apabila ia berhadapan dengan seseorang jang lain, berbitjara tentang seorang kerabat<sup>1</sup>.

a. Term of address :

aijuwa	= ajah
mama	= anak, dan jang seangkatan
sen	= ibu, dan jang seangkatan
jambrau	= ipar laki2
kaise	= ipar perempuan
nataba	= kakek angkatan ke I dari seorang ego
aupa	= nenek angkatan ke I dari seorang ego
nataba	= kakek angkatan ke I dari seorang ego
nautaba	= nenek angkatan ke II dari seorang ego
tijeba	= mertua laki2
tuoba	= mertua perempuan
ntuba	= kakak laki2 ajah dari seorang ego
naba	= adik laki2 ajah dari seorang ego
imbetiokre	= kakak laki2 ibu dari seorang ego
imbetsanggi	= adik laki2 ibu dari seorang ego

b. Term of reference :

aijuwa	= ajah
mama	= ibu
sen	= anak
sendire	= anak laki2
sendirum	= anak perempuan
enatar	= kakak laki2
jirum	= kakak perempuan
jendir	= adik laki2
junor	= adik perempuan
jambrau	= ipar laki2
kaise	= ipar perempuan
nataba	= kakek angkatan ke I dari seorang ego
aupa	= nenek angkatan ke I dari seorang ego
nataba	= kakek angkatan ke II dari seorang ego
nautaba	= nenek angkatan ke II dari seorang ego

<sup>1</sup> Periksa hal ini didalam tulisan dari G.P.Murdock(Murdock, 1960,hal97-98).



tijeba = mertua laki2  
 tuoba = mertua perempuan  
 ntuba = kakak laki2 ajah dari ego

Untuk istilah2 saudara sepupu (cousin) rupa2nja kurang dimengerti, dari interview yang kami lakukan tidak dimengerti, tapi kami masih berusaha untuk mendapatkan kepastiannja.

Pada umumnja saudara sepupu dipanggil atau disebut dengan menggunakan namanja sadja. Begitu pula untuk sebutan atau panggilan anak, adik, kakak, lebih disukai untuk mengambil atau menjebutnja dengan menggunakan namanja. Sedangkan memanggil atau menjebut dengan menggunakan namanja dari seorang paman dari pihak ibu dari ego adalah tahu. Begitu pula terhadap ipar (saudara laki2 dari isteri).

Sesungguhnya bahan2 ini djauh daripada lengkap.

#### Lingkaran hidup individu

##### Masa hamil dan kelahiran :

Bila seorang wanita hamil, maka suami isteri yang akan mendjadi ajah ibu itu berada dalam keadaan krisis dan tegang. Tjalon ibu dan ajah harus menginginkan berbagai pantangan makan makanan tertentu, dan sampai kelahirannja sibaji, sitjalon ajah dilarang untuk memotong pohon2 kaju yang besar, karena adanja kepertjajaan bahwa kalau pohon kaju besar yang dipotong itu roboh, maka tjabang2nja akan terbenam didalam tanah dan sukar ditjabut. Ini diasosiasikan dengan nanti akan sukarnja sianak lahir didunia.

Satu atau dua minggu sebelum sianak lahir, tjalon ibu diasingkan dalam sebuah rumah ketjil ditepi kampung dan tak boleh didatangi oleh sembarang orang. Biasanja didampingi oleh ibunja atau oleh kerabat2 wanita yang lain. Pada masa sekarang tjalon ibu melahirkan anaknja dirumahnja sendiri dengan ditolong oleh djururawat yang ada di Arso dengan pertolongan ibu dan kerabat2 wanita yang lain.

Setelah kira2 satu minggu atau lebih si anak lahir, ia mendapat nama Kristen (Katolik). Hal ini tidak terdjadi sebelum agama Katholik ada di Arso. Setelah dua atau tiga bulan umurnja, ia mendapat "nama tanah", jaitu nama yang asli yang diberikan oleh paman2nja dari pihak ibunja. Untuk upatjara pemberian

nama ini diadakan pesta makan<sup>2</sup> ketjil. Orang tua sianak menjediakan makanan<sup>2</sup> dan saudara<sup>2</sup> laki<sup>2</sup> ibunya membawa manik<sup>2</sup>, kapak<sup>2</sup> batu, gelang<sup>2</sup> Tarfia, dan benda<sup>2</sup> import jang lain, sebagai hadiah kepada sianak, sebagai tanda mata dan sebagai bekal mas kawinnja nanti, dan djuga sebagai tanda akan adanya kewadji-ban kewadjiaban tertentu dari sianak terhadap pamannja dari pihak ibunya ini. Makanan<sup>2</sup> jang disediakan oleh orang tuanja untuk paman<sup>2</sup>nja ini dimaksudkan su-paja kalau sudah besar nanti sianak tidak lupa kepada paman<sup>2</sup>nja, untuk menje-rahkan bagian terbesar dari hasil<sup>2</sup> buruannja terutama babi hutan dan burung kasuari, dan djuga djangan lupa supaja selalu membantu paman<sup>2</sup>nja pada waktu tenaganja dibutuhkan.

Itu kalau jang lahir adalah anak laki<sup>2</sup>. Terhadap anak perempuan djuga djalannja upatjara pemberian nama tidak berbeda dengan jang terdjadi pada anak laki<sup>2</sup>, hanja arti dari pada pemberian<sup>2</sup> paman dari pihak ibu di artikan lain, jaitu bahwa si anak tidak akan lupa kepada paman<sup>2</sup>nja, dan bila ia kawin nanti paman<sup>2</sup>nja ini akan mendapat sebagian dari mas kawin jang diterima oleh anak si -anak ini. Setelah sianak lahir sampai berumur lima tahun, ajahnja dan ibunya dikenakan pantangan<sup>2</sup> untuk memakan ular, burung mambruk, burung kasuari, buaja dan burung elang. Dengan alasan bahwa kalau memakan ular, maka kalau anaknja sakit anak ini akan melilit lilit seperti ular, dan kalau makan burung kasuari maka sianak akan mudah dapat sakit panas dan gemetar, kalau makan burung mam-bruk sianak akan lambat bisa berdjalan karena burung mambruk itu berat badan-nja dan tak mudah terbang. Kalau makan buaja, sianak akan mudah mendapat sakit tjatjar. Dan tak boleh makan burung elang karena burung elang itu dianggap panglima perang, dan kalau makan, maka sianak akan tjelaka. Pada masa sekarang ini, pantangan<sup>2</sup> sematjam ini hanja berdjalan sampai lebih kurang sianak beru-mur tiga atau empat bulan.

Didalam kehidupan se-hari<sup>2</sup> sianak lebih lazim dipanggil dengan menggu-nakan nama Kristennja, dan tidak menggunakan "nama tanahnja".

#### Masa kanak<sup>2</sup> :

Tidak ada sesuatu pesta khusus jang diadakan pada waktu sianak mendu-duki status sebagai anak<sup>2</sup>. Dalam masa pertumbuhan anak<sup>2</sup> ini sampai mengindjak umur 12-13 tahun saudara laki<sup>2</sup> ibu memegang peranan penting dalam kehidupan

sianak. Anak2 ber-main2 se-hari2 dengan teman2 sebadanja atau bila takut, ia ikut dengan orang tuanya keladang. Permainan anak laki2 biasanja dilakukan se-tjara ber-sama2 dan biasa merupakan suatu pendidikan persiapan untuk nantinja setelah dewasa siap untuk kehidupan dimasyarakatnja. Permainan2 itu antara lain ialah, perkelahian banting menbanting jang mereka namakan sekija, ber-main panah2an atau innottitya dengan menggunakan andjing sebagai sasaran pa-nah panah mereka, dan permainan sembunji sembujuan atau sangwa.

Anak2 perempuan biasanja djuga bermain ber-sama2 sembunjian dengan kawan2 sedjenisnja jang sebadja, biasanja bermain petak2 jang diintrodusir dari luar daerah ini. Umumnja anak2 perempuan lebih banjak membantu ibunja didapur dan mengasuh adik2nja jang lebih ketjil. Dengan adanja sekolah dasarMisi di Arso, anak2 mulai enam atau tudjuh tahun mulai memasuki bangku Sekolah Dasar, dan mendapat pengadjaran disekolah.

#### Masa Remadja :

Waktu datangnya masa remadja kira2 12-13 tahun, anak laki2 dan perempuan mulai dipisahkan. Anak2 laki2 harus masuk mum-ja atau rumah seruling sutji jang telah didirikan diluar kampung dan dipagari agar tidak terlihat oleh wani ta dan anak2 ketjil. Di mum-ja inilah anak2 laki2 jang mulai dewasa dinisiasi. Sebelum anak2 dimasukkan kedalam mum-ja, orang2 tua dari anak2 tersebut dan pa-man dari pihak ibunja, menjediakan makanan2 se-banjak2nja untuk pesta2. Dan orang2 tua2 mulai memotong bambu2 dibuat seruling.

Orang2 tua2 kemudian meniup seruling dan anak2 setelah makan seke-njang-kenjangnja makan masuk ke mum-ja. Waktu anak2 akan masuk mum-ja masing2 mereka diberi waluh atau penis koker, dan nokken2 (tas jang dibuat dari djalinan kulit2 kaju jang sudah dihaluskan), oleh seseorang tertentu, Orang itu dju ga jang memberikan nama jang baru kepada sianak. Orang ini dinamai jarwo atau sinama dari sianak. Mendjelang malam waktu anak2 akan masuk kedalam mum-ja, mereka di-takut2i oleh para orang2 tua2. Waktu mereka baru berada dalam mum-ja, mereka dipukuli dengan menggunakan pelepah2 pisang hutan oleh orang2 tua2 sam-pai ada jang pingsan, tergantung dari sikap mereka pada waktu2 sebelum masuk mum-ja jaitu apakah hormat pada orang2 tua dan terutama kepada orang tuanya dan paman dari pihak ibunja. Setelah dipukuli anak2 disuruh duduk dilantai,



orang2 tua2 mulai menjanji dan meniup seruling sambil berpesta pora makan2, sedangkan anak2 semalam suntuk tidak boleh tidur. Pada siang harinja orang2 tua2 memotong babi. Tetapi jang boleh memakan hanja orang2 laki2 sadja, sedangkan wanita2 dan anak2 tak diperbolehkan. Daging babi itu dimakan pada waktu pesta pada malam harinja Sedangkan anak2 hanja memakan papeda (bubur sagu), ikan2 ketjil2 dan sajur. Mereka tak boleh memakan pisang, sukun, babi dan segala daging ikan2 jang besar, pepaja, ubi djalar, dan ketela pohon.

Anak2 tinggal dalam mum-ja selama tiga atau empat bulan. Dan selama itu mereka diadjar meniup seruling setjara bagus, diadjarkan bagaimana bisa berburu dengan se-baik2nja. Dan djuga diadjarkan kepada mereka tentang mitologi mereka masing2. Selama seorang anak berada di mum-ja, jarwo nja itulah jang mendjadi pelindung dan mentornja. Djasa jarwo ini dibalas oleh si anak dikemudian hari, jaitu kalau ia berburu babi hutan dan berhasil mendapatnja, ataupun burung kasuari, ia tak melupakan jarwo nja dengan djalam mengirimkan bagian2 daging tertentu pada jarwonja. Jarwo ini adalah orang2 tertentu jang bisa berasal dari keret mana sadja, dan didjabat setjara timbal balik. Artinja, kalau dari keret Borotian pernah mendjadi Jarwo dari seorang keret Girbis, maka pada kesempatan jang lain kalau ada anak dari keret Borotian memasuki mum-ja, maka jarwo nja adalah dari keret Girbis.

Anak2 jang masuk mum-ja sampai mendjelang kawin dinamai sinbewagi. Dan setelah mereka ini berada kira2 3 atau 4 bulan didalam mum-ja, dan oleh orang2 tua2 telah dianggap tjukup, mereka lalu ditjukur rambutnja dan dibariskan dihalaman muka mum-ja. Lalu seorang tua kemudian memanah matahari dan dengan demikian selesailah sudah masa ini siasi bagi anak2 muda itu.

Setelah sinbewagi atau anak2 muda itu keluar dari mum-ja, mereka lalu tinggal dirumah budjang atau dalam bahasa Arso disebut jatiija. Mereka tinggal disini terus sampai mereka kawin dan meninggalkan jatiija. Sesungguhnja masa inisiasi seperti disebutkan diatas pada masa sekarang ini sudah tidak dilakukan lagi. Ini pertama karena dilarang oleh Pemerintah Hindia Belanda pada waktu itu, dan djuga ditentang oleh penjebar agama. Sehingga pada masa ini anak2 melalui masa remadjanja tanpa sesuatu godokan tertentu seperti masa2 dahulu, ketjualii pada Sekolah Dasar jang hanja sampai ketingkat atas kelas tiga seba-

gai kelas jang tertinggi sekarang dimana sudah sampai kelas lima. Walaupun telah keluar dari mum-ja tetapi makanan2 jang dulu dipantangkan waktu mereka berada di mum-ja masih tetap dipantangkan, sampai orang2 tua dari anak2 jang bersangkutan memberikan idjin untuk memakan makanan jang dipantangkan itu. Selama mereka tinggal di jatiya, mereka masih tetap makan dirumah orang tuanya. Dan selama itu mereka tetap berusaha untuk bisa membunuh babi hutan se-banyak2 nja. Daging babi hutan jang dapat ia bunuh itu ia serahkan kepada orang tuanya paman dari pihak ibunya, jarwonja, dan kerabat2nja jang lain, sedangkan ia sendiri tidak memakannya sekali. Hanya tengkorak dari babi hutan itu ia simpan di langit2 atap jatiya. Kalau seseorang sudah biasa mengumpulkan tengkorak2 babi sebanjak tigapuluh ekor atau lebih, dan ber-sama2 dengan lima orang kawannya jang lain jang telah mengumpulkan tengkorak2 babi hutan dalam djumlah lebih sedikit, lalu diadakan pesta "jongwai".

Pesta ini merupakan pesta dansa jang dilakukan terus menerus sampai kira2 4-6 bulan, dan dihadiri oleh orang2 dari kampung2 disekiling kampung Arso. Bagi seorang jang djadi "jongwai" peristiwa ini merupakan suatu puntjaknja peristiwa dalam kehidupannya. Dan untuk mengadakan pesta itu orang tua dan kerabat2nja sedjak ber-bulan2 telah menimbun sebanjaknja. Dalam pesta jongwai itu orang jang bisa membunuh babi hutan se-banyak2nja itu mendjadi orang jang dimasuki roh jongwai dan mendjadi "leading star" dalam pesta itu. Kalau seorang anak perempuan mengindjak dewasa, haid untuk pertama kali ia mulai dipisahkan dari teman2nja dan dikurung didalam rumah selama lebih kurang satu setengah tahun. Masa isolasi ini pada masa sekarang hanya berdjalan kira2 3 bulan. Selama diisolasi didalam kamar ia diadajari oleh ibunya tentang pekerjaan rumah tangga pada umumnya dan tentang keradjinan tangan. Dan selama itu ayahnya dan saudara laki2nja serta kerabat2nja jang lain menimbun se-banyak2nja untuk pesta kawinnja nanti.

Setelah selesai masa isolasi ini, anak perempuan itu lalu dikawinkan dengan orang laki2 tertentu, kepada sianak perempuan itu ia telah dipertunangkan pada waktu ia masih ketjil.

#### Perkawinan :

Perkawinan pada umumnya adalah monogami. Pemilihan djodoh seringkali

sudah diatur oleh orang2 tua mereka, lama sebelum mereka jang bersangkutan sadar akan artinja perkawinan, tetapi tidak djarang pula pemuda pemudi kawin dengan pilihannja sendiri. Biasanja djenis perkawinan jang terachir tersebut diatas adalah atas inisiatif pihak wanita. Artinja pihak wanita jang menjatakan keinginannja kepada laki2 dengan tjara2 memberikan sirih pinang, tembakau, atau makanan kepada si laki2.

Dari beberapa informan didapat keterangan bahwa pada djaman dulu sekali, unsur mas kawin itu tidak ada dalam perkawinan orang Arso dan disekitarnya, tetapi jang ada ialah kawin tukar pengantin wanita (bride exchange). Dan pesta2 besar pada waktu kawinpun tidak ada. Dari kerabat2 jang bersangkutan se-kedar berkumpul dan makan2 dirumah orang tua dari pengantin wanita, dan dengan disaksikan oleh kepala2 keret masing2. Dengan demikian perkawinan dianggap sudah sjah. Perkembangan selandjutnja ialah bahwa msekipun tjara perkawinan jang dilakukan adalah perkawinan tukar menukar pengantin wanita, tetapi pihak lelaki memberikan sedjumlah benda2 sebagai maskawin seperti misalnja kapak2 batu, gelang Tarfia dan barang2 import. Pengantin wanita jang ditukarkan ialah itu tidak selamanja adalah saudara kandung dari pengantin laki2. Bisa djuga kerabat2 nja jang terdekat atau orang jang berasal dari keret jang sama. Tetapi ada dju ga terdjadi perkawinan tanpa pertukaran pengantin wanita oleh salah satu pihak. Dalam hal sematjam ini mas kawin jang diminta adalah tinggi nilainja.

Kawin lari atau melarikan wanita terdapat dalam kehidupan orang Arso dan di kampung2 disekelilingnja. Baik terhadap wanita jang sudah dipertunangkan sedjak ketjil dengan seseorang, maupun isteri orang. Akibat dari ini adalah pembunuhan bagi orang jang bersangkutan dan akibat2 jang lebih luas adalah "perang" antara keret2 jang bersangkutan. Akibat jang paling lunak dari ini adalah keharusan membayar denda bagi jang bersalah kepada jang mempunjai anak perempuan atau isteri.

Walaupun pada umumnja bentuk perkawinan adalah monogami, tetapi ada djuga orang2 jang mempunjai isteri lebih dari satu. Ini pertama karena adanja alasan bahwa isteri jang pertama telah terlalu tua, sehingga sebagai bagian dari suatu kesatuan ekonomi tidak bisa mendjalankan fungsinya lagi dengan sebaik2nja dan djuga karena adanja perkawinan levirate.



Dari mereka jang kawin lebih dengan seorang isteri pada umurnja orang2 jang sudah agak landjut usianja.

Setelah kawin suami isteri hidup ber-sama2 dan merupakan suatu kesatuan rumah tangga. Rumah tangga ini merupakan dasar kehidupan ekonomi sehari-hari.

Pertjeraan antara suami isteri jarang2 terdjadi. Dan bila terdjadi maka sebab jang utama adalah karena siisteri mengadakan hubungan kelamin dengan laki2 jang lain. Tetapi jang sering terdjadi sebagai akibat daripada berdjinhnja siisteri dengan laki2 lain adalah suami membunuh isterinja, dan karena tak bisa diterima oleh kerabat2 isterinja bisa timbul "perang" antara keret2 jang bersangkutan.

#### Kematian :

Sakit dan kematian menurut kepertjajaan orang Arso dan di-kampung2 sekitarnja, adalah disebabkan oleh gangguan hantu2 dan karena dibunuh, karena soal pelanggaran tanah ulajat, atau karena berdjinh dengan isteri orang lain.

Setelah seseorang mati, dengan tjara2 gaib tertentu djenasahnja diminta untuk menundjukkan siapa jang telah membunuhnja. Dan sebagai akibat dari pada ini adalah pembalasan dendam dan timbul lagi "perang" antara keret jang bersangkutan. Djenasah kemudian ditaruh diatas sebuah para2 jang dibuat dihutan dan ditinggalkan begitu sadja. Dan djalan jang dilalui untuk membawa djenasah itu kehutan ditutup. Atau ada djuga jang dikubur. Pada masa sekarang orang jang mati lebih lazim dikuburkan.

Pada masa belum lama berselang ini, kalau seseorang mati karena digigit oleh babi hutan, maka majatnja ditaruh diatas perapian darirnja sampai menjjadi kering seperti ikan asap. Lalu majat itu dibungkus dengan kulit kaju dan disimpan dipohon beringin.

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Verslag van de Militaire Exploratie van Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea, 1907-1915: 1920, hal. 290.

## THE POTENTIAL FOR POTATOE PRODUCTION IN WEST IRIAN

Peter Foster

ICHTISAR :

Kentang adalah djenis umbi2an jang terbanjak ditanam dinegara dengan iklim sedang. Kentang berssal dari daerah Andes di Amerika Selatan. Kita beranggapan tentang suatu djenis umbi di daerah tropis jang hanja menghasilkan suatu djumlah jang tidak berarti dari bahan makanan manusia di negara2 tropis. Tetapi merupakan bahan makanan pokok didaerah dengan iklim sedang.

Dengan adanya pemeliharaan untuk perobahan pertumbuhan, maka kentang telah dapat ditanam dalam suatu lingkungan jang sangat berbeda.

Perobahan pertumbuhan jang sangat istimewa adalah mungkin merupakan djawakan terhadap pandjanganja hari.

Kentang jang didatangkan dari negeri Belanda ketanah datar beriklim sedang didaerah Irian Barat pada lebih dari 20th jang lalu masih tetap memberri hasil baik, walaupun tidak ada bibit2 baru jang diimport.

Projek FAO-FUNDWI 27/28 baru sadja mendatangkan sebanjak 35 djenis dari Meksiko jang akan memberi hasil lebih baik dari djenis2 jang telah ada. Disamping itu djenis ini akan ditjoba djuga di-daerah2 pesisir.

Umbi2 didaerah tropis mempunyai potensi makanan jang lebih tinggi dari pada bidji2an serta perbandingan portein jang lebih baik.

Menggunakan rata2 1 kg kentang sehari dapat menghasilkan semua asam2 amino tjual untuk methionine dan cystine jang kesemuanja dapat dihasilkan oleh 2 kg.

Tanda2 ini menundjukan adanya kebutuhan akan kentang di Irian Barat dapat dipenuhi ditempat, disamping adanya suatu djumlah jang diimport untuk diperdjual-belikan dipasar.

Penduduk asli memerlukan lebih banjak protein sajur2an dalam makanan mereka maka seharusnya mereka dijakinkan untuk menanam lebih banjak tanaman berprotein tinggi seperti katjang2an. Untuk mengganti makanan, mereka tentu memerlukan waktu jang tjukup lama, oleh sebab itu djenis kentang jang mempunyai djumlah protein jang paling tinggi harus mulai ditanam. Tidaklah perlu untuk memulai suatu rentjana pemeliharaan kentang di LP3M, Amban. Kita harus pertjaja kepada hasil karya lain2 instansi.

Ada djuga kemungkinan bahwa kita telah mempunyai kentang jang sangat baik mutunja serta sesuai dengan iklim Irian Barat. Hal ini perlu diselidiki dengan tjermat sekali.

Kentang dapat diserang oleh banjak penjakit dan dibanjak negara bibit2 kentang jang sehat dibuat didaerah jang berdjauhan letaknja dari tempat dimana kentang itu ditanam.

Rupanja kentang di Irian Barat akan tinggal sehat maka tidak perlu untuk mendatangkan bibit2 baru.

Sungguh menggembirakan bahwa tetangga2 kita di Irian Timur dengan tjeapat berobah kearah "fish and chip" (ikan dan keripik).

The potato, Solanum tuberosum, is the most widely grown root-crop of north temperate countries. With a total annual production of 300 million tons, it is, in fact, the most abundantly produced food crop of all exceeding even the cereals.

Potatoes originate from the mountains in central South America. So, we have the paradox of a tropical tuber which, apart from a small area in the mountains of South America, forms only an insignificant part of the diet of the people of tropical countries, but is a staple food in temperate latitudes.

The potatoes grown in the high Andes of Peru and Bolivia came from wild ancestors found in those countries. They were first introduced to Europe in the late 16th century by the Spanish and, within two centuries, had spread throughout the temperate zone where they adapted to a temperate climate. During the 19th century, potatoes became very popular and were grown everywhere as a major food crop. By the end of that century, modern varieties had been bred, and some of them are still important today. With breeding for genetic changes, the potato had been adapted to a totally different environment.

The most significant genetical change is probably response to day-length. The tropical Andean potato is adapted to low temperatures and short day-lengths of 12 to 13 hours, and it crops in seven to eight months. In temperate latitudes, potatoes grow and flower profusely during the long summer days but do not produce large tubers until days shorten in the autumn, and growth is checked by winter frosts. They crop in from three to seven months of planting. When grown under short day-lengths from the start, tubering is accelerated, foliage growth is reduced, and flowering is inhibited; and a smaller crop in a shorter time results. Late varieties grown in photoperiod conditions of 12 to 13 hours crop in about four months.

Temperate latitude potatoes are known as the Tuberosum group, and they have been evolved by a genetic alteration of photoperiod response. Day length is not the only physiological factor in potato evolution, although it is probably the most important. Temperature, reacting with photoperiodicity, is also significant although, so far, little understood. Lower temperatures tend to favour rapid tubering.



The Andigena potatoes in the Andes do well at high altitudes but poorly between altitudes of 300 m to 3,000 m. It is again a paradox that the main-crop or late main-crop potatoes grown in the cool, long-day climate of Holland, and introduced to the highlands of West Irian some twenty years ago, are still producing well in the valleys at these lower altitudes.

We have recently imported 35 new clones into this country of seed potatoes from Mexico. The purpose is to attempt to improve our highlands stocks, which have not been stimulated by the introduction of any new varieties for many years, and to see if they will grow economically in our tropical lowlands. So, these potatoes have gone from their native tropics to temperate zones and back again to the tropics after a long period of breeding and selection.

It may be asked: "Why bother with potatoes when we already have sweet potatoes which the people like?" The answer is that tropical root-crops have a higher food potential than the grains, and protein comparisons can be better. The potato has, at least, a similar potential to the established root-crops, and it is reasonable to argue that tropical potatoes can make a useful contribution to agricultural and dietary diversity. The potatoes seen more and more in the coastal town markets come from the West Irian highlands, Celebes or Java, which indicates that there is a growing demand.

The total protein in potatoes is higher than is usually thought, and it is also of reasonably good composition with respect to essential aminoacids. An average of 1 kg of potatoes per day would supply all the aminoacids required by an average adult male except for methionine and cystine. Two kgs a day, which is within the culinary capabilities of the Irianese, would supply even these limiting amino acids.

The potato has been accepted into many tropical diets. It is already popular in many tropical countries, and the demand is often satisfied by importation from very distant producing countries. But all of West Irian potato requirements could be supplied locally.

It is well known that the Irianese require more vegetable protein in their diet, particularly nursing mothers and children, than they consume at

present. It is argued that the best way to achieve this is to induce the people to grow high-protein foods such as beans and groundnuts rather than to attempt to breed or introduce higher crude protein content varieties of sweet potatoes, potatoes, and other root-crops than those currently grown. We should continue to promote both these methods of improvement as it often takes a very long time to change a people's diet and may prove to be almost impossible. The potato here is not simply a food; its consumption plays an important part in ritual and social customs.

There is no doubt that potato breeding can provide clones adapted to the tropics at middle elevations (300 m to 2,000 m), and it seems certain that the products of local breeding will always, in the long-run, do better than imported clones, however valuable they may be to start with. Should we carry out a potato breeding programme at our Agricultural Research Institute in West Irian? We think not. Over forty years of work at the Scottish Plant Breeding Station, about one seedling in 20,000 was thought worthy of naming, and one in 100,000 was actually a successful variety<sup>1</sup>. Our means are very limited, and we could not contemplate a programme of anything like that magnitude. We must rely on the results of the work of other institutions. And there is the interesting and gratifying thought that we may already have here, almost by accident, clones that have adapted and are as good or better than anything that can be imported. This thought is worthy of a serious investigation.

The potato is unique among major crop plants in the fact that very bulky planting material is produced under highly-specialized conditions in places usually very distant from the areas of production. The reason for this is phytosanitary. Potatoes are subject to about six significant virus diseases, three of which are serious, a formidable array of fungus diseases, and eelworm. Some twenty diseases can be carried on the tubers, and the potato seed-producing trade has developed in response to the need for the continuous supply of healthy seed. It was known in Britain that seed from cool, windy places was

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<sup>1</sup> Reports of the Scottish Plant Breeding Station, Edinburgh. Journals of the Faculty of Agriculture, University of the West Indies.

healthier than that from the producing districts, but it was not until this century that the reasons were understood. Harsh climates discouraged the aphids that carried the viruses. Again, it is most gratifying to know that the potatoes in West Irian have been reproduced for many years without any new introductions and without any serious degeneration. This must indicate that we are relatively disease free, and the country may become a source of healthy tropical seed. There is no doubt that West Irian has a tremendous advantage over other tropical countries in that it will probably be able to supply its own requirements of sound seed potatoes as well as potatoes for consumption.

It may be significant that our East Irian neighbours are rapidly becoming "fish and chip" orientated.

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## TJERITERA DONGENG MENGENAI BURUNG TAHUN2:

## TAREI ATAKAM IR

(AN ASMAT MYTH ABOUT THE HORNBILL)

Jeremias Mbait

Pada asal mulanja, disuatu kampung, berdiamlah dua orang beradik-kakak. Adapun nama kedua orang itu Djunoh dan Taunoh. Keduannya tidak berkeluarga. Karena kampung itu tidak ada orang lain, hanja hidup adik-kakak berdiam di-situ, karena tidak ada punja perempuan djuga. Pada suatu hari adik-kakak pergi ke hutan untuk potong perahu. Sesudahnja itu mereka kerdjakan perahu. Dimuka perahu itu, mereka gambarkan seekor burung jang tidak punja nama dan mereka me-ngukir semua dipinggir perahu sebelah-menjebelah semua. Sementara itu mereka berdjandji, "Kami gambarkan engkau dimuka perahu ini, seekor burung, kami tidak ada punja perempuan. Kami berdjandji disatu kampung bernama Sereuw\*. Pada kampung tersebut ini, ada satu perempuan jang bernama Mbuawut (air besar). Setelah perahu selesai mereka turunkan di air. Setelah itu malam muka perahu jang terukir/gambar burung itu, malam djadikan burung Ir besar. Dia terbang naik hinggap diatas pohon beringin besar. Sesudah siang adik-kakak bangun turun melihat perahu dikali, mereka melihat bahwa muka perahu jang terukir gambar burung itu, sudah tidak ada. Lalu mereka me-lihat2 kiri kanan. Lalu burung itu bersuara dari atas pohon beringin, " Ha Ha Haaaaaaa". Sementara dia bersuara, lantas dia terbang turun dimuka djunoh dan Taunoh. Lalu burung bersuara dan berbitjara, "Saja bernama burung Ir sampai turun temurun sebut saja dengan nama burung Ir". Sementara itu, Djunoh dan Taunoh berdjandji lagi kepada burung itu, kami tidak ada perempuan, dikampung Sereuw ada satu perempuan bernama : Mbuawut. Pergi tolong ambil dia. Burung tersebut ini sebelum fadjar terbit, dia terbang dimana kampung jang mana telah ditundjukkan oleh Djunoh dan Taunoh.

Pada pagi hari perempuan2 kampung Sereuw pergi mendjaring dimuara sungai, dan burung Ir ini terbang turun dan hinggap diatas tali dikali Minim. Dia memperhatikan perempuan jang mana didjandjikan oleh Djunoh dan Taunoh: waktu mereka pergi dia melihat sadja. Waktu mereka mendjaring mendapat ikan bajak sekali. Sesudah mereka habis mendjaring mereka pulang. Sampai dipertenga-

han, Mbuawut merasa sakit perut. Lalu Mbuawut turun didarat, dimana burung Ir tinggal. Lalu burung Ir turun dari atas tali ditanah. Lalu dia mendjelma manusia, bikin rupa Mbuawut punja tunangan laki2 bernama: Mbiwirpitsj. Sesudahnja buang air besar, berdirilah Mbuawut, sementara Mbuawut mau berdiri begini, Ir mulai kelihatan kepada dia. Lalu Mbuawut bersuara takut lalu dia bertanja, "Kamu siapa?". "Saja bernama Mbiwirpitsj", djawabnja. Sesudah mereka berbitjara, lalu Mbiwirpitsj minta hubungan kelamin, lalu mereka berbuat. Sesudahnja habis berbuat lalu Ir mulai berbitjara dan mendjawab, "Saja bukan engkau punja tunangan laki2, saja bernama; Ir datang maksud mengambil engkau. Sementara Mbuawut mendengar bitjara itu, Mbuawut mengerutkan kening. Lalu Ir mentjeriterakan apa jang terdjadi waktu itu. Dan Mbuawut bitjara, "bagaimana saja mau ikut engkau dengan djalan apa sebenarnja nanti". Ir berbitjara lagi, "saja datang maksud mengambil engkau, karena ada dua orang jang berdjandji kepada saja, dan mereka berdjandji begini", "Engkau pergi terbang dikampung jang bernama Sereuw ada satu perempuan jang bernama : Mbuawut, pergi ambil dia bawa datang kepada kami". Lalu saja datang mentjari engkau". Waktu itu Mbuawut setudju untuk ikut dia. Mbuawut bertanja kepada Ir, "Bagaimanakah dengan saja, sedangkan engkau burung bisa terbang dan saja manusia nanti saja djalan kaki sendiri. Sedangkan kampung itu saja tidak tahu apa2". Lalu Ir mendjawab, "Djangan takut, engkau tjoba duduk diatas leher saja ini."Lalu mereka mulai terbang naik. Mereka turun dimana perempuan2 jang tinggal menunggu Mbuawut. Perempuan2 itu melihat bahwa saudaranja Mbuawut ada duduk diatas burung besar itu. Lalu perempuan2 takut dan terperandjat semua tidur diperahu itu. Lalu mereka mendjawab, "Hai saudara2, djangan takut. Tidak tahu saja sudah buat bagaimana, sehingga terdja -di begini ini. "Saudara2 djangan takut, ikan banjak2 itu kamu punja, hanja saja minta satu ekor ikan kakap dan satu tangkai buah nipa untuk saja". Lalu mereka memberikan dia. Sesudahnja itu, keduanja mulai terbang naik dan saudara saudara Mbuawut menangis.

Burung besar itu dan Mbuawut terbang terus, sampai ditempat tudjuannya dimana tinggal Djunoh dan Taunoh. Waktu itu djuga Djunoh dan Taunoh tidak pergi kemana-mana. Mereka menunggu kedatangan burung Ir itu. Sedang mereka menunggu, burung besar itu dan Mbuawut turun dimuka rumah. Mbuawut turun dari a-

tas burung itu. Kedua adik kakak itu sementara waktu tidur dan waktu itu djuga mereka tidak tahu jang burung dan Mbuawut sudah tiba dimuka rumah mereka. Lalu Mbuawut memanggil Djunoh dan Taunoh. Keduanja mendengarkan suara matjam bermimpi. Lalu mereka terbangun dengan terperandjat dan keduanja keluar dan men-tjium Mbuawut. Mbuawut lalu minta banjak2 terima kasih kepada burung Ir dan mereka memberi makanan kepada dia. Sesudahnja itu, burung besar itu terbang na-ik kembali diatas pohon beringin. Dan pada sore harinja, adik Taunoh mengawin-kan Mbuawut kepada kakaknja Djunoh. Demikianlah tjeritera mengenai terdjadinja burung Ir atau tahun2. Jang mana setiap perahu patung, dajung jang berukiran perisai, dan matjam ukiran jang terdapat burung tahun2 atau paruh burung ter-sebut ini.

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In the beginning there were two men living in a village. Their names were Djunoh and Taunoh. Neither of these young men was married because there were no other people and hence no females in the village. One day these two young men went into the forest to cut out a dugout canoe. On the front of the canoe they made a carving of a bird (the hornbill) which at that time had no name. They requested of the carving help in obtaining women. In the night the carved bird became a live bird and flew up to the branches of a nearby tree.

When morning came the two young men looked out and saw only the canoe. The head, or carving was missing. They looked everywhere and then heard the voice of the bird from up above. The bird descended and informed them, "My - name is Ir (hornbill)". Djunoh and Taunoh reiterated that there were no women in the village. They had heard, however, that there was a woman in the village of Sereuw<sup>1</sup> by the name of Mbuawut (Big or High water). They asked the bird to help by bringing her to them.

The bird flew to the river Minim<sup>2</sup> and there prepared to seize the girl as he promised. In the morning the girls of Sereuw went out to net fish.

<sup>1</sup> Sereuw is a village from the spirit world. This is expressed in the terms Sefan Ju mum or land to the south, and also Mbu amam semot, or the village under water. The Mbu amam semot is just like its village counterpart in reality. It has death when the real village has birth and birth when the real village has death. 2. The river Minim is from the same spirit world.



When they had caught a good many fish, they made ready to return to the village. Half way home, Mbuawut became sick in the stomach. She went ashore right to the spot where the big bird was waiting. After the girl had rested and was about to arise and resume her journey, she saw the bird and cried, "Who is that?" The bird replied, "I am your boyfriend Mbiwirpitsj". After they had talked for a time Mbiwirpitsj suggested a little diversion. Subsequently, when Mbuawut complied with that suggestion, the bird told her, "I am not really your boyfriend, but I want you to come with me." When Mbuawut heard this she scratched her head and asked, "Why should I come with you?" The bird answered, "I have already told the men that I would bring you back".

Mbuawut agreed to go with Ir the bird, but she pointed out that while he was a bird and perfectly able to fly, she was only a human being and could not fly at all. Ir said, "That's all right. Just sit on my neck and I will carry you". They flew for a time and returned to the other girls who were still making their way back to the village. When the rest of the girls saw the big bird and Mbuawut arrive, they were afraid, and fell in the bottom of the canoe. "Because we caught plenty of fish", Mbuawut told them, "I want one of the big ones and also a branch of the nipa palm". These things they promptly gave her. The bird and the girl again flew off and the girls from Mbuawut's village cried. They always cry when people die or go away.

Meanwhile, Djunoh and Taunoh waited in the village. The two wanted to be sure that they were home when the bird returned with the girl. The bird, the girl on his back, landed in front of the house occupied by the two young men. Mbuawut called to them, and the men heard her voice as if in a dream. Of course they ran out to meet her and embraced her. The girl then turned and thanked the bird who flew up and sat on one of the high branches. Later Taunoh, the younger of the two males married Mbuawut to the older Djunoh. And there ends the tale of hornbill which is often seen on the carvings from Asmat.

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## THE EKAGI-WODANI-MONI LANGUAGE FAMILY OF WEST IRIAN

Gordon F. Larson and Mildred O. Larson

ICHTISAR :

Karangan ini memuat hubungan antara bahasa2 Ekagi, Wodani dan Moni dari daerah Paniai dipegunungan tengah Irian Barat. Ketiga bahasa ini merupakan satu rumpun.

Kira kira 3000 tahun jang lampau Ekagi dan Wodani mendjadi dialek2 jang terpisah dari Moni. Mendjelang 2000 tahun jang silam Ekagi dan Wodani dipisahkan mendjadi dialek2 tersendiri. Meskipun demikian ternjata bahwa antara Moni dan Dani terdapat banjak persamaan kata2 bila dibandingkan dengan Ekagi dan Moni. Suatu analisa mengenai bunji utjapan2 jang dipakai dalam bahasa Wodani dan Moni menundjukkan pula bahwa kedua bahasa tersebut mempunjai persamaan jang erat dewasa ini.

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Introduction

For some time it has been known that Ekagi (or Kapauku), Wodani (or Wodaa) and Moni (or Migani) of the Paniai region of the central highlands of West Irian are related languages (compare Boelaars 1950; see map by J.V. de Bruijn in Rhys 1947:71). Only more recently has it been realized that these constitute a family of languages which, together with the Greater Dani, Uhunduni and Dem families, form a single micro-phylum.<sup>1</sup> Although evidence for the classification of the Greater Dani dialects has been presented elsewhere (see Bromley 1961, 1967), little has been written on the historical relationships between Ekagi, Wodani and Moni, other than what is mentioned in broader linguistic classifications of the area (see Galis 1960 and Wurm 1961), and what is found in unpublished papers written by us some years ago (Larson and Larson 1955, G. Larson 1958a, 1958b). The purpose of this paper is to present the phonological and lexico-statistical evidence given in these papers con-

firming these relationships between Ekagi, Wodani and Moni.

Speakers of Ekagi number about 60,000 (see Doble 1960 and Steltenpool 1969); Moni about 12,000 and Wodani about 3,000. The Ekagi occupy valleys surrounding and to the north and west of the Paniai-Tigi lakes; the Moni are found mainly in the Kemandoga and Dugindoga valleys to the east of the Lakes; while the Wodani are wedged between these, residing mainly in the Mbijandoga and lower Kemandoga valleys (see Map, Appendix B). To the east, particularly in the lower Dugindoga and upper Kemandoga, there is much bilingualism, intermarriage and trade between Moni groups and those speaking Western Dani, Nduga or Uhunduni.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, speakers in these border valleys form a link between the Ekagi-Wodani-Moni (hereafter: Ek-Wo-Mo languages) to the west, and the Greater Dani and Uhunduni families to the east.<sup>3</sup>

### Phonological Study

The dialects compared in this study are given in Table I (two from Ekagi, three from Wodani and three from Moni):

TABLE I  
Dialects Compared

<u>Code</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. EK(t)	Ekagi	Tigi Lake area	Doble's dictionary (1960)
2. EK(p)	Ekagi	Paniai Lake area	Doble's dictionary (1960)
3. WO(lmb)	Wodani	Lower Mbijandoga	writers' check in area
4. WO(umb)	Wodani	Upper Mbijandoga	writers' check in area
5. WO(mk)	Wodani	Mid-Kemandoga	writers' 3-month study
6. MO(k)	Moni	Kemandoga	writers' extended study
7. MO(h)	Moni	Hegenagai	writers' check out of area
8. MO(d)	Moni	Dugindoga	writers' check in area

Whenever a language is referred to with no specific dialect designation, the central dialect of that language is intended, i.e., the Paniai dialect of Ekagi (EK-p), the Kemandoga dialect of Moni (MO-k), and the Upper Mbijandoga



dialect of Wodani (WO-umb).

# Phoneme inventories of EK-WO-Mo

The sound systems of Ekagi, Wodani and Moni exhibit the following segmental and (lexically contrastive) supra-segmental phonemes:

TABLE II

## Phoneme Inventories of Ekagi, Wodani and Moni

### Ekagi (see Doble 1962a)

p	t	k	
b	d	g (g <sup>1</sup> )	
m	n		
w	j (y, ž)		
	i	u	:
	e (ɛ)	o	/'
	a		

### Wodani(umb)

p (p <sup>h</sup> )	t (t <sup>h</sup> , t <sup>š</sup> , š)	k (k <sup>h</sup> , g)	
b (b <sup>c</sup> , b)	d (d <sup>c</sup> , d, dl, ř)	g (g <sup>1</sup> , k <sup>z</sup> )	
m <sub>b</sub>	n <sub>d</sub>	n <sub>g</sub>	
m	n		
w (w, ɓ)	j (z, ž, y)	h	
	i	u	:
	e (e, ɛ)	o	/'
	a		n

### Wodani(mk)

p (p <sup>h</sup> )	t (t <sup>h</sup> )	k (k <sup>h</sup> , g)	
	s (tš, š)		
(rest the same as WOumb)			

### Moni (see Larson and Larson 1958)

p (p <sup>h</sup> )	t (t <sup>h</sup> )	k (k <sup>h</sup> , g)	
	s (s, š)		
b (b <sup>c</sup> , b, ɓ)	d (d <sup>c</sup> , d, l, dl, ř)		
m <sub>b</sub>	n <sub>d</sub>	n <sub>g</sub>	
m	n		
w (w, ɓ)	j (z, ž, y)	h	
	i	u	/'
	e (e, ɛ)	o	n
	a		

Each of these languages has a voiceless stop series including phonemes /p/, /t/, /k/; bilabial voiced stops /b/ and /d/; nasal /m/ and /n/; bilabial and alveolar continuants (with fricative allophones) /w/ and /j/; and a five vowel system composed of /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/. Ekagi and Wodani also have laterally released velar /g/ (g<sup>l</sup>) to complete the voiced stop series, which is not found in Moni, whereas Wodani and Moni each occur with /h/ and a prenasalized stop series of /<sup>m</sup>b/, /<sup>n</sup>d/, and /<sup>n</sup>g/ which are lacking in Ekagi. Only Moni and Mid-Kemandoga dialects of Wodani have the sibilant /s/.

Besides these segmental phonemes there are three lexically contrastive supra-segmental phonemes in these languages: vowel tone--or vowel stress --/'/ in each language; vowel length /:/ written as the second vowel of geminate sequences: /ii/, /ee/, /aa/, /oo/ and /uu/<sup>4</sup> in Ekagi and Wodani, but not in Moni; vowel nasalization /<sup>n</sup>/ in Wodani and Moni, but not in Ekagi. Examples of the occurrence of most of these phonemes--both segmental and supra-segmental in open (C)V and (C)VV syllables only<sup>5</sup>--can be found in the word list in A, except for vowel nasalization which is as follows:

- WO: /hi<sup>n</sup>ja tena/ ('Iiya t<sup>h</sup>ε'na) 'to be in an uproar'; /wi<sup>n</sup>ja/  
 ('biya) 'two'  
 MO: /ae<sup>n</sup>/ ('āε) 'to call to a pig as when leading it'; /ae/  
 ('aε) 'life, raw'

#### Phonemic similarity between Wodani and Moni

From the above it can be seen that, in so far as their phoneme inventories are concerned, Wodani and Moni are more closely related to each other than are Wodani and Ekagi, or Moni and Ekagi. Further evidence for this phonological similarity is the fact that there is more sub-phonemic variability in Wodani and Moni than in Ekagi. While this phenomenon characterizes many sounds in these two languages (see Table II), it is particularly noticeable in the production of the alveolar stop /d/. Thus while in all three languages /d/ may be manifested by an implosive (d<sup>c</sup>) in utterance-initial stressed syllable, only in Wodani and Moni does it occur as either of the following in

inter-vocalic position: as a voiced stop (d), a flap (ɾ), a lateral (l) or a laterally-released stop (dl). In Moni, (ɾ) occurs between identical high vowels /i/ or /u/, freely fluctuating with (d), while (l) occurs in other word-medial environments freely fluctuating with (dl); in Wodani (ɾ), (d) and (l) freely fluctuate in most word-medial positions.

WO: /di<sup>n</sup>gi/ ('d<sup>n</sup>iŋgi, 'diŋgi) 'dark'; /bido/ ('bido, 'bi<sup>o</sup>ro,  
'bidlo) 'bird'

MO: /dode/ ('d<sup>o</sup>ole, 'dodle) 'words, message'; /idi/ ('i<sup>ri</sup>, ili,  
idli) 'five'; /<sup>m</sup>bode dija/ ('<sup>m</sup>bole 'diya, '<sup>m</sup>bole'liya)  
'to fight, make war'

The sound systems of Wodani and Moni show great similarity also in the fact that both /w/ and /j/ in these languages occur with more friction than they do in Ekagi. In fact, there is a gradual increase in the degree of friction characterizing these sounds in Ek-Wo-Mo as one moves west to east from dialect to dialect beginning at the Lakes area and ending in the Dugindoga. Thus, while the continuant /w/ occurs without friction in all environments in Ekagi, in both Wodani and Moni this sound is realized with rather intensive bilabialization immediately preceeding high and mid vowels /i/ and /e/. Further, /j/ is characteristically realized in Ekagi as continuant (y), in Wodani as alveopalatal (ʒ), but in Moni as fricative (z). The only exceptions to these allophonic occurrences of /j/ are the following: in Ekagi, /j/ occurs as alveo-palatal (ʒ) immediately preceeding /i/; in both Wodani and Moni, /j/ is always realized as continuant (y) immediately preceeding /a/ in word-medial position, with the exception that in the most eastern Dugindoga dialects of Moni this sound is always produced with palatalization as (ʒ) immediately preceeding /a/ and following /i/.

/w/ EK: /wido/ ('wido) 'three'

WO: /wido/ ('bido, 'biro) 'two'

MO: /wi/ ('bi) 'husband'

/j/ EK: /jape/ ('yape) 'enemy, war'; /jina/ ('ʒina) 'animal'

WO: /jape/ ('ʒap<sup>he</sup>) 'enemy, war'; /jinina/ ('ʒini'na)

'to twist it'; /wija/ ('biya) 'two'



MO: /ja<sup>m</sup>baija/ (za'mbaiya) 'to sever, cut off'; /hija/  
 ('hiya) 'two'; /ju/ ('zu) 'boy'  
 MO(D): /hija/ ('hiža) 'two'

But if phonological evidence would lead us to classify Wodani and Moni as more closely related to each other than either is to Ekagi, lexical evidence leads us to the opposite conclusion: Ekagi and Wodani share closer ties than do either Wodani and Moni or Moni and Ekagi.

### Lexico-Statistical Study

In this section lexico-statistical procedures developed by Swadesh (1952, 1955) have been employed to determine the relative time depth of separation between the eight dialects of Ek-Wo-Mo under study in this paper. Swadesh, following Sapir (1916), presupposes that the core or 'intimate' vocabulary of language--as contrasted with its less stable 'cultural' vocabulary--changes at a slow and relatively constant rate, and therefore lends itself best to measuring rates of language change. He has, therefore, developed a 100-word list of core vocabulary items, intended to be universally applicable for time-depth comparative purposes. Though the list has been criticized elsewhere (see Bergsland and Vogt, 1962), it will be used here in comparing the basic vocabularies of Ek-Wo-Mo dialects (see Appendix A).

#### Basic vocabulary list

Swadesh's 100-word list was not entirely satisfactory as a core vocabulary check list, since nine items were of necessity eliminated for the following reasons: (1) because they were unknown to the interior (numbers 29 FISH and 41 HORN), (2) because they were too difficult to match (numbers 5 GREEN and 100 YELLOW), and (3) because the term which matched was the same root already matched by another term in the list (term for number 23 EAT was already matched with item 19 DRINK; term for number 36 HAIR, with item 27 FEATHER; term for number 54 PERSON, with item 51 MAN; and the term for number 75 SKIN, with item 3 BARK). There were, therefore, only a total of 91 items

in the Swadesh list which were compared.

Some items required a narrower definition than that given in the list. For example, number 2 ASHES was translated into each dialect by a term expressing 'coarse hard ash' rather than one indicating 'fine white ash'; number 4 BELLY was matched with local words for 'stomach' instead of those given for 'intestines'; forms indicating 'coldness of air', in contrast to those meaning 'coldness of an object', were chosen as equivalent to item 15 COLD; those indicating 'fulness of a container', rather than 'fulness of one's stomach', were given for item 32 FULL; and number 66 RED was rendered 'rusty red' instead of 'bright red'.

#### Basis for cognation

Items between the dialects were regarded as cognate, and thus received a plus (+) reading rather than a negative (-) one, first, if each form was identical (i.e., phonemically analogous):

Number 31 FOOT: EK: /bado/, WO: /bado/, MO: /bado/.

Items were also considered cognate if the only difference between them was one or more series of correspondent sounds:

Number 98 HOT: EK: /tani/, WO: /ndani/, MO: /ndani/, where the series of correspondencies is: t-, nd-, nd-; number 67 ROAD: EK: /itá/, WO: /hindá/, where two series of correspondencies are identified:  $\phi$ -, h- and -t-, -nd-.

The only difference between a number of cognate forms was the presence of compounding or suffixation in one dialect but not in the other:

Number 88 TONGUE: WO: /debegada/, MO: /dabe/1 where /-gada/ is the second half of the compound; number 57 NAME: EK: /eka/, WO: /ekada/, where the nominal suffix /-da/ occurs with the Wodani form.

Still other items received a plus reading because their stem forms were known to be identical:

Number 16 COME: EK: /mei/, WO: /mena/, MO: /mija/, where the verb stem in each dialect is /me-/ and the respective suffixes: /-ei/, /-na/ (or /-ina/), and /-ija/.

# Rates of Retention

In Table III the dialects within each language of Ek-Wo-Mo are compared. The high percentage of cognation between each grouping (94.6-100%) reveals that each language of this family is highly homogeneous. In Table IV, on the other hand, the lexical retention rates between the language of this family are seen to be relatively low, especially between Ekagi and Moni: 51.1-52.8% between Ekagi and Wodani (see the inner block of Table IV), 38.6-41.8% between Wodani and Moni (see the bottom row), but only 27.5-28.6% between Ekagi and Moni (see the right column). These relationships can be generalized

TABLE III

<u>Rate of Retention between Dialects of Ek-Wo-Mo Languages</u>				
Language	Dialect Pairs	Total Items	Cognate Items	Percentage of Cognation
Ekagi	EK(T)-EK(P)	91	86	94.6
Wodani	WO(UMB)-WO(MK)	91	88	96.7
	WO(UMB)-WO(LMB)	88	84	95.4
	WO(MK)-WO(LMB)	88	84	95.4
	MO(H)-MO(D)	91	91	100.0
Moni	MO(H/D)-MO(K)	91	90	98.9

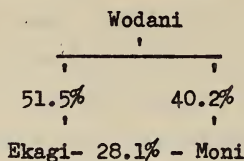
TABLE IV

<u>Rate of Retention between Languages of Ek-Wo-Mo Family</u>				
	Wodani (LMB)	Wodani (UMB)	Wodani (MK)	Moni (K/H/D)
Ekagi(T)	51.7 (45.5:88)	51.1 (46.5:91)	50.5 (46:91)	28.6 (26:91)
Ekagi(P)	52.8 (46.5:88)	51.1 (46.5:91)	51.6 (47:91)	27.5 (25:91)
Moni(K/H/D)	38.6 (34:88)	41.8 (38:91)	40.1 (36.5:91)	



by averaging the percentages of cognation between each language pair and representing them as follows:

FIGURE I

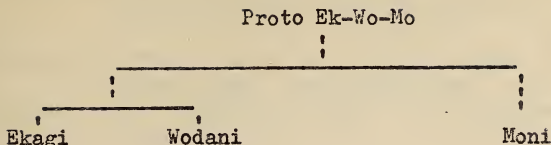


### Conclusion

From these comparisons we can infer that in the diversification of proto Ek-Wo-Mo, the first separation was between dialects of proto Ek-Wo and proto Moni; the second between those of proto Ekagi and proto Wodani. By glottochronological time depth measurements (Swadesh 1955), the former would have taken place about 3000 years ago; the latter about 2000 years ago. These separations, however, could hardly have been clear-cut, since Moni shares 15.9% of its basic vocabulary with Wodani which it does not share with Ekagi, and another 1.6% with Ekagi which it does not share with Wodani (see sections 3 and 4 of word list, Appendix A). This suggests that during the periods of intensive diversification, proto Moni and the Wodani branch of proto Ek-Wo continued to influence each other more than did proto Moni and the Ekagi branch. It also shows that there has likely occurred more borrowing between Wodani and Moni than between Ekagi and Moni. Phonological similarity between Wodani and Moni also supports this conclusion.

The historical relationships between dialects of Ek-Wo-Mo are represented as follows:

FIGURE II



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>These terms: family and micro-phylum are based on Swadesh's classification of languages according to their percentage of shared basic vocabularies (Swadesh 1955) where dialects which share at least 81% of their vocabularies are regarded as members of the same language, those which share from 28-81% of their vocabularies, as members of the same family, from 12-28%, as members of the same stock, and from 4-12% as members of the same micro-phylum.

<sup>2</sup>Some Moni speakers are also bilingual with Dem in this area.

<sup>3</sup>Our own field work in West Irian has been done mostly among speakers of two of these linking languages: among the Moni of the Kemandoga valley during the years 1953-55 with occasional extended visits to Wodani groups in the lower Kemandoga and upper Mbijandoga valleys, and among the Western Dani in the Ilaga from 1956 to the present. Besides extensive field notes in these languages, material on which this paper is based include the following: a 2000 word dictionary which we prepared in 1955, and two papers on Moni phonology and morphology (Cutts 1956, Larson and Larson 1958); two Ekagi dictionaries (Doble 1960, Steltenpool 1969) and three essays on Ekagi (Doble 1962a, 1962b, 1962c).

<sup>4</sup>Doble interprets vowel length in Ekagi as the second vowel of a geminate sequence (1962a).

<sup>5</sup>Segmental phonemes occur only in open (C)V and (C)VV syllables in each language of Ek-Wo-Mo. In these environments their distributions are unlimited, except for the following: in Ekagi and Wodani, only sequences of geminate vowels mentioned above and the following non-identical vowel sequences are permitted: /ai/, /au/, /ei/, /eu/, /oi/ and /ou/; in Moni geminate vowel sequences do not occur, and only the following non-identical

sequences are possible: /ai/, /ae/, /ao/, /au/, /iu/, /ui/, /oe/ and /eo/. For more detailed descriptions of these distributions in Ekagi and Moni, see Doble 1962a: 152-155 and Larson and Larson 1958: 412-413.

<sup>6</sup>Patterns of vowel reduction and vowel assimilation account for these vowel losses: e + e e in Ekagi (mei me- + -ei); e + i e in Wodani (mena me- + -ina); e + i i in Moni (mija me- + -ija).

#### APPENDIX A

##### Plausible Cognate Items between Representative Dialects of Ek-Wo-Mo

This list is based on Swadesh's 100 word basic vocabulary list of 1955. Here only cognate items between dialects of Ek-Wo-Mo are listed in the following four sections: (1) between Ekagi, Wodani and Moni, (2) between Ekagi and Wodani, but not Moni, (3) between Wodani and Moni, but not Ekagi, and (4) between Ekagi and Moni, but not Wodani.

##### (1) Cognate Items between Ekagi, Wodani and Moni

<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>EKAGI(P)</u>	<u>WODANI(UMB)</u>	<u>MONI(K)</u>
1. ALL	utoma	utuma	ondoma
3. BARK/SKIN	kadó	ebada	ada
11. BREAST	ama	ama	ama
16. COME	mei	mena	mija
19. DRINK/EAT	nai	nona	nuija
22. EARTH	maki	makai	mai
31. FOOT	bado	bado	bado
33. GIVE ME	nenii	nenina	nindija
39. HEAR	juwii	juna	jutija
42. I	ani	nii, niime	a, andi
43. KILL ME	nagii	nagina	nutija
44. KNEE	kaguma	kagu	aka
64. MAN	jame	me	me
71. SAY	etii	henena	ndija, hindija
73. SEED	ijo	ijo	iu
74. SIT	animakai	anina, animakana	ambikija
76. SLEEP	uno umii	unu umina	unu undija
86. THIS	kii, kou	kome	ka, kogi
87. THOU	aki	akai	aka
91. TWO	wijá	wijá	hija



## APPENDIX A (cont'd)

ENGLISH	EKAGI(P)	WODANI(UMB)	MONI(K)
93. HOT	tani	ndani	ndani
95. WE	inii, inai	ini, inime	i, indi
96. WHAT	má	má	má
98. WHO	meime	mí	mí

(2) Cognate Items between Ekagi and Wodani, but not Moni

4. BIG	ebo, ibo	ibu, ebo	tope
6. BIRD	bedo	bido	beka
9. BLOOD	emo	emo	eka
10. BONE	mitoo	mitoo	iwa
17. DIE	bokai	bokona	hitija
27. FEATHER	ijo	hijo	to
28. FIRE	bodija	bida	usa
45. KNOW	epi	ipi	jaki
46. LEAF	ije	ije	hoka
50. LOUSE	uka	uka	amu
55. MOON	agoo	agoo	tinawi
57. NAME	eka	ekada	eje
58. NECK	ogo	ongooto, minaweda	kobo
61. NOSE	juma	juma	jange
63. ONE	ena, kate	naa	hako
65. RAIN	edi	hidi	janga
67. ROAD	itá	hindá	kejako
68. ROOT	mani, opa	mani	taki
69. ROUND	punugu	mbutugu	obo
72. SEE	dou	duna	inija
79. STAND	joonii	jinina	akikija
89. TOOTH	egó	hego	baga
90. TREE	pija	pija	bo
94. WATER	uwo	uwo	du
97. WHITE	pokado	pokode	peja

(3) Cognate Items between Wodani and Moni, but not Ekagi

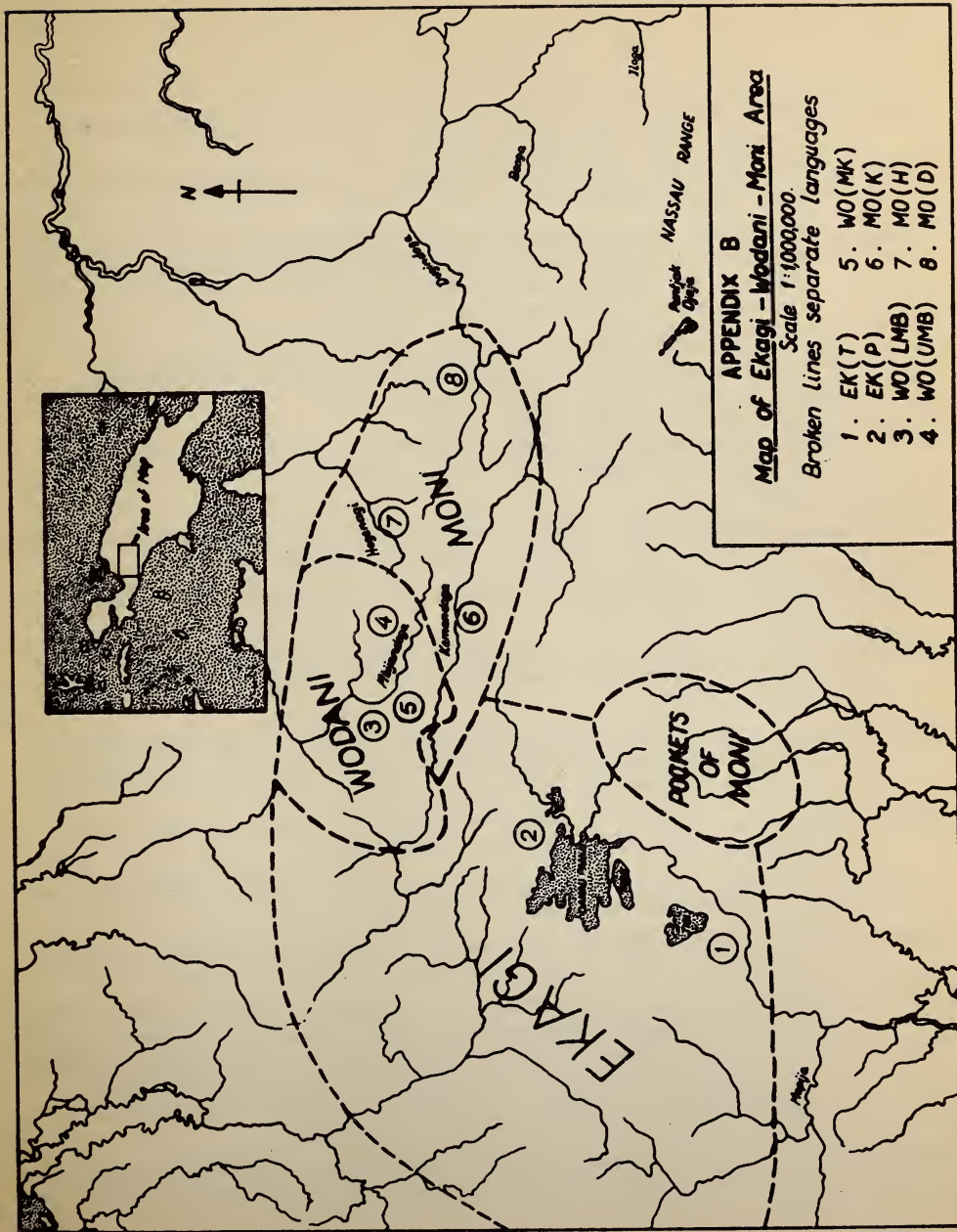
4. BELLY	modo	tina	sena
7. BITE	takumai	waja tena, ngamena	wajaija
8. BLACK	buna	dingi	dingi
14. CLOUD	jabai	tinu	kunu
20. DRY	wei, gee	kegogo tina	kekoko dija
26. FAT	daka	bamba	bamba
32. FULL	ebetume, edidaa	patuka tina	pasukija

## APPENDIX A (cont'd)

	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>EKAGI(P)</u>	<u>WODANI(UMB)</u>	<u>MONI(K)</u>
40.	HEART	kegepa	digimba	dukumudu
52.	MANY	wedaba, umina	iba	epokoma
62.	NOT, NO	beu	táu	tawa
70.	SAND	íí	tadida	tadi
78.	SMOKE	nakagi	undu, ugi	ugi
81.	STONE	mogo	huma	homa
88.	TONGUE	etá	debegada	dabe
92.	WALK, GO	uwii	pigina	puija

(4) Cognate Items between Ekagi and Moni, but not Wodani

37.	HAND	gane	jakada	hane
82.	SUN	meuka(P), tani(T)	dame	emondani





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## BOOK REVIEWS

GARDENS OF WAR : Life and Death in the New Guinea Stone Age.

Robert Gardner and Karl G. Heider with an Introduction by Margaret Mead (1968)  
Random House, New York.

ICHTISAR :

Gardens of War adalah sebuah buku bergambar dengan tulisan singkat mengenai tata hidup orang Baliem. Penulisan buku ini adalah satu hasil dari Peabody Expedition ke Lembah Baliem yang diadakan oleh Harvard University pada tahun 1961.

Walaupun tata hidup orang Baliem mengalami perubahan dengan tcepatnja akan tetapi foto2 yang indah dalam buku tersebut (kebanyakan berwarna) melukiskan suatu tata hidup yang tjemerlang pada waktu itu. Pengarang2 dari buku ini telah mengajukan pertanyaan kepada Gunung Agung di Djakarta dan Djajapura "Mengapa buku tersebut sangat sulit diperoleh di Indonesia tetapi mudah diperoleh diluar negeri?" Mereka pertjaja bahwa buku ini seharusnya tersedia oleh karena menjadikan suatu tjatatan/dokumentasi tata hidup dari suatu suku di Irian Barat yang sangat menarik.

Peninjau2 buku tersebut telah mengadakan kritik terhadap buku ini. Buku ini memuat beberapa kritik2 mengenai pekerdjaan para missionaris di Lembah Baliem, lagi pula dalam buku itu dikatakan bahwa orang2 Dani telah ditakdirkan menjadi "parasit2 sebagai akibat dari pada desakan untuk merubah tjara hidup mereka, chususnja oleh karena peperangan dilarang.-

Peninjau2 buku itu berpendapat bahwa Gardner dan Heider tidak memberikan penghargaan yang tjukup terhadap pekerdjaan para missionaries dan pe-djabat2 pemerintah dalam hubungan mereka dengan orang2 Baliem. Walaupun mengajukan kritik2, tetapi para peninjau buku itu mengakui bahwa buku ini adalah sebuah buku yang bagus. Mutu foto2nja sangat tinggi.

Many picture books have appeared concerning Irian Barat (West New Guinea). In words and pictures, these volumes have sought to portray the life and culture of its people. In some cases the accompanying descriptive texts have been considerably long, while in other cases, the texts have been quite short. Gardens of War, is one of these picture books with text.

Gardens of War, appeared as a result of the Peabody Expedition undertaken by Harvard University in 1961. The expedition focused its attention on the highlands of Irian Barat, in the Baliem Valley. Although the expedition



was undertaken in 1961, the book under discussion did not appear until 1968. The reason for the delay in publication is given by Gardner in the foreword. He tells us that the original responsibility for this publication was given to Michael Rockefeller. Due to the sudden and tragic death of Michael Rockefeller this was never to be. Hence, in 1968, Gardner with the collaboration of Karl G. Heider, produced the present volume.

The authors have chosen to divide the book into six sections or chapters. In each of these they describe in words and through the use of still photographs aspects of Dani culture. The first chapter, "Appearances", deals with what one sees as he looks at the Dani culture. Chapter two, "Skills", deals with how a stone age people build their houses, construct their fences, fashion their tools and weapons. The next section concerns itself with the nourishment of the Dani: their gardens, food, and the care of their pigs. Chapter four deals with the play of Dani children thereby providing in effect, a mirror of the realities of adult life: war and survival. "Ghosts" is the topic of chapter five. Here the authors present the magical practices and beliefs of the people. The last chapter from which the authors have drawn the theme for the book as a whole is on warfare or "Violence." This, in the authors' view, is the central theme of Dani culture.

To accomplish these purposes the authors made appropriate choices from a total of 26,000 photographs originally taken by the expedition. Of these, 8,500 were colour exposures. Three hundred and thirty-seven photographs taken by various members of the Peabody expedition are used in the present volume. The result of their choices is obvious. The pictures contained in the book are, on a one to one basis, good. They are instructive and of such quality that they will be recalled over and over again by anyone who sees them. That so many unique pictures should appear in a single volume is not surprising. The people photographed by the expedition were completely unaware of what a photograph was. In addition, the members of the expedition were very careful never to show their results to the people themselves. (Personal communication from Karl G. Heider to Father Jules Camps.) Thus, the people were unaware of the purposes of the strangers or the significance of their complex

apparatus. They were unconcerned at their presence.

The introductory remarks to each chapter do not pretend to be anthropological essays, as such. These remarks are pertinent, however, being both reliable and readable. In point of fact from these remarks one can imagine that he is present at the first meeting with the Dani. While reading this material one is drawn more and more into the reality of Baliem culture. As with Gardner and the other members of the expedition, one can see what they saw and feel what they have felt. The culture comes alive under the scrutiny of these two capable anthropologists who studied and revealed it.

The last chapter entitled "Violence" is apparently for the authors the climax of the Dani culture. Hence, they gave this book the title *Gardens of War*. Indeed, Gardner says this explicitly in the foreword: "The overall aim of the expedition was to make a comprehensive study of a single community of neolithic 'warrior' farmers".(XV) Typical of the author's views is the conclusion with which they finish this chapter, as well as the book. "Without it (meaning war), the culture would be entirely different; indeed, perhaps it could not find sufficient meaning to survive except parasitically as the novelty of missionaries or policeman". (p.144).

While we have chosen not to discuss the merits of such a trite statement, this reminds us of what we can read in Karl G.Heider's book, The Dugum Dani, published in 1970 by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. Here he also employs the word "parasites" when he presents his conclusions as to the future prospects of the Baliem Dani. His pessimistic conclusion is in accord with the sentiment expressed here in Gardens of War. We consider this vision unjustified. It stems from first, an incomplete understanding of the character of the Dani (to us the Dani appear to be sober and realistic); second, their idealization of the "noble savage"; and, third, a negative view of the work of missionaries and government agents in their contacts with the people.

The negative view of the missionaries is also demonstrated by Gardner in his foreword. He writes: "In other Dani areas, their success in making 'converts to Christ' seemed to be due more to a lavish use of trade goods and medicine than to propagation of a belief".(XIV) In our opinion a great

injustice is done to the missionary, particularly the Christian and Missionary Alliance (of whom he speaks), as well as other Protestant denominations. Although the author tries to modify his point, the unfortunate fact remains that he has committed himself in black and white. A pity!

These few mistakes, which might show a certain predisposition, are not detrimental to the value of the book, however. The pictures remain attractive and by and large, excellent. They will undoubtedly become more precious in time as a documentation of a passing culture. Already the culture depicted is changing and adapting to the greater society of Irian Barat and Indonesia. The remarks that introduce each chapter remain, in our opinion, well formulated and not over-burdening.

Should another printing of this volume be forthcoming, which seems highly probable, we would make some necessary corrections of errors that detract from the present edition. Upon close examination we see that some of the small texts are not in accord with their designated pictures. In particular, we refer to the texts found on p.30. These do not correspond with the photographs on p.36. When comparing these pages, the photograph numbered 74 and that numbered 75 do not correspond with the material presented. Number 74, is not the 'lashing of the wood', and number 75 is not of 'slipping the boards'; the reverse is true. On pps.44 and 51, we find a similar situation. Photographs 104 and 105 should be grouped together as they refer and depict the same activity. Number 106 is 'coal wrapping', 107 and 108 are of the 'slope burning', and 109 is, or should be, by itself. These inaccuracies should be corrected in a reprint of the volume. In addition, the full-page photographs on pps.56-57, 58-59, 60-61, are totally out of place. The photographs on pps. 56-57, and 60-61 do not belong in the chapter on nourishment, but in the chapter on violence. The photograph on pps.58-59, depicting funerals, belongs with the chapter on ghosts or perhaps violence. Although the placement of these may have been due to printing errors, the result is nevertheless confusing and perhaps misleading. One omission that we noted in the chapter on nourishment was the lack of pictures on dancing. As dances are a vital part of this particular activity among the Dani, we wonder at this. The photograph on p.60-61 is



described as being for the death of an enemy only.

Finally, we would make this remark, addressed particularly to the Djajapura and Djakarta "Gunung Agung". Why is this book so easy to obtain outside Irian Barat and Indonesia but so difficult to obtain within the country? Any visitor to the Baliem Valley upon seeing this volume is eager to obtain it. This book should be made locally available for it gives each visitor a lasting memory of an unforgettable land and its people.

Jules A.E.Camps ofm and Larry L. Naylor.

#### NOTICE CONCERNING BOOK REVIEWS

The editors welcome reviews of books that directly or indirectly have relevance to West Irian. Readers interested in reviewing particular books should submit to the editors the title of the work, the author, publisher and date of publication. A letter will be written to the publisher requesting a complimentary copy of the book for the reviewer. Suggestions as to books readers would like to have reviewed in the IRIAN are also welcome.

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ON-GOING AND PROPOSED RESEARCH  
CULTURE CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE BALIEM VALLEY

Larry L. Naylor

ICHTISAR :

Lembah Baliem adalah suatu lembah yang terletak dipegunungan tengah Irian Barat, sehingga terisolir dari dunia luar. Penduduknya diperkirakan berjumlah 60.000 jiwa, dan terdapat di Grand Valley dan Dani Barat. Pada tahun terakhir lembah ini didatangi oleh para imigran dari luar, baik dari Irian Barat sendiri maupun dari daerah lain Indonesia.

Walaupun lembah ini baru saja terbuka bagi dunia luar, namun ia merupakan pusat perhatian berbagai macam usaha yang bertujuan membawakan perubahan-perubahan kearah kemajuan bagi penduduk dilembah ini. Matjam usaha telah dilaksanakan dan membawakan hasil yang berbeda beda pula dalam tiorak.

Lembah ini setjara keseluruhan mempunyai suatu karakteristik kebudayaan tersendiri yang sangat kuat. Walaupun demikian, perubahan kebudayaan telah terjadi dan perkembangan barupun sedang berlangsung. Penelitian akan penukaran penukaran kebudayaan dan kemajuan didaerah ini sedang diadakan, dan sangat bernilai baik setjara praktis maupun setjara teoritis.

Mulai bulan November 1971 hingga bulan Februari 1973, akan dilaksanakan penelitian yang dipusatkan pada aspek penukaran kebudayaan dan kemajuan yang telah tertjapai didaerah ini. Untuk mendapatkan perbandingan yang jelas, maka telah ditetapkan daerah-daerah tertentu sebagai tempat penelitian terhadap kebudayaan orang Dani dewasa ini sedang dilaksanakan. Sesudahnya, suatu studi akan diadakan lagi meliputi berbagai aspek kebudayaan jaitu meliputi matjam matjam perubahan yang terjadi, tentang anggaute masyarakatnya, kekuatan-kekuatan apakah yang sedang berlangsung, peranan-peranan apakah yang dimainkan oleh orang asli Dani dan pengaruh dalam proses pendidikan. Penelitian ini akan merupakan petunjuk-petunjuk yang lebih lengkap lagi bagi kita untuk mengetahui tentang Lembah Baliem dan orang-orangnya.

Introduction :

Since the opening of the Baliem Valley, this valley located in the Central highlands of West Irian has drawn a great deal of attention. Although opened in 1954, extensive contact with the outside world really only began in the sixties when missionaries, government agents, and anthropologists began to spread throughout the valley. Interest in this area has been high owing to the natural richness of the valley in agricultural terms, and owing to the people found there living close to a stone age level, in a milieu where warfare was central to the way of life. The people occupying the Baliem have come to be

known as the Dani, their numbers approximating 60,000, although a complete census has never been taken. Traditionally, two linguistic groups have made up the population; the Grand Valley Dani and the Western Dani, both of which fall into the Greater Dani Language Family. The Grand Valley Dani are the more wide-spread and numerous, the Western Dani being found in scattered pockets. The exception to this pattern is in the northern extremity of the valley, an area forming the boundry or transition into the Greater Western Dani areas to the northwest.

Despite a short period of culture contact with the outside world, barely two decades, the people of the Baliem Valley have been the object of intense efforts aimed at their development and Christianization. Economic development has been attempted by the government, the United Nations Project for the Development of West Irian, and certain of the mission groups involved in the valley. These efforts have resulted in varying degrees of success, although they have been intensified in recent years and rapid. A general cultural resistance has characterized the Baliem Valley. Despite this, a great many plans are in the planning stages for future implementation.

Clear enough, culture change has occurred in the Baliem Valley. Warfare, once so characteristic of this valley and its people has all but vanished. Significant changes have also occurred in other areas of the culture, despite the heavy resistance from traditional sectors. The depth of the culture change and the progress of development, as well as future prospects, pose interesting research problems. Such research is now possible and desirable, having both practical significance and theoretical value.

#### The Research :

The research presently being undertaken, from November 1971 through February 1973, focuses on the issues and aspects of culture change and development in the Baliem Valley. It is being undertaken to provide useful information to the various agencies involved in the development of the valley and those interested in the study of the Baliem Valley and its people. While based in Wamena, the government centre of the valley, the study will extend into a



number of distinctive sections where contrast and extremes have been the result of contact. The presence of a number of very distinct cultural groups introduces a comparative element into the total study. Although in general terms the research focuses on the present state of Dani culture resulting from contact, the study also directs its attention to various aspects of culture change such as: the kinds of culture change taking place, the agents, the forces operative, the role of the native Dani, and the role of education in the development of this area.

Three distinct areas have been selected for intense study, having been selected on the basis of representativeness to the remainder of the valley. Each of these areas exemplifies one of the reactions of culture change found in the valley. The ultimate is of course to determine the aspects of culture change for the valley as a whole, in so far as possible using representative areas.

It is envisioned that the proposed research, as roughly sketched above will provide information of immediate practical value as well as to provide material of theoretical value for those interested in the study of the valley and its cultures. It is possible that the scope of this research will narrow as data is accumulated. Research of this type, on culture change or its processes, is conspicuously absent for West Irian. Therefore, it is felt that the study outlined should add to, or supplement our present knowledge of the Baliem Valley.

PERUBAHAN STRUKTUR SOCIAL MASJARAKAT DAERAH K.P.S.MIMIKA PADA MASA KOLONISASI BELANDA (1950-1960): STUDY DALAM RANGKA PENJUSUNAN THESIS

H. Renwarin

ABSTRACT :

This study, changes in the social structure of the people of Mimika from 1950 to 1960, is for a thesis in the History Department, Institute for Teacher Training, Djokjakarta. It is intended to examine the particular roles played by various groups during this period, namely, the Dutch, missionaries, government personnel, as well as Kei islanders and other non-Mimika groups living in the area.

To date, the Mimika people have achieved little progress. The researcher attributes this to their semi-nomadic way of life, the fact that outside groups, particularly the Kei islanders have a different culture and tend to form almost a superior caste, and the presence of the Dutch as colonials during that period and the discriminatory education system they imposed.

Jang mendjadi dasar daripada study jang sedang saja lakukan ini ialah menjiapkan diri demi penunaiian tugas.

Hal jang ingin diketahui ialah status dan peranan dalam struktur masjarakat Mimika jang terdiri dari sekelompok ketjil orang2 Belanda sebagai penguasa (baik penjebar2 agama maupun pegawai2 pemerintahan), golongan "perantara" (pegawai2 rendahan dari daerah Indonesia lainnja--terbanjak adalah orang orang Kei sebagai guru2 Sekolah Dasar dan orang2 Irian Barat asli jang bukan Mimika) dan orang2 Mimika asli jang ber-"perintah"- mentaliteir"(istilah Dr. J. Pouwer). Mobilitas vertikal sosial penduduk asli berlangsung sangat lambat. Hal ini disebabkan oleh :

1. keadaan penduduk Mimika asli jang semi-nomadis disertai perasaan etnosentrisme jang kuat.
2. pihak pendatang--terutama orang2 Kei berlatar belakang kebudayaan berkasta,
3. orang2 Belanda sebagai kolonialis dan
4. sistim pendidikan kolonialistis jang memang otokratis.

Adapun tudjuan jang ingin ditjapan ialah untuk mengenal djiwa sebagian besar penduduk daerah ini (orang2 Kei dan orang2 Mimika asli) dalam masa tersebut diatas. Pengenalan sebagaimana jang dimaksudkan memungkinkan dapat dilakukannja pengarahan pada satu aktivitas pembangunan. Sifat daripada study ini merupakan saran bagi pihak2 jang memerlukanja.

Dengan mengenal keadaan masjarakat pada masa itu kita dapat menarik "satu garis" melewati masa sekarang terus kemasa jang akan datang, terutama dalam hubungannja dengan projek pertambangan didaerah K.P.S. Mimika.

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## SURVEY OF THE ECONOMY OF WEST IRIAN

Ross Garnaut and Chris Manning\*

ICHTISAR :

Penulis article ini adalah seorang ekonomi dari The New Guinea Research Unit, Port Moresby and Department of Economic, ANU, Canberra. Penelitian yang dilakukan ialah pengumpulan data ekonomi di Irian Barat, yang akan dianalisa untuk menentukan kemungkinan2 yang dapat ditempuh dalam politik ekonomi bagi Irian Barat pada waktu2 mendatang. Hasil penelitian yang dilakukan ini akan dimuat dalam "Bulletin of Indonesian Studies" dan akan diterbitkan oleh ANU pada bulan November j.a.d.-

In this survey we intend to gather some of the basic data on the economy of West Irian, look at present economic policy orientations and discuss some possible alternatives for the future. It is hoped that the survey will fill a gap in outside knowledge of the economic structure of West Irian and also provide information on recent economic developments.

We plan to divide the survey into a number of fairly distinct yet interrelated sections. It will begin with a review of basic physical and human resources (including data on natural resources, topography, skills, and population density) with the aim of providing a picture of long and medium term obstacles and inducements to economic change.

From the basic data we will look at various degrees of economic integration both within West Irian, and also West Irian integration within the national and international economy. A survey of trade and resource flows, price and wage limits, and transport costs should provide basic indices for measuring such integration. Special attention will be given to the communications network and government policies which both encourage and restrict economic integration locally, nationally, and internationally.

A detailed study will also be made of government and non-government

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\* The respective authors are from the the new Guinea Research Unit, Port Moresby, and the Department of Economics, Research Schools of Pacific Studies, ANU, Canberra. The survey is sponsored by the A.N.U., and the authors have also benefited greatly from support given by the University of Tjenderawasih.



development efforts especially since the initiation of the Five Year Plan, in 1969. Finally, bearing in mind present and potential economic integration we will attempt to evaluate the viability of present and past plans, and to look at possible alternatives for the future.

It is hoped that the survey will be published in the Bulletin of Indonesian Studies in November, 1972.

#### CONTROL OVER EXPORT OF ARTIFACTS

In recent months the depletion of the few remaining artifacts of historical worth has become so great that the authorities now appear to have been galvanized into taking drastic action. It is anticipated that stringent regulations will be laid down concerning the removal of artifacts. It is to be hoped that such regulations while arresting the removal of items that belong to the cultural heritage of the people will not impede the sale and export of newly made ethnographic items. The sale of bows, arrows, stone axes and the like represents a source of income (in some cases, virtually the only source) to people in the more remote areas.

What has precipitated the current concern has been the presence of professional collectors purporting to be anthropologists engaged in short "surveys"; these individuals have succeeded in buying up and removing many items of historical value. In more than one case scientists from reputable universities have either deceived the authorities as to the nature of their real intentions in West Irian or, while carrying out bona fide research, have collected valuable artifacts and removed them from the country under the label of "specimens". If the Indonesian authorities now display suspicion towards scientists from abroad wishing to "look into research possibilities" or to undertake short "surveys", it is understandable.

What is called for before it is too late is joint collecting expeditions undertaken by foreign museums in cooperation with our own university. The Rector and the Director of the Institute for Anthropology are anxious to hear from museums or universities interested in such joint undertakings.

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## UNIVERSITY AND INSTITUTE NEWS

Symposium on Educational Change in West Irian

M. Hasan

Sixteen papers were read at this symposium held at the University June 26 - 29th, 1972. The broad topics covered were policy and planning, teacher education, new media in education, education and development and the role of the university in development. Papers were read by participants from Djajapura, Djakarta, Port Moresby and Goroka.

The symposium revealed many weaknesses in the present educational system in the Province but in a positive way provided much data upon which revisions in the system could be made. In drawing many people together who are concerned with education the symposium served to stimulate much discussion and bring about an awareness of the part individuals can play in working for improvements.

Symposium pendidikan di Irian Barat 1972 telah dirintis dengan suatu Diskusi Pendahuluan yang diselenggarakan pada tgl. 16, 17, dan 18 Desember 1971 bertempat dikampus Universitas Tjenderawasih Abepura. Dalam Diskusi Pendahuluan itu telah didengar pandangan tokoh2 pendidikan tentang beberapa masalah yang dirasakan ada dalam penyelenggaraan pendidikan di Irian Barat. Mengingat demikian kompleksnya masalah itu maka dianggap perlu merumuskan pandangan yang dikemukakan selama tiga hari diskusi oleh suatu team yang terdiri dari wakil2 instansi, lembaga dan jajasan yang ikut dalam diskusi tsb. Perumusan itu dikenal sebagai Concluding Report yang berkesimpulan, bahwa kebidjaksanaan umum pendidikan harus ditrapkan di Irian Barat dengan memperhitungkan kondisi lokal Irian Barat, kemungkinan djawaban terhadap masalah pendidikan di Irian Barat dan dukungan terhadap gagasan Symposium Pendidikan yang direntjanakan akan dilangsungkan sekitar bulan Djuni/Djuli 1972.

Untuk membantu memetjahkan beberapa masalah dibentuklah suatu team lain yang dikenal dengan nama Study Centre. Study Centre ini telah bekerdja dengan membahas berbagai persoalan yang dilontarkan dalam Diskusi Pendahuluan. Pengerdjaan itu diakhiri dengan penjusunan dan pengirisan angket yang melalui Perwakilan Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Propinsi Irian Barat disebarkan kepada 110 SD diseluruh Irian Barat; djumlah 110 ini adalah sebagai sample (10%).

Demikianlah sebagai realisasi harapan yang terdapat dalam Diskusi Pendahuluan, maka bertempat dikampus Universitas Tjenderawasih pada tgl. 26, 27, 28 dan 29 Djuni 1972 telah berlangsung Symposium Pendidikan dengan tema Pembaharuan pendidikan di Irian Barat. Para pemrasaran yang terdiri dari tokoh2 dan ahli2 pendidikan yang berada di Irian Barat, Djakarta dan TPNG berdjumlah 16 orang, masing2 mengemukakan sebuah paper yang semuanja berkisar sekitar pokok pembahasan tentang :

1. Kebidjaksanaan dan perentjanaan
2. Pendidikan Guru

3. Media Baru dalam pendidikan
4. Pendidikan dan pembangunan
5. Peranan perguruan tinggi dalam pembangunan Irian Barat.

Terlepas dari bagaimana hasil Symposium itu dan bagaimana follow-up-nja jang rasanja masih terlalu pagi untuk menilainja sekarang, maka beberapa hal jang menarik perhatian tentang Symposium itu sendiri perlu djugalah ditjatat:

- (1) Enambelas papers telah masuk dan dibatjakan oleh :
  - 1 orang ahli dari BPP Djakarta;
  - 6 orang ahli dari instansi pemerintah dan universitas di Djajapura;
  - 3 orang ahli dari Unesco Djajapura;
  - 2 orang ahli dari Jajasan<sup>2</sup> di Irian Barat;
  - 1 orang ahli dari Unesco TPNG;
  - 2 orang ahli dari Department of Education TPNG;
  - 1 orang ahli dari University of PNG.
- (2) Keenambelas papers itu memperoleh sambutan jang hangat dari para pe-serta, sehingga dirasa kekurangan waktu untuk pertanjaan<sup>2</sup>. Hanja 1 paper jang terpaksa tidak dapat dibahas, tetapi tetap dibatjakan oleh orang lain karena penjusunnja berhalangan hadir.
- (3) Semua sidang<sup>2</sup> Symposium sedjak sidang pertama sampai sidang ke-7 mendapat perhatian jang besar dari masjarakat, baik jang khusus diundang maupun para peminat lain, ternjata dari djumlah jang hadir jang masing<sup>2</sup> tidak kurang dari 100 orang.
- (4) Meskipun para peserta terdiri dari orang<sup>2</sup> jang tidak semuanja mahir berbahasa Indonesia, namun sidang<sup>2</sup> tetap berdjalan lantjar. Para pe-serta jang mahir berbahasa Indonesia menggunakan bahasa Indonesia, jang tidak mahir, berbahasa Inggris. Meskipun interpreters tersedia tetapi rupa<sup>2</sup>nja terdjemahan hanja diperlukan dari bahasa Indonesia kebahasa Inggris dan tidak sebaliknya.
- (5) Ikut sertanja partisipan dari luar Djajapura banjak memberikan bahan bahan baru tentang masalah pendidikan di Irian Barat disamping masalah<sup>2</sup> baru jang djuga dikemukakan oleh ahli<sup>2</sup> dari Djajapura sendiri, baik jang datang dari pedalaman Irian Barat maupun dari Djakarta dan TPNG. Djakarta membawakan djuga udara segar dalam pengetahuan masjarakat daerah ini tentang kebidjaksanaan Pusat. TPNG menambah rasa saling mengerti bukan sadja antar masalah pendidikan di Irian Barat dan TPNG melainkan djuga antara kita dengan negara tetangga kita jang setjara geografis adalah jang terdekat.

Adakah manfaat jang dapat dipetik dari Symposium ini ? Untuk mendjawab pertanjaan demikian tentu sadja pendapat orang amat ber-beda<sup>2</sup>, tergantung dari segi mana pandangan itu diarahkan. Tetapi betapapun besarnja tjela, kelemahan<sup>2</sup> dan kekurangan<sup>2</sup>nja, baik dalam penjelenggaraan maupun dalam isinja, rasanja manfaat itu pasti ada:



1. Dengan data yang dikemukakan oleh para partisipan diakui atau setidaknya diketahui kekurangan, kelemahan dan kesalahan dalam pelaksanaan pendidikan di daerah ini selama ini.
2. Memang hasil Symposium bukan merupakan resolusi apalagi keputusan yang mengikat yang mesti dijalankan, namun dengan ikut-sertanya pihak penyelenggara pendidikan di daerah ini, baik pemerintah maupun jajasan swasta, maka hal yang dikemukakan dalam Symposium itu sediakit banyak dapat dijadikan bahan oleh pihak bersangkutan dalam usaha perbaikan. Tentu saja amat diharapkan adanya pengambilan langkah langkah positif oleh pihak bersangkutan itu.
3. Betapapun ketiilnya, sudah ada usaha ke arah pembaharuan pendidikan di daerah ini. Selama langkah itu tidak berpengaruh negatif, maka ia akan merupakan sumbangan positif, sebab tanpa adanya langkah pasti tidak akan terdjadi perubahan apa. Apabila dalam pembaharuan pendidikan itu kita toch masih juga belum maju, maka setidaknya dengan Symposium ini kita sudah mulai 'jalan ditempat', dus sudah ada gerak, yang mudah akan dilandjutkan dengan pelaksanaan "maju-jalan".
4. Symposium ini melibatkan demikian banyak orang di Djajapura dan sekitarnya. Semangat Symposium terasa benar disekitar hari penyelenggaraannya. Ini dapat dipandang sebagai salahsatu puntjak gelombang yang mudah dapat menimbulkan riak lain dalam rangkaian kegiatan yang sematjam, baik itu merupakan seminar, penelitian ataupun usaha lain yang menjangkut segi akademis. Getaran demikian memang dirasa perlu untuk menggugah dan menimbulkan gairah penelitian dikalangan para sardjana dan ahli di daerah ini, baik pada lingkungan instansi-instansi pemerintah, jajasan swasta maupun dan terutama didalam lingkungan universitas.

#### Seminar di Agats

Melalui kerdjasama dengan lembaga Anthropologi, suatu seminar mengenai persoalan pembangunan di Asmat telah diadakan pada bulan Mei yang lalu bertepatan dikeuskupan misi Katolik Galib Sutji di Agats. Tulisan telah dibatjakan oleh pihak Misi Katolik dan petugas pemerintah (KPS). Juga sebuah tulisan yang dibawakan oleh Jacques Hoogerbrugger mengenai situasi ukiran Asmat saat ini dan sebuah tulisan yang dibawakan oleh Dr. Gottfried Lang, Professor Anthropology dari Universitas Colorado, USA yang mengemukakan mengenai pembangunan setjara teoritis. Ia telah mengadakan penelitian mengenai koperasi kaju yang telah diusahakan oleh Misi Katolik di Asmat.

Semua tulisan pada seminar dan juga keputusan hasil diskusi akan dimuat dalam penerbitan IRIAN yang akan datang.

Under the auspices of the Institute for Anthropology, a seminar dealing with problems of development in Asmat was held last May at the Catholic Crozier Mission, Agats. Papers were read by both mission and government personnel. There was also a paper by Jacque Hooebrugger on the present state of Asmat woodcarving and a theoretical paper on development by Dr. Gottfried Lang, Professor of Anthropology from the University of Colorado, USA who has been making a study of the lumber co-operatives initiated by the Catholic Mission in Asmat.

The papers read at the seminars as well as summary statements of the discussion will comprise the next issue of the IRIAN.

### Childrens' Art Competition

An art competition for primary school children was organized by the University with the cooperation of the Education Department and UNESCO. Over 800 entries were received from virtually all parts of the Province. Some 150 of the drawings were placed on display at the University during the symposium. A selection of the forty best drawings was made by a panel of judges and prizes, the cost of which was met by UNESCO, were awarded. It is hoped that this competition will become an annual event.

### University Symposium Papers

It is hoped that a grant from UNESCO will make it possible to publish the papers read at the symposium on Educational Change in West Irian. Those interested in receiving copies should write to Drs. M. Hasan, University of Tjenderawasih.

### Appeal for Archaeological Data

Anyone obtaining information on potential archaeological sites anywhere in West Irian is asked to write to Mr. Bob Mitton, c/o the Institute for Anthropology. Mr. Mitton has consented to organize a central file of such data on behalf of the Institute. In writing the exact location of the site and general characteristics should be noted.

Barangsiapa yang mendapatkan penerangan bagi seorang ahli ilmu purbakala bertempat dimana saja di Irian Barat diminta menulis pada Mr. Bob Mitton c/o The Institute for Anthropology. Mr. Mitton telah menyetujui untuk membentuk suatu pusat pengumpulan data untuk Institute. Dalam menulis harap ditjantumkan bidang yang tepat dan tjiri umum.

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Jules A.E.Camps :

Fr.Camps, a Franciscan Missionary has spent some nineteen years in West Irian. Since 1963 he has been stationed in the Baliem Valley. Fr.Camps is a previous contributor to the IRIAN

Fr.Camps, seorang misionaris Fransiscan telah tinggal kira2 sembilan belas tahun di Irian Barat. Sedjak tahun 1963 beliau telah bekerdja di Lembah Baliem. Fr.Camps adalah pembantu jang utama dari IRIAN.

Antoine Domaingue:

Before joining UNESCO in 1968 where he was responsible for establishing a radio education service in the Upper Volta, Mr.Domaingue had extensive experience in educational radio and television work in Mauritius, his home country, where he became Assistant Director in the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs. In his present work for UNESCO in West Irian he is particularly concerned with training teachers by using radio broadcasting.

Sebelum bekerdja di UNESCO pada tahun 1968 dimana ia telah dapat mendirikan "Pendidikan Service Radio" bagi tingkatan atas, Mr.Domaingue telah berpengalaman luas dalam pendidikan pekerjaan radio dan televisi di Mauriti - tius, tanah tumpah darahnja, dimana beliau mendjadi Wakil Direktur pada Kemen - trian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Pada saat bekerdja sekarang ini untuk UNESCO di Irian Barat beliau terutama berhubungan dengan pendidikan guru dengan menggunakan radio broadcasting.

Peter Foster :

An Englishman, Peter Foster graduated in agriculture at the Universities of London and Reading. Prior to coming to West Irian, where he is managing the FAO/FUNDWI 27/28 Project "Agricultural Development and Animal Husbandry", based at the Amban Agricultural Research and Education Institute, Manokwari, he was working as Agronomist-Ecologist for more than twenty years in several countries in tropical Africa.

Peter Foster adalah seorang Inggris, tamatan Perguruan Tinggi Pertanian di Universities of London and Reading. Sebelum datang di Irian Barat dimana ia memimpin FAO/FUNDWI 27/28 Project "Agricultural Development and Animal Husbandry", berdasarkan atas Amban Agricultural Research and Education Institute Manokwari, ia bekerdja sebagai ahli agraris untuk lebih dari dua puluh tahun diberbagai kota di Africa.

George Grace :

Dr.Grace is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Hawaii, and is the Editor of the journal, Oceanic Linguistics. His publications are



mainly in the field of Oceanic linguistics. He has carried out field work in various parts of Melanesia, including approximately four months in West Irian in 1955 and 1956.

Dr. George Grace adalah Professor dalam bidang Linguistik di Universitas Hawaii. Beliau juga editor dari majalah Oceanic Linguistics. Karja2 jang telah beliau terbitkan adalah terutama dalam bidang linguistik oceania. Beliau telah melakukan penelitian2 linguistik dipelbagai daerah dari Melanesia, termasuk kira2 empat bulan di Irian Barat pada tahun 1955 dan 1956.

Mohammad Hasan :

Mohammad Hasan gained a master's degree in Geography from the Department of Teacher Training, University of Indonesia, Djakarta, in 1962. He is now Senior Lecturer in geography at the University of Tjenderawasih. Drs. Hasan was the programme chairman of the Symposium on Education held at the university in June, 1972.

Mohammad Hasan, Sardjana Pendidikan jurusan Geografi, FKIP Universitas Indonesia Djakarta 1962; sekarang Lektor Kepala dalam Geographi social pada jurusan Geographi Fakultas Keguruan Universitas Tjenderawasih Djajapura. Dalam Symposium Pendidikan beliau mendjabat Ketua Panitia. Symposium ini diadakan di Universitas pada bulan Juni 1972.

Gordon F. and Milfred O. Larson :

The Larsons are American missionaries under the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CAMA) working with KINGMI (Kemah Injil Geredja Masehi Indonesia) primarily in Bible translation and adult literacy among the Western Dani of the Ilaga Valley. Gordon Larson has recently returned from the University of Michigan, USA, where he has been doing graduate study towards a doctorate in Anthropological Linguistics.

Keluarga Larsons adalah missionaries CAMA dari Amerika jang bekerdja dengan KINGMI (Kemah Injil Geredja Masehi Indonesia). Mereka bertugas terutama untuk menterjemahkan Kitab Suci dan pemberantasan buta huruf bagi orang dewasa diantara masjarakat Dani Barat di Lembah Ilaga. Gordon Larson baru kembali dari Michigan University, USA, dimana beliau telah menyelesaikan studinya untuk memperoleh gelar sardjana dalam ilmu Anthropological Linguistics.

Willem G. Manua :

Willem Manua graduated from B II Pedagogic Course in Bandung in 1951. Before coming to West Irian he was a lecturer at the Teaching Training College, Manado. In West Irian he was the principal of the Christian Junior High School at Biak and from 1964 to 1969, the Principal of the Teacher Training College at Djajapura. In 1971 he became head of the Teacher Training Division in the Department of Education and Culture, Djajapura.

Willem G. Manua adalah seorang Indonesia tamatan kursus B-II Pedagogi Bandung tahun 1961. Sebelum bekerja di Irian Barat beliau menjadi guru SPG Negeri Manado. Beliau berada di Irian Barat sejak Desember 1962 dan berturut-turut menjadi Kepala SMP/JPK Biak selama 14 bulan dan Kepala SPG Negeri Djajapura dari thn.1964 s/d Febr.1969. Kemudian bekerja pada Inspeksi Pendidikan Guru. Sejak Oktober 1971 diangkat Kepala Kantor Pembinaan Pendidikan Guru dan Tenaga Teknis Perwakilan Dept. P dan K Prop. Irian Barat di Djajapura.

#### Jeremias M'Bait :

An Asmat, Jeremias M'Bait has been a teacher of religion and also associated with the FUNDWI handicraft project. He is a previous contributor to the IRIAN.

Beliau adalah seorang Asmat, Jeremias M'Bait menjabat sebagai guru agama dan juga berhubungan dengan project kerajinan tangan FUNDWI. Beliau adalah pembantu utama dari IRIAN.

#### R.D. Mitton :

R.D.Mitton, an Australian, completed his studies in Geography at Monash University, Victoria, Australia in 1970 after spending a year in Papua New Guinea where his interest in Melanesia was first kindled. He first came to West Irian with Kennecott Mining Company which was exploring a large lease in the eastern highlands. He has now returned to West Irian with Newmont Mining Company which will be working in the Baliem and Enarotali regions.

R.D.Mitton menyelesaikan studinya dalam ilmu Bumi pada Monash University, Victoria, Australia pada thn.1970, setelah tinggal di Papua New Guinea selama setahun dimana minatnya terhadap Melanesia pertama kali dikobarkan. Beliau datang mula2 di Irian Barat dengan Kennecott Mining Company (Perusahaan Pertambangan) yang sedang menjelidiki suatu daerah yang luas di pegunungan timur. Sekarang ia telah kembali ke daerah Baliem dan Enarotali.

#### Larry L. Naylor :

Larry Naylor is a graduate student in Anthropology from Southern Illinois University, USA. He holds an MA in History and before commencing graduate study in Anthropology was, for a number of years, a high school teacher of History. He has had field work experience in Ecuador. It is anticipated that his present field work in the Baliem Valley will lead to a doctorate in Anthropology.

Larry Naylor seorang mahasiswa Anthropology pada Universitas Southern Illinois. Beliau mentjapai gelar sarjana (MA) dalam bidang sejarah dan sebelum beliau memulai studinya dalam bidang Anthropologi selama beberapa tahun ia telah menjadi guru sejarah selama beberapa tahun di sekolah Landjutan Atas. Beliau telah banyak pengalaman bekerja di Ecuador. Ini adalah suatu penghargaan bahwa dalam bidang pekerjaannya sekarang di Lembah Baliem akan

memegang peranan utama dalam gelar doctornja dalam bidang Antropologi.

Parsudi Suparlan :

Drs. Suparlan, an anthropologist and former staff member of the Institute gained his MA from the University of Indonesia. He is currently studying for a Ph.D. in Anthropology at Northern Illinois University, USA.

Drs. Suparlan adalah seorang Antropolog jang memperoleh gelar sardjanja pada Universitas Indonesia. Kini beliau sedang melandjutkan pendidikanja untuk memperoleh gelar doctor (Ph.D.) dalam Antropologi pada Northern Illinois University, USA.

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Manuscripts :

The editors of the IRIAN welcome manuscripts of a theoretical or practical nature that directly or indirectly bear on West Irian. Manuscripts should be typed, double space and may be submitted in either Indonesian or English. If articles are submitted in Dutch the editors will endeavour to have the material translated into one of the above languages. Two copies of articles are required. Each article must be accompanied by an abstract of 200-400 words which, if possible, should be in the language other than that in which the manuscript is written. Articles should be accompanied by a brief biographical note on the author.

Note :

Pandangan yang dinjatakan dalam artikel apa saja dalam IRIAN ini adalah pendapat pengarang dan tidak perlu mewakili pandangan dari Pemerintah Indonesia atau Pemerintah setempat. Para penerbit dari Bulletin ini dan Universitas Tjenderawasih tidak memikul tanggung jawab atas pertanyaan yang mungkin muncul dalam suatu artikel.

The views expressed in any material produced in the IRIAN are the authors' and do not necessarily represent those of the Government of Indonesia or local government authorities. The editors of the IRIAN and the University of Tjenderawasih accept no responsibility for statements that may appear in any article.



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# IRIAN

Bulletin of West Irian Development

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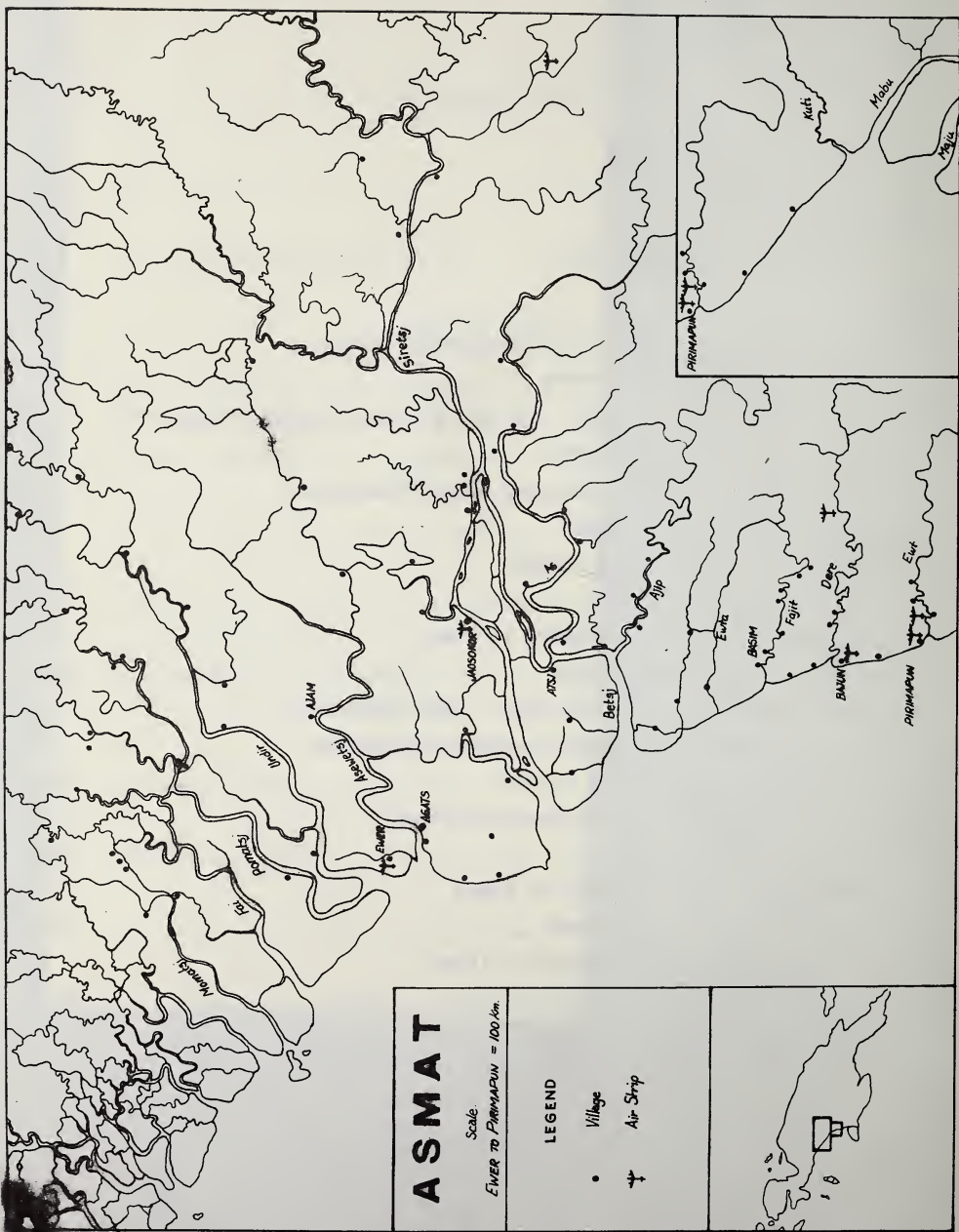


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The map of the Asmat was drawn by R.D. Mitton of Newmont Mining Company.	

Scale.  
EWER TO PIRMAPUN = 100 km.

•	Village
✦	Air Strip



## EDITORIAL

The papers in this issue were read at a seminar on development in the Asmat, held in Agats June 21st to 24th, 1972. The seminar was sponsored jointly by the Institute for Anthropology, University of Cenderawasih, and the Crosier Catholic Mission, Agats. Those who participated in the seminar are listed on page 102.

The holding of seminars of this type where prepared papers are followed by open discussion is common enough in university circles but is not the normal practice of a Christian mission. The readiness of the Crosier mission in Agats to admit fallibility and the concern to seek new approaches to overcome problems is laudable.

Those who participated in the seminar felt that it was highly successful. It remains to be seen whether the mission's hope to foster development in the Asmat can be realized whatever policy changes might be adopted; it is likely that the Asmatters will be overtaken by events over which neither they nor the mission will have any control. However, whatever the eventualities, the papers read at the seminar and the discussions which followed reveal the overriding concern of the mission to safeguard the interests of the Asmat people while, at the same time, facing up to the future in a realistic manner.

Seminars of the type held at Agats are not a common occurrence in West Irian. It is to be hoped that the success of this seminar will encourage other mission groups to hold such meetings in cooperation with government officials.

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Paper2 ini telah dibacakan dalam seminar pembangunan Asmat yang diselenggarakan di Asmat (Agats) dari tanggal 21 sampai dengan tanggal 24 Juni 1972. Seminar ini disponsori bersama-sama oleh Lembaga Anthropologi Universitas Cendrawasih dan Keuskupan Misi Katolik di Agats. Para peserta seminar termuat dalam daftar terlampir.

Bentuk seminar ini adalah seperti yang biasanya diselenggarakan



dalam lingkungan Universitas dimana paper2 itu sudah dipelajari oleh para pemegangnya sehingga dalam pembahasan langsung memasuki acara diskusi terbuka, tetapi hal ini merupakan sesuatu yang baru bagi seorang misionaris, sehingga nampaknya akan mengalami kesulitan. Tetapi atas berkat usaha yang patut dibanggakan dari Uskup Katolik di Agats dalam usaha mencari pendekatan2 baru, maka kekhawatiran ini telah teratasi. Para peserta seminar merasakan ini sebagai suatu usaha yang sukses dengan gemilang. Ini menunjukkan bahwa harapan para misionaris untuk memajukan perkembangan di Asmat dengan menyesuaikan polise apa saja yang bertujuan membawakan perubahan didaerah ini, dapatlah dimengerti, hal ini bukanlah berarti bahwa orang Asmat akan begitu saja menerima semua hal2 yang baru, karena sebelumnya telah diselidiki oleh para misionaris hal2 mana saja yang bisa diterima.

Walaupun demikian paper2 itu dibacakan pada seminar dan didiskusikan, dan akhirnya kekhawatiran2 para misionaris untuk melindungi minat orang2 Asmat dapat dipecahkan, dan berbarengan dengan itu didapati juga cara2 yang realistis untuk menghadapi masa depan orang Asmat.

Seminar yang diselenggarakan di Asmat ini merupakan suatu hal baru di Irian Barat. Diharapkan Seminar yang telah berlangsung dengan sukses ini dapat memberikan dorongan kepada para misionaris lainnya untuk menyelenggarakan seminar2 yang serupa dalam kerjasama dengan pejabat2 pemerintah.

## INTRODUCTION

F. Trenkenschuh o.s.c.

The Asmat Area

Those who are at all familiar with New Guinea know of Asmat. This land of twisting rivers, tidal floods and rain forests hardly needs any extensive introduction. Letters arriving in Agats, the mission and government headquarters for the larger portion of the Asmat area sometimes have the words Kota Lumpur ("city of mud") written on the back of the envelope. Kota or city is a euphemism but the mud is certainly a reality.

Asmat is the name the native inhabitants of the central south coast of West Irian use of themselves. Translated it means The Humans, and thus the Asmaters distinguish themselves from all other people. The Asmat people were made famous in reputation by both their savage headhunting and their prolific art; the latter is discussed in the symposium by Jacque Hoogerbrugger of FUNDWI who has directed an attempt at the rehabilitation of the rapidly disappearing art forms.

Although several American oil crews are presently preparing for off-shore and inland exploratory drilling, there are few known natural resources in the area. Before contact, as Dr. Lang points out in the introduction to his paper, this was of no importance in that the people were able to obtain from the resources available all that they desired. Food was abundant (primarily sago, fish, wild boar and many fowl) and clothing was neither needed nor used. Stone was obtained by trade for the all-important stone axes; there was bone for knives and shells provided sufficient materials for carving. The verdant rain forest and the vast network of large rivers provided well for the Asmat people.

Change and Development

After early and superficial contacts with the Asmat people the Catholic mission attempted to make permanent settlements in several villages; World War II frustrated these efforts. By early 1953, however, Fr. G. Zegwaard, m.s.c. had opened a neutral post near the village of Sjurru on Flamingo Bay. He

named the post Agats after the Asmat word akat, which means "good". In November of the following year the Dutch Colonial Government had also made a permanent settlement in Fr. Zegwaard's "Good Place". Agats has remained the government and mission centre of administration.

Contact quickly brought an end to headhunting raids (the last major headhunting incident in the area under control occurred in 1963, perpetrated by the village of Munu) and arrested the semi-nomadic pattern of Asmat life. Contact also brought into the area churches, schools, teachers, ships, aeroplanes, stores, police and soldiers. The presence of the outsiders and the goods they brought also created new wants. The natural resources of the area referred to before now seemed unimportant because they could return no money to enable the increasingly acquisitive population to obtain outside goods. Coconuts were planted in several places. These pleased the outsiders aesthetically but they had little market value. Crocodile skins were of value but the Asmaters could not compete with hunters equipped with rifles and nylon rope with large metal hooks.

#### Co-operatives in Asmat

Early in 1954 Fr. Zegwaard m.s.c. initiated the local lumber industry when people from Ajam and Sjurru worked in Agats cutting lumber for the mission house; the house was completed the following year. Other villages under the direction of the mission then began producing lumber for mission and government buildings. The lumber was used to build schools, houses for missionaries and teachers, government buildings, and so on.

In 1962-1963, the Indonesian Government replaced the Dutch Administration of West New Guinea. A temporary vacuum was felt throughout the territory. In Asmat the missionaries (now American Crosier Fathers) began to re-evaluate their role as missionaries and to study their obligations toward the social and economic betterment of the Asmat people. Bishop Sowada, who hosts this symposium, discusses this critical reappraisal and the policy changes that ensued.

Hopes centred around lumber because it was believed that this could



prove to be a most valuable natural resource on which the Asmat people could base a solid economic future. It was decided that a system of co-operatives would be the best way to encourage self-reliance and to free the villagers from dependence upon outside help.

The Government was pleased with this turn of events and gave much support. At the same time the idea of co-operatives was amenable to the whole missionary approach in that the responsibility and integrity demanded for successful co-operative enterprises could be based on the Christian principles of social justice and charity. The co-operative movement in the area could, the missionaries reasoned, become a "school" no less than the elementary or catechetical schools which they had introduced into the Asmat in earlier years.

At the present time there are co-operatives in the following villages. Their basic activities are also noted :

- |     |           |                                     |
|-----|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| 1)  | Jamasj    | (lumber and coconut oil production) |
| 2)  | Erma      | (lumber)                            |
| 3)  | Komor     | (lumber)                            |
| 4)  | Ajam      | (lumber, garden and store)          |
| 5)  | Agats     | (coconut oil production)            |
| 6)  | Warse     | (lumber)                            |
| 7)  | Amborep   | (lumber)                            |
| 8)  | Jacsakor  | (lumber)                            |
| 9)  | Damen     | (lumber)                            |
| 10) | Atsj      | (lumber and garden)                 |
| 11) | Basiem    | (lumber, garden and pig raising)    |
| 12) | Bajun     | (garden)                            |
| 13) | Pirimapun | (lumber)                            |

Currently, the estimated active membership would be between 450-500. Ajam is the largest co-operative with a membership of 81 and Atsj is the smallest with only 30 members. The average age of the membership is approximately 32 years. There are a few younger members in their early twenties who are mainly in administrative positions. Some of the older members approach 50 years of age.

#### The Symposium

Throughout this symposium, in papers and in discussions, the co-

operatives and their future are explored. At the present time most of the larger central villages have a more or less successful co-operative in operation. If outside interests do not deplete the natural resource in iron-wood (a danger which is pointed to in the paper by Sdr. Omberep), the co-operative venture still seems to offer the best hope for developing leadership and ensuring economic stability for future generations of Asmatters. The short-comings of the present school system and how the mission can best help in this important area of concern is also given attention in the paper by Fr. Greiwe.

This symposium, a joint effort of the University of Tjenderawasih and the Diocese of Agats-Asmat, reflects the concern of the missionaries to learn and to grow with Indonesian society. Dr. Lang has long been associated with the Asmat mission work as its main anthropological advisor. His presence at the symposium is most fitting. At the same time the international character of the small gathering of thirty men to evaluate our Asmat work is impressive in itself. Americans, an Australian, Dutchmen and Indonesians from many areas of the Republic have come together to clarify ideas and to suggest how future work might proceed. The results of the symposium, it is hoped, will be a more vigorous development in the Asmat region and the realization of the integrated mission development plan envisaged by Bishop Sowada.

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## A MISSION'S SEARCH FOR AN INTEGRATED POLICY

Alphonse A. Sowada

ICHTISAR :

Sedjarah Misi dari Serikat M.S.C. maupun O.S.C. didaerah Asmat ini dimulai sedjak tahun 1952. Sedjak permulaan hingga saat ini perdjjuangan Misi tidak lain dari pada membawa kabar gembira, kabar keselamatan bagi masjarakat didaerah ini. Mula mula titik tolak kerdja para Misionaries membawa kabar keselamatan itu dititik tolakkan pada perkembangan agama dengan djalan memperman-dikan orang orang sebanjak mungkin dan setjepat mungkin. Padahal sedikit sekali orang2 jang dapat menjelami tentang agama karena asing bagi mereka dan berlainan dengan adat-istiadat mereka, meskipun pengembangan agama itu disertai pula dengan pendidikan disekolah sekolah.

Pendapat beberapa teolog mengartikan bahwa keselamatan manusia itu penuh melalui beberapa bidang, oleh sebab itu Misionaris2 mengubah tjara dalam mengembangkan kabar keselamatan itu.

Maka timbul suatu pertanjaan diantara Misionaris: Apakah melalui bidang bidang jaitu agama dan pendidikan disekolah akan membawa pengertian kepada masjarakat untuk keselamatan manusia ? Beberapa Misionaris berpendapat tidak akan tertjapai hanja melalui 2 bidang tersebut.

Jang lain berpendapat: Kalau kita memahami sabda Kristus, maka kita akan mengerti bahwa keselamatan djiwa itu harus ditjapai melalui segala bidang. Berdasarkan pengertian pengertian tersebut diatas, maka Misionaris di Asmat mulai berdjjuang dalam bidang sosial-ekonomi disamping agama dan pendidikan. Tudjuan Misi menolong masjarakat Asmat agar mereka dapat self-standing dalam kehidupannja jaitu, self-standing didalam segala bidang jang sebenarnja dikehendaki Tuhan bagi tiap manusia. Dengan kata lain; Supaja mereka akan betul mengikuti perkembangan Indonesia bagi umumnja dan karena itu akan merasa bangga dan tetap akan menilai diri dengan penghargaan.

This year marks the twentieth of the Catholic mission's presence among the Asmat people. The missionaries of the Sacred Heart arrived in 1952; the Crosiers in 1958. Based upon the mission's theological view points and the knowledge accumulated throughout these years, mission policies and methods have been changed and modified. In this paper I wish to provide a broad view of the theological and practical considerations which have inspired changes in



mission policies and programmes in Asmat. Three time periods may be recognized although in actual fact the divisions are not that clearly separable with definite dates marking cut-off points for specific policies. Rather, what has passed was gradual and evolving; as a consequence, policies and programmes have tended to overlap. It is for the sake of convenience, then, that I divide the periods into:

1. The Initial Period, 2. The Period of Re-evaluation and Reconstruction, and, 3. The Period of Integration.

#### 1. The Initial Period :

During the initial years of the period, the theological viewpoint held by the majority of mission personnel was one which demanded quickly bringing Christ's message of salvation to as many people as possible. However, many missionaries understood salvation in terms of eternal life only; man's fortuitous lot on earth was to be accepted as God's will. If one faithfully suffered on earth, he was assured of a greater future reward. Of course, as Christ helped the sick and was compassionate to the poor and destitute so, too, were the missionaries to the people of Asmat. Medicines were supplied and a few jobs created so that some of the people at least would be able to obtain desired items from the outside world. However, the general view was that it was necessary to care only for immediate needs; little consideration was given as to how to inspire the people to overcome and master their problems through their own initiative and creativity.

The pressing need that was felt to bring salvation to all of Asmat precluded the possibility of intensive concentration on specific areas, or devoting time to promoting total human development. Catechetical schools were opened through out the area. The pastors were obliged to contact as many people as possible through constant patrolling. Baptism to grant freedom from original sin, was of primary importance. People were prepared minimally for baptism but in that they apparently understood at least a portion of the beliefs to be held if salvation was to be assured, salvation was considered possible.

Normal schools, too, were opened. Education was not only valued because it developed the minds of the children to the point where communication between the missionary and the people became easier, but also because a few of the more fortunate graduates might obtain jobs as government or mission staff members. However, the vast majority of school leavers found no such opportunities for employment and were condemned to return to village life. This factor did not seem to be of great concern at the time because it was considered that schooling necessarily fostered advancement and would set the stage for continued development. However, this proved not to be true. The initial enthusiasm of the people soon waned in many villages. There was growing frustration because the expected supply of desired goods from outside was not forthcoming. The missionaries also experienced frustration because of the declining and mediocre response of the people.

Over-extension had led the mission into a trap. Inputs had been spread so thinly as to be ineffectual for lack of intensive follow up. The effects of over-extension are still acutely felt today. Just recently a number of missionaries asked: "What do we do for the young people who have left school?" The problem is most severe in villages in which education in school has been a fact but no corresponding total human development has taken place.

During this period, too, the roots for future socio-economic development feebly took hold with the initiation of a few lumber sawing projects.

## 2. The Period of Re-evaluation and Reconstruction :

This period was marked by greater group participation in criticizing and re-evaluating the policy of the previous period. The period was one of painful search which created considerable unease among the mission personnel. At this time, too, Vatican II issued its decree on religious freedom stating that salvation is possible to all God's people regardless of cult or creed. Further, and more important, it stressed that religious freedom demanded respect for justice.

Vatican II indicated that the function of the priesthood was not only limited to the area of spirituality and sacramentality. In the case of the

Asmat, it was taken that the theological framework to be employed would be pragmatic. The conviction was that in order to develop a true and vibrant Christianity among the Asmat, practical measures were demanded to make Christian principles an experience in daily life. Socio-economic development was viewed as a necessary means to attain this end. The search prompted a better programme which promoted the following more salient changes in mission policy.

- A. The mission attempted to respect the essential dignity of the Asmat as a free, self-determining individual. It attempted to respect all that was culturally his. It cannot be denied that previous to any outside contact the Asmat people possessed a dignity and a sense of pride, although much of the pride was based upon prowess at headhunting. With the demise of headhunting, a vital feature in Asmat culture passed; it was through this activity that one achieved fulness as a human being and a sense of pride. A major prop in the culture had been withdrawn. The mission recognized its responsibility to search for ways to maintain the pride of the people, or aid in restoring it in those instances where it had deteriorated.
- B. The former view that the act of baptising individuals who had only a limited understanding of what was involved necessarily brought about a liberation become rightfully suspect among the missionaries. Through repeated experience the mission realised that this practice instead of freeing often enslaved. The enslavement consisted essentially in the belief among the Asmat-especially the elders, that baptism afforded them a magic key by which they would be able to obtain cherished materials imported from the outside. When these were not forthcoming disappointment ensued and a sense of depression permeated village life. In some instances, incipient cargo cults arose. Because the mission had inadvertently promoted this misconception among the people, now it was duty bound to correct the situation. If such a misconception was permitted to go unchecked it would only serve to hamper an ongoing and deeper understanding of Christianity and frustrate any progress at all. Further, to insist that a people who are laboring under a delusion as to what Christianity is all about, be obliged to



follow its tenets, is to negate freedom and respect for man's dignity and integrity - basic rights we profess to uphold.

An appreciation of the situation was to recognize that it had to be rectified. Clearly, our belief that in three or four generations hence the As-matters would blossom into mature Christians had been naive and in all fairness the present generation demanded our attention. Understanding had to be fostered to the point where individuals could freely accept or reject Christianity. Upon accepting it, they, in turn, would be in the position of agents inspiring change among their brothers. Only in this manner could true and lasting change take place for Christian idealisms would then have been assimilated as integral parts of Asmat culture. But, in order to accomplish this goal, and time was at a premium, a policy of concentration was adopted by the mission. A great number of fringe area village stations were closed in view of our concern for those already baptized. The policy of extending baptism to all those possible for us to contact was stopped out of respect for the spiritual welfare of the people themselves.

C. Our school policy also demanded re-evaluation. As it stood, the school system served to divorce the youth from their society. It prepared them to become selfishly individualistic in the sense that it killed personal social responsibility. The education provided in no way prepared the students to take charge of on-going development at the village level but actually alienated them from their peers. Education was supposedly preparing them for sophisticated jobs outside their society. A diploma was thought to guarantee position and income-not a responsibility taken on because of it. However, only a few attained jobs outside the village confines; the 99% who were doomed to remain in the village felt their hopes shattered as the fantasy world to which they were led to aspire did not materialize. But neither did they wish to live in the manner of their parents. Because they could not leave the village they were forced to live in a vacuum no longer having solid roots in the society of their elders but also being unable to partake in the affairs of the society they had been taught to hope for.

It is not surprising, then, that some of them became terribly depressed, became village problems and were near the point of debilitating anomie. Upon realizing this situation, the reaction of the mission was to refuse to open additional schools. The reaction of some individual missionaries was to disassociate themselves from the problem.

- D. Socio-economic development had been neglected in favour of proselytism and providing schooling. But the accomplishments brought about through religious instruction and education were meagre and in many aspects our endeavours appeared to have been futile. An appreciation of Christian ideals (perhaps because in the way they were presented they were too bound up with Western ideals) seemingly had not taken root, notwithstanding the many years of contact. A new approach had to be found if these ideals were to become part of Asmat life and character. The mission felt that somehow these ideals and values required concretization - to be experienced in daily life- before there could be any hope of their taking hold as an integral part of Asmat life and character. Further, the very presence of the government and the mission meant that the Asmat were now confronted by new structures and by a way of life larger than the village, and further reaching than local Asmat society. Here, too, was a threat to Asmat identity. To preserve their sense of identity and for the sake of their pride the people had to be encouraged to participate in the new.

These needs then, to concretize Christian ideals and to involve the Asmat people in the mainstream of society really prompted the mission to initiate the Asmat co-operative system. The ramifications of this decision were manifold. Through working in close collaboration with one another mutual respect was developed and wider horizons were fostered. In the co-operative venture considerations narrowly familial or parochial could no longer be permitted if the co-operative was to continue to exist at all. Through the workings of the co-operative, men from different village sections and even from different villages were brought together in a common effort which demanded mutual

respect and trust if they were to remain together at all. The co-operative partially fulfilled the Asmat need to share in, and productively participate in, the larger society. They were challenged. But, that challenge automatically brought with it the responsibility to work, to deal with one another in honesty and to exercise leadership. It also helped develop a sense of accomplishment and a pride in excellence. These were ideals of great value and thus the co-operatives set the stage for an education through experience. Through the co-operatives it was hoped to bring about an appreciation of new ideals and, as well, to enable the people to participate in the new situations confronting them, thereby developing a sense of self determination.

The period of re-evaluation and re-construction brought about much needed changes in mission policy. It was fortunate that the mission recognized this need and was prepared to adopt new policies even though this meant abandoning what had been the traditional approach to mission work. Development had lagged and because development was considered essential for the success of our work among the Asmat, a real urgency was felt among some of the mission personnel to aid the people in rapid development. Time was thought to be short. Consequently, pressures were put on the people to take new steps as quickly as possible. They were challenged to rapidly become more sophisticated in the operation of the co-operatives. More responsibility was turned over to them in line with the goals we had defined. As most of the co-operatives were situated in villages where a pastor resided (under the policy of concentration) he was always present to rectify matters--to actually take charge if the members were straying from the set goals. Corrective measures in some instances were stringent. If the goals decided upon were not met by the co-operative members the pastor's threat to close the co-operative (and at times this was actually done) soon brought the members into line. A close watch over co-operative affairs seemed to assure a continuity in rapid development.

This intense supervision actually brought about progress to the point that in a few villages members of a co-operative were apparently able to organize the operation on their own, take care of financial arrangements, keep fairly accurate books and run their co-operative store. Nonetheless, problems



were encountered. If pressures were mitigated, and, sometimes even if not, the members slackened their pace of work and seemed to become indifferent to the goals set for them. At these low periods pastors felt it necessary to be on the scene in order to regenerate spirit. If he was not able to accomplish this, then the prolonged lack of a regular supply of tobacco and other items certainly did.

Despite the tremendous strides made in development the period of reconstruction manifested certain ominous tendencies. My belief is that these were a consequence of extremism. This second period - the period of reconstruction - was a reaction to the policies that had come before. But in criticizing these policies a negative attitude developed among some of the more vociferous members of the mission community in respect to the work actually accomplished during that period. These attitudes were apparent in the following ways:

1. On the part of some there was an indifference to the schools and the conviction that any measures that might be taken to improve the situation were bound to fail. Some of the missionaries rarely visited the schools apparently in the belief that by disassociating themselves from the problem they were not responsible for it. Corrective measures that might have been initiated were not taken. The attitude was that the schools were the problems of the teachers, however faulty the schooling might be. The pastor's concern was with the adults. The result was that an already bad situation became worse; the quality of education further deteriorated. Some of the teachers were puzzled by this neglect and indifference and gave voice to their concern.
2. In the area of religious education, a hopelessness toward any efforts that might be taken gained ascendancy among some. Because these attitudes were voiced the effects were detrimental for they permeated the attitude of the mission in general. Criticism was necessary and so was change, but the challenge to improve was not really met. The need to meet the people on their own level with respect to religious education and liturgical change

was not appreciated. As in education, in the area of religion the challenge for creative approaches was missed; today we are suffering from the effects of this neglect and have let a marvelous opportunity slip by.

3. In the area of development, perhaps either the authoritarian and/or paternalistic over-protective methods employed in some villages for the sake of achieving rapid growth may prove to be detrimental to the future development of Asmat. Just as the first period's method of rote catechetical drill proved inadequate in that what was taught was not really understood, the drill methods of the second period in respect to the co-operatives may, in some instances, lead to their collapse. With such an approach adaptation and assimilation has not taken place. It now remains our duty to attempt to ascertain what has really been understood and to establish whether the steps taken by the people are authentically their own or simply prescribed from above. If not, a vacuum has been created which demands rectification before more sophisticated development can happen.

### 3. The Period of Integration :

The mission programme is far from being integrated. I consider integration the challenge of the present and the immediate future. The extremes of the second period must be modified. Our programme must be directed towards the whole man and it must be designed to meet his needs at any stage of his development. Theologically, this approach is totally relevant and the only realistic one. As Christian ministers basing our work on Christ's own ministry, we have an intimate role to fulfill in helping to effect redemption in every aspect of man's life. If we as Christ's ministers have helped the Asmat to free themselves from inhibiting factors such as superstition, and have helped them to clarify their relationship with God, we will have become the agents of redemption and have fulfilled Christ's call.

What I have said implies that we must accept the people where they are at present in their understanding and in their needs. Since contact, these needs have multiplied considerably in all aspects of their lives. Failure to

meet these needs will bring problems at both the spiritual level and on the more mundane levels of human existence. Our task is to promote human fulfillment and understanding. To concentrate on one area of existence alone (the religious, for example), would be to cause an imbalance which would preclude full development. Our programme must be an integrated one designed to develop the whole man.

Consequently, we cannot afford to entertain indifferent attitudes toward the school situation; nor do we dare consider our venture in religious education hopeless. Changes, adaption and creativity are demanded for improving a poor situation. Recently, new inroads have been made in the area of liturgy by slowly attuning it to the mentality of the people.

The schools demand a positive outlook on our part. Wherever possible innovations should be made but with due respect to the programme of education specified by the Department of Education. Hopefully, the educational symposium to be held at the University of Tjenderawasih may bring about changes in school policy. Greater freedom for experimentation should be permitted. A system catering to the needs of village life is called for but at the same time it should be possible for a number of children to pursue higher education. Because the pastor lacks the time to accomplish effective educational changes on his own, he needs to act as a catalyst upon his teachers and other village leaders. This in itself will demand much time and patience and perhaps produce minimal results. Nonetheless, the challenge posed by the schools must be met.

For our part, we must realise that society is an integrated whole with each aspect having influence and ramifications on the other. Human existence is not a piecemeal affair, especially in non-industrialized societies. Hence, we cannot afford the risk of dividing up development of the Asmat into definite but mutually exclusive areas of human existence. Religion, the place of the school in the village, economic activity, political activity and the exercise of leadership call for integration. The development of Asmat to date in each of these areas seems to have run along independent lines thus precluding real integration. It should be possible to draw all these elements together to form a unified whole. To achieve this integration is our task for the future.



## DISCUSSION

Walker : Exactly how is this integration you speak of to be achieved ?

Sowada : I think it must begin at the school. At the present time the co-operatives for instance, are separated from the schools; the children don't know what they are all about. In all teaching there should be a stronger attempt to relate lessons to the village situation.

Setitit : The schools are not really related to village society. Parents feel that the school is a thing of the teachers but now that parents are being called upon to help pay for books etc., this may change.

Lang : Of course, the school system is an unfamiliar element to the Asmat. Have the schools tried in any way to reach out to the parents ?

Setitit : This is a slow process. The parents are beginning to take some responsibility but so far all the initiative has to come from the teachers. Before we were like "lords" over the people. Now we are trying to work with the people.

Sowada : Are all the teachers consciously trying to establish closer relations with the people ?

Setitit : I would say that about one third of the teachers have good relations with the older people and in these villages the schools are more successful. The response of the children is better. The older people visit the teacher and absenteeism is less.

van der Wouw : The Bishop's paper lacks any reference to the need to examine the culture of the people. All these activities, schools, co-operatives, and so on, must connect with the old society.

Sowada : I agree but I did say we would have to move the people forward from where they are at present. The connection will come if people can see the value of the things we are trying to teach them--learning Math, for instance, in order to buy and sell items.

Adrian : Our attempt to achieve some integration is only in its second year. For example, in the churches we are trying to find a liturgy the people can understand. This also applies in our approach to co-operatives and education. We are still trying to find new kinds of answers.

Hoogerbrugge : Getting back to Fr. van der Wouw's point. What is the position about feasts ? Are they forbidden ? Can the school close for a few days for a sago feast ? What is the government policy regarding feasts ?

Omberep : The government has no objection to using any good features in Asmat society that would bring about development. There would be disapproval if bad features in Asmat life were revived.

van der Wouw : They could have a feast at the beginning of the school year when the parents bring the children; there are other occasions when feasts could be held. Such feasts would help to integrate the school with the village. The co-operatives could also be involved. This sort of thing would need to be regulated; a constant succession of feasts would mean the people were everlastingly away gathering sago.

## PENINDJAUAN ASMAT TAHUN 1963 DAN KEADAAN SEKARANG TAHUN 1972

Joseph B. Omberep

ABSTRACT :

Asmat has changed considerably from the time of initial contact. Originally the people were untouched and were free from any influences from outside. At the time of first contact the people were naked. They lacked education and lived in fear of their brother villages. The Asmat lived from hand to mouth without concern for the morrow. Much of the time was spent in feasting.

Contact by the Government and other interested groups, such as the missions, brought much of this to an end. With Government control peace was soon realised. Education brought about a new understanding and a wider view of life. Because the contact efforts were co-ordinated and the changes introduced were carried out slowly, the Asmat were able to absorb these. It was fortunate for the Asmat that contact agencies were present to help them distinguish between the desirable and undesirable within their culture.

Asmat today shows considerable advance. In many areas of human existence the people now have achieved a better understanding of what is expected of them. However, the fact that insufficient control has been exercised over the many individual who have been permitted to enter the area has meant that a number of unwholesome influences have begun to effect Asmat life. Such influences need to be checked. Further, many unfair advantages are being taken of the Asmat people by some outsiders. This is particularly true in the exploitation of the people through the logging industry - an industry which does not greatly profit the Asmat people. Proper steps need to be taken on behalf of the Asmat people. The people must be taught in a pragmatic fashion how to do things. It is nonsense just to talk at them about development.

Sambil berdiri diatas djembatan Agats, terkenanglah kesan2ku di-hari2 pertama saja datang kedaerah Asmat. Sembilan tahun memang waktu jang sangat pendek. Namun demikian di Asmat sudah dapat ditjatat beberapa perobahan jang menjolok. Sembilan tahun jang lalu masih djelas terlihat banjak tanda2 kemurnian tjara hidup Asmat asli. Kemungkinan kontak dengan dunia luar sampai dengan tahun2 enampuluhan masih sangat sedikit. Djumlah orang2 berasal luar Asmat hanja terbatas kepada segelintir pegawai pamongpradja, anggauta kepolisian dan pekabar2 indjil.

Di-mana2 masih terlihat pada waktu itu kaum perempuan dewasa jang



menggunakan tjawat sedang kaum laki2 belum merasakan kebutuhan untuk berpakaian. Pekerdjaan mentjari nafkah jang hasilnja hanja tjukup untuk kebutuhan satu hari, banjak kali diliputi perasaan takut karena dendam darah diantara kampung dengan kampung. Sangat ketjil djumlah orang jang telah mendapat pendidikan sehingga pengaruhnja tidak begitu nampak. Banjak waktu dan tenaga diberikan untuk membuat ukiran2 kaju jang berbentuk manusia, burung, buaja, dsb. Ukiran2 kaju itu se-mata2 untuk digunakan sendiri terutama dalam pesta2 adat jang sangat digemari oleh orang2 Asmat, seperti pesta patung, pesta Roh, pesta ulat sagu, pesta perahu dll.

Tembakau adalah salah satu barang jang semulanja tidak dikenal di Asmat. Orang2 luar jang datang kedaerah ini menggunakannya sebagai bahan kontak dan dengan demikian penduduk Asmat beladjar menggunakan tembakau. Pengaruh pengaruh asing jang tidak kita inginkan dapat dikendalikan dengan baik. Keinginan untuk mendjual hasil2 keradjinan tangan telah dapat kita lihat di-mana2, baik di Agats maupun di-pos2 pemerintah jang lebih ketjil.

Sekarang, sembilan tahun kemudian apa sadja jang kita lihat di Asmat. Kami mengakui bahwa sekarang ini kemadjuan dan perobahan Asmat ini betul2 luar biasa terutama dikalangan pemuda-pemudi. Tingkat ketjerdasan berpikir sudah ada dan mulai tinggi dan diantara anak2 Asmat sudah ada jang djadi pegawai. Sifat takut antara Asmat sama Asmat tidak kelihatan lagi. Pada umumnja sebagian besar orang laki2 sudah berpakaian modern terketjual orang2 tua jang masih telandjang sedangkan kaum perempuan masih pakai tjawat. Di-mana2 terlihat rumah2 jang djauh lebih baik dari dulu. Keinginan meniru segala sesuatu jang baru terasa sangat kuat diantara penduduk Asmat. Sajang dibalik sajang sebab banjak hal2 jang kurang baikpun ikut ditiru. Hal ini jang perlu mendapat perhatian kita. Beberapa matjam hasil bumi seperti kaju besi dan kulit buaja telah dapat dihasilkan oleh daerah Asmat, walaupun faedah kebendaannja misalnja dalam bentuk alat2 dapur, belum juga kelihatan dalam rumah2 orang Asmat.

Beberapa kesimpulan :

1. Arus perubahan perlu dikendalikan karena orang lebih tjepat meniru jang tidak baik daripada jang baik.
2. Pembinaan daerah jang baru dan mudah terpengaruh seperti Asmat

ini membutuhkan orang2 jang djudjur dan berdjiwa tjinta kepada penduduknja, baik pembina itu seorang putera daerah ataupun seorang jang berasal dari luar.

3. Peristiwa seperti jang terdjadi di kampung Amian distrik Pirimapun dimana penduduk menuntut untuk mendapat desa tersendiri, walaupun ada terdapat gedjala2 bahwa hal itu ditimbulkan oleh hasutan orang2 tertentu, akan tetapi mendjadi tanda bahwa orang2 Asmat telah mulai mengerti tentang hal menjatakan pendapat.
4. Untuk kemadjuan daerah Asmat tidak perlu terlalu teoritis, tetapi membangun harus lebih banjak dengan tjontoh2 jang praktis, karena orang Asmat suka atau pintar meniru.

#### DISCUSSION

Sowada : You say in your paper that some people are coming here and taking advantage of the Asmat people. How can this be checked? By educating the Asmmatters or through stricter controls?

Omberep: At this stage I don't think the people can correct the situation because they do not understand their rights. The government is here to help and to protect the people.

Walker: It is said that some of the stores that have been opened by newcomers take advantage of the local people. Is there any way to stop this? Could the Asmat people themselves be helped to open their own trade stores?

Omberep: The stores are necessary. There is nothing wrong with outsiders coming here to open stores unless they take all the profits. The people have to learn how to operate stores and it is the duty of the store people to teach the local people how to run them.

Greiwe: Isn't there a law on the regional level to the effect that outsiders need permission to come here?

Omberep: On the provincial government level each merchant or crocodile hunter must have a letter of approval to come here. In some cases the approval given has expired and others are here without approval. A check on these cases is being made now. It has been brought to my attention that many of the Asmat people are dissatisfied with the situation.

Greiwe: I have heard that on the regional level many have applied for

permission to come but there have been few approvals.

Omberep: True. Few get permission to become merchants here but there are others who hide behind the merchants who have permission and then start stores on their own.

Walker: If the mission became involved in the business of sponsoring trade stores would there be criticism?

Omberep: Perhaps like the social centres the people would feel that they were not their own and the storekeepers too probably would think these stores belonged to the mission. If this were not the case perhaps the mission could sponsor stores.

Sowada: It is my view we should stay out the business of stores and store-keeping. As a matter of fact some of the co-operatives already have stores to sell goods to members. We hope they will develop to the point where they can sell to anyone in the village.

Lang: How do the co-operatives propose training people to be storekeepers or managers?

Sowada: Now the local pastors teach men in the co-operatives to run the stores; they teach them Math, how to make a profit and so on. Perhaps more needs to be done here. It may be necessary to send some away for training.

Lang: Do you see the centre being started here in Agats as a training ground?

Sowada: Perhaps later on it might develop into this.

Trenkenschuh: The Bishop is wrong. We only have one store and this is in Ajam. It is not really run on a profit basis. I have tried to supply them with tobacco which they can sell on a profit basis to demonstrate this but there has not been much success. Also, I have tried to get the storekeepers to lend help so the co-operative store could be run on a sound basis.

Adrian: Erma started co-operatives with much enthusiasm and made much profit on lumber but now enthusiasm has dwindled and they are making no profits.

van der Wouw: A lot of this is through misunderstanding of money.

Trenkenschuh: It is partly our fault because we keep dealing in the old currency and not in the new rupiahs.

Lang: Does the government have any particular plans to facilitate the flow of money into Asmat? It seems there are two currencies. There is the subsistence economy but tobacco functions almost as a currency and then there is cash.



Omberep: None.

Walker: What would be the objection if a missionary in a village started a trade store with an Asmatter and then stepped aside when he was able to manage things himself?

Sowada: It wouldn't look good.

Adrian: So far as the co-operatives are concerned, in my area only two or three people can read and write. The problem now is to give basic training. We all agree trade stores run by the local people are necessary but to move into this now would be premature.

Lang: All this talk really concerns skills. The skills having to do with trades like carpentry and maintaining the boats have already been learned but skills on the managerial or entrepreneurial level have not been developed. Why not?

Adrian: It goes back to the matter of integration. Only two years ago we began working on the managerial level of the co-operatives. Previously in the workshops this aspect was neglected because the need then was to learn how to saw timber. Now a need at the managerial level has arisen. Similarly, at one time we stressed co-operatives but not the schools. Now we have seen the mistake in this and recognize the need for integration.

Trenkenschuh: This matter of teaching trade skills as opposed to administrative skills needs to be discussed. If we do not have people in the co-operatives who can read and write we are not going to get anywhere.

Sowada: It is not true that we have only just started on teaching administrative skills. On the local level in some areas there has been a long history in this.

McGuire: There are people around who are capable of doing administrative work. We just need to identify them.

## AN EVALUATION OF PRESENT-DAY ASMAT WOODCARVING

Jac. Hoogerbrugge

ICHTISAR :

Dengan maksud untuk menilai kedudukan dari ukiran kaju Asmat pada dewasa ini saja sarankan agar kita melihat persoalan tersebut dari dua sudut :

- 1) Dilihat dari dalam, bagaimana ukiran2 Asmat dewasa ini dibandingkan dengan ukiran2 dimasa jang lalu.
- 2) Dilihat dari luar, bagaimana ukiran2 Asmat dibandingkan dengan ukiran ukiran dari daerah lain.

Dengan mempeladjar koleksi dimasa jang lalu jang dilakukan oleh ekspedisi ilmiah antara 1904 dan 1913 ternjata bahwa mutu dari ukiran tersebut, dengan beberapa penjetjualian, tidak memenuhi harapan kita. Ukiran jang lebih menarik dikumpulkan kemudian oleh perseorangan seperti Col Goossens, Paul Wirs dan Lord Moynes.

Baru sesudah tahun 1954, jaitu setelah dibuka pos tetap di Agats, pengumpulan setjara besar2an dilakukan dan sebagian besar dari padanja bermutu baik. Tidak lama kemudian terlihat pula bermuntjulan barang2 jang kurang baik mutunja.

Mungkin hal ini terdjadi oleh karena pembelian2 jang kurang teliti dan djuga disebabkan oleh karena pengergadjian jang belum punja keachlian, turut membuat patung.

Dibandingkan dengan koleksi2 dari waktu jang lalu, mutu dari ukiran2 jang dihasilkan sekarang masih tjukup baik.

Beberapa barang kehilangan fungsinja sebagai alat keperluan sehari2 dan lebih banjak dibuat sebagai ukiran untuk hiasan. Misalnja piring kaju jang dulu dipakai untuk tempat makan sekarang dibuat sebagai hiasan dinding.

Dibandingkan dengan daerah2 lain di Irian Barat ternjata bahwa didaerah daerah tersebut sudah tidak ada lagi keradjinan tangan jang mengekspresikan tradisi asli kedalam ukiran2 mereka seperti jang terdapat di Asmat. Oleh sebab itu perlu adanja pembinaan, proteksi dan pengembangan oleh Pemerintah terhadap ukiran2 Asmat.

Dibandingkan dengan daerah lain seperti daerah Sepik di Irian Timur ternjata bahwa disana djuga ada ukiran2 kaju jang sama nilainja dengan ukiran Asmat. Akan tetapi disana terdapat ber-matjam2 bentuk ukiran, seperti topeng kaju, tempat menggantungkan barang2, lukisan kulit kaju, grabah jang diukir dll., jang di Asmat tidak dikenal.

Adalah sangat penting pula untuk diketahui, bahwa barang2 Asmat djuga didjual kepada pembeli2 jang biasa membeli barang2 ukiran dari daerah Sepik, dengan demikian terdjadi persaingan dalam pemasarannja. Dengan adanja persaingan itu mutu ukiran2 Asmat perlu dipertahankan supaja nama Asmat di luar negeri tetap dikenal.

In order to determine the position of present-day Asmat woodcarving I suggest we look at it from two different angles. Firstly, as seen from the inside, from the historical point of view. How does present-day Asmat woodcarving compare with that of former days? Secondly, from the outside, from the marketing point of view. How does present-day Asmat woodcarving compare with woodcarving being produced in areas comparable to Asmat ?

#### Present-day and Former-day Asmat woodcarving

By present-day Asmat carving I mean the carvings produced since early 1969 when the Asmat Handicraft Project started. By former-day Asmat carving I mean, in the first place, the carvings collected between 1904 and 1941, and in the second place, the carvings collected between 1955 and 1963. The first group, the collections brought together before 1941, were collected during the following five expeditions :

1. the South-West New Guinea expedition in 1904,
2. the three South New Guinea expeditions from 1907 to 1913,
3. the military exploration expedition of Col. Goossens, from 1908 to 1913,
4. Paul Wiesz of the Basel Museum, in 1922,
5. Lord Moyne, whose collection went to the British Museum in 1935.

I have been in a position to study each of these collections and to read the reports. Quite clearly, I remember reading the report on the first contact between foreigners and the local people of the Flamingo Bay, probably Sjuru villagers. It was the first time ever a ship, actually two ships, the "Flamingo" and the "Anna," entered the bay, which at the time still was named "East Bay." It was 1904, October 10th, Monday morning between 8 and 9 hrs. When the two ships, the small "Anna" in front, steamed into the bay, the chief of the expedition, noticing the wild excitement that had broken out in the village situated ahead, (this must have been Sjuru village), decided to drop anchor in the western part of the bay far away from the village. The panic and excitement caused by the arrival of these huge metal ships can perhaps best be described in terms of what would happen today were a huge UFO to appear above



one of the main U.S. towns. The same frightening questions: "Are these people human?" "Will they be friendly?" "What are their plans?" Highly excited the men jumped into their canoes, went out to the ships, and within an hour after anchoring the village men had surrounded the ships. Shouting, drumming, throwing lime, they came alongside wanting to touch the ship and the crew, trying to get hold of pieces of metal and trying to climb on board. In their excitement they frightened the crew to such an extent that firearms were used to keep them away.

The next day a similar unfortunate situation developed when the master of the Flamingo, using the ship's motorboat, tried to visit the village. In a moment he found himself surrounded by no less than fifty-four well-manned and well armed canoes. Not being sure of the villagers intentions the master decided not to go ashore but to return to the ship, where the same scenes developed as the previous day. That night it was decided that it was impossible to establish friendly relations with the local people and plans for further exploration of the rivers had to be abandoned. The next morning the ships left and disappeared to the west.

During this first unfortunate contact, one of the ship's officers managed to trade knives and empty bottles for eleven objects, namely, one shield, four oars, three spears, one harpoon and two bambu horns. These eleven objects, the first ever collected in Asmat, are now in the Leyden Museum. They differ in no way from the corresponding objects used to this day. Actually, they are quite simple and do not look spectacular. The shield, with a simple geometrical type of ornamentation, carries on top only a plain wooden point, not a face or human figure like the more beautiful shields collected after the war, often do. Not one of the four oars has a carved or decorated top end; they simply have plain sharp points. Also, the two bambu horns are decorated coarsely. Nor do the photographs taken at the time, published in the book written on this expedition, give any interesting details as to carving. Many canoes are depicted but nowhere a carved prow can be identified; nor do any of the many oars depicted show a carved top end.

One may question that the information resulting from such a superficial first contact is rather limited in value, and perhaps I would agree. Still, it is of great importance to note that the first Asmat shield ever collected is of a rather poor quality--a shield which at this moment would be difficult to sell to a collector. The same is true of the two poorly carved bambu horns.

The three South New Guinea expeditions, each spending five to six months in the area did a better job although contact with the Asmatter was confined to those living on the borders of the North-West and Lorentz river and remained somewhat superficial. The main objective of this expedition was to reach the Snowy Mountains and not to study the Asmat. The collection of ethnographic objects and carvings brought back by these three expeditions, for the main part, are still in the Netherlands. I have been able to see these objects now kept in the store rooms of the museums at Leyden and Amsterdam.

Not counting the several hundreds of ethnographic objects like belts, ornaments, bags, arrows, etc., these collections contain approximately the following carvings: fifty oars, only five of which have a decorated top; ten bambu horns, most pieces only coarsely or partially decorated; forty spears with a-jouz blades - these are perfect; twenty shields, several of good quality, others however poor with irregular and confused ornamentation; ten drums, not one with a really beautiful handle and four, only four, human statues, one squatting and three standing stiffly upright. They are rough and coarsely carved. The collector, at the time of buying, noted down that he could not understand that the same people who were able to carve such perfect a-jouz spears turned out such poor human statues. As far as I could learn not one carved bowl or canoe head was collected during these expeditions.

Looking back at these early collections one is inclined to say that the quality of the authentically old carvings is in no way as exceptional or exciting as might be expected. It is probable that only a limited number of these early carvings would today be selected for display for other than purely historical reasons. What also struck me is that during these four official trips nowhere is mention made of carved house poles, ceremonial houses, uramon-

prahu's or mbis-poles. Two more interesting facts are worth mentioning. Firstly, one of the carrying bags collected around 1910 contained among other items, two chisels with metal blades. Secondly, in 1908 a few quite small shields were collected their sizes being only about 30 cm x 80 cm.

The somewhat disappointing impression conveyed by these first collections changes for the better when we take into account the objects collected by Col.Goossens of the military exploration team, Paul Wiesz of the Basel Museum and Lord Moyne whose collection went to the British Museum. Col.Goossens collected a number of good shields and expressive squatting figures; Wiesz collected the first mbis-pole and canoe prows and also several figures. Lord Moyne in 1935, collected the first carved house post and a series of carved prows. These collections brought back by the above three private collectors are more interesting and contain a larger number of very fine carvings than the collections brought back by the scientific expeditions.

This is the extent of the collections brought back before 1941. Now, if we look at the collections the Dutch Museum bought in the period 1954 to 1963, we are struck by the appearance, especially during the first years, of large numbers of carvings many of which are of high quality; often they are better than the average quality of the carvings collected before 1941. During these nine years at least fifty mbis-poles were collected as compared with only one during the thirty-seven years before the war. Hundreds of human figures were collected as opposed to approximately thirty before the war. The same is true of shields, bowls and prows. This leads me to believe that the increasing demand for carvings after the establishment of a port at Agats in 1954, combined with the fact that metal chisels had become more easily available (often made out of war scrap metal) have, in the first instance, exercised a favorable influence both on quality and quantity. It seems, however, that the improved quality could not be maintained because rather soon, I would say in 1960, an increasing number of carelessly made carvings appeared, probably as a result of indiscriminate buying and also because of the fact that now many people had started to carve who actually had no creative skill. The collections in the Dutch Museums and also the Michael Rockefeller collection show a



number of examples of this decline in quality.

Now, how does present-day Asmat carving compare with the former-day carving as just described? What are the changes? Let us consider the shields first. Here we see that the former-day war shields are now smaller in size and have become what I would call a type of "dance shield", or a "carved shield panel." The ornamentation on these new shields however, has remained genuinely Asmat although incidentally a new motif may appear.

Looking at the recently made mbis-poles, for example, like those from Per and Jeow, we note that these have also been scaled down to more manageable size, without loss of quality. As to the human statues, it is to be noted that an increasing number are being carved out of ironwood; before 1940 this occurred only incidentally. As to the quality I am under the impression that the shape of the human figure gradually tends to become more and more naturalistic --a development that in the art world is being regarded with mixed feelings. However, the appearance of double human figures and human figures combined with birds, snakes or crocodiles, like the types originating from Mbiwar-laut and Omandesep, will, I hope, make up for this change.

The carved bowls that were made during the last years are, in many cases, far more interestingly carved and decorated than in the early times. The more functional bowl of earlier times has changed into an attractive carving that may be hung on the wall. The bowls originating from Omandesep, Otsjanep and Basim are good examples of these. Also the bambu horns that last year were produced in Sauwa-Erma compare favorably with the best horns that were ever collected.

From these examples I would conclude that present-day Asmat woodcarving represents a healthy continuation of the traditional arts and crafts. Comparison with former-day carving reveals that the present-day carvings (notwithstanding adaptations and minor changes) have succeeded in maintaining their Asmat identity and have preserved a character of their own.

#### Asmat Woodcarving Compared with that of Comparable Areas

Such a comparison involves many factors but if we consider only

the area of West Irian the question is not difficult to answer. The former-day rich cultures of Sentani, Humboldt bay, Teluk Tjenderawasih, Mimika and Marind-Anim are dead and gone. The mountain tribes do not have much of a material culture. Thus it appears that in West Irian the Asmat is the only area left where a traditional art has survived in the form of present-day woodcarving activities. This, in itself, should be sufficient reason for the Government to maintain and promote these activities.

If we look a little further it seems obvious to make a comparison with the present-day woodcarving produced for instance, in the middle Sepik river area in Papua, New Guinea. There we find a similar type of swampy area, a basic subsistence economy, few resources for economic development but with a very wide range of interesting woodcarving activities. There, also, the present-day woodcarving developed from the traditional arts and crafts of these Sepik tribes. Initially this development was backed and fostered by the purchases and publications of overseas ethnological museums and by primitive art dealers from all over the world who came to visit the area. Nowadays, however, these buyers have disappeared from the market because one of their criteria of good quality is that an object must be old and must have been used. Their place is now being taken by another category of dealers who cater to a less sophisticated group of collectors and also to the souvenir and tourist market. Also, the Government has become involved. In both Angoram and in Pagwi, two villages in the middle Sepik area, the Local Government Councils are acting as buying and selling agents for woodcarvings.

Now, in comparing what is being produced today in the middle Sepik with what is being produced in Asmat, one is hesitant to come to any quick conclusions. In the first place, the Sepik carvers produce a much wider range of objects. In this regard one may consider the wide variety of wooden masks, an item unknown to the Asmat. This is also true of the Sepik suspension hooks and bark paintings. Consider also Sepik decorated pottery and the well painted clay masks on turtle shells and on cassowary bone daggers. Not only do Sepik carvers produce a large range of objects and have more variety in each group, they also have more colour and apply colour in a more refined way.

This is not to say that present-day Asmat carving is poorer in quality than present-day Sepik work. I would even say that the Asmat quality is probably better. But Asmat is in an unfortunate position seen from the marketing point of view. Look at the number of exhibitions, books and catalogues published on the Sepik in contrast to those on the Asmat. The ratio is probably twenty-five to one. Of course, the Sepik area, including the Maprik, Ramu and upper river areas is so much larger than that of Asmat and its population is perhaps eight times as great. A comparison of the two then is hardly fair. Nevertheless, Asmat and Sepik carvers are, to a certain extent, selling to the same dealers and collectors and therefore the point I want to make is that even though the quality of present-day work in Asmat in general is good, we have to realise that Asmat is not the only area in the world where traditional woodcarving is being promoted and developed. On the contrary, it has to be appreciated that many countries of the third world are trying to re-activate and promote their traditional arts and crafts all for export to the same market.

Returning to our subject, I repeat that I am satisfied with the quality of what has been produced since 1969 and I have based this view on careful comparison of what is produced now with what was produced before. However, seen from outside, it is important to realize that the Asmat carvers, in finding their overseas market, have to compete with carvers in quite a number of other areas--areas, moreover, that usually will have a much more favorable location with respect to the market in that communication and transportation do not pose great problems.

In order to survive in this market care will have to be taken to ensure that Asmat carving maintains its own unique character and identity. The sales abroad are based on the established image that has been built up over the years through exhibitions, catalogues and books. Too quick or too far reaching deviations from this image will immediately be reflected in a decrease in demand. Naturally it is recognized that Asmat arts and crafts, as everywhere else do change in accordance with or in opposition to a changing environment and new ideas. In this context I am pleased to say that in my



opinion Asmat carving during these last three years has proven to be fully alive. Local styles and individual carvers clearly can be recognized. Although an inferior carver tends to copy the master carver, there is no sign of clear imitation or standardization. On the contrary, new ideas that have come to the carver have incidentally been absorbed and been expressed in new but genuine Asmat style carvings. Let me offer two intriguing examples of this. The first one is the Chinese Naga. This figure was seen on Hongkong matchboxes and was interpreted by an old carver to be the real Asmat legendary snake that once, long ago, the old man had really seen. The flames around the Naga's head were interpreted to be a feather headdress, "just like we used to wear during our dance feasts", he added. This illustrates how a carver in the village of Mbiwar-Laut, under the influence of the Naga, changed his traditional style. The rather stiff crocodile from before, usually carved in combination with a human figure, suddenly became more alive with a twisting body and a wide open mouth with a threatening tongue sticking out. And only last year, in the same village, I saw a first-class canoe head carved in the shape of a coiling Naga with an ancestor figure on top of it. The other example is the Indonesian Garuda, the emblem of Indonesia, which by certain carvers in Suwa-Erma had been recognized to be their bird of prey. The Garuda was depicted on carved panels in the style of an Asmat bird with the beak of a hornbill; the inscription the bird holds in its claws was interpreted by one carver to be a branch on which the bird was sitting, and by another carver to be a fish the bird had caught! Such foreign concepts, coming from outside but absorbed and translated, a better word perhaps is 're-created,' by the carvers into genuine Asmat style, I feel, are welcome. However, it would be quite different if these changes had been imposed on them from outside. This would have caused confusion and resulted in a hybrid style with a loss of creativity, and last but not least, loss in demand.

One idea that has sometimes been advanced is that Asmat woodcarving can and must be developed by introducing to the carvers ideas, examples, styles and techniques from more developed areas. This is to equate the making of a carving with the making of, for instance, coconut oil where indeed the

use of better tools will result in a better quality oil. However, we are not dealing with coconut oil but with woodcarvings as the life and genuine expressions of the carvers. The developments and changes that will occur in this field should, as explained before, come forward from the carvers themselves.

Instead of introducing foreign examples and tools what we have been trying to do during these years is to build up the prestige of the master woodcarvers, the "wow-ipits," to raise consciousness of good quality and a pride in local styles. By critical and selective buying, which many a time has meant that 50% of what was offered had to be refused, as explained earlier we feel that we can come to the conclusion that present-day Asmat carving constitutes a healthy development from the former-day traditional arts and crafts.

## DISCUSSION

Adrian : There seems to be a difference in the two papers as to whether the adoption of the Chinese Naga into some Asmat carvings was a welcome feature or not.

Hoogerbrugge : We have to consider the outside market. We have been trying to build up an outside market with a reputation for traditional art, but if new elements blend in with the traditional this is fine. What the people do themselves in their art work is one thing; if they are told to do something, this is not good. This is an important distinction.

Walker : From what has been said and written about Asmat carving the prestige of the master carver is very important. Has any consideration been given to bringing carvers into the schools to teach the children woodcarving ?

Sowada : In Komor we already have this plan. One of the carvers comes to the school and the children watch him at work. While he is making a particular piece, for example, a shield, he is considered to be a teacher.

Trenkenschuh : We plan that our new museum will have a teaching function not only for children but also for the older people. We hope that the museum will help the children appreciate their traditions.

Lang : This is very good. So often in development the traditional culture is pushed under the rug as something objectionable and then is lost. People need a sense of identity. Perhaps you should bring story-tellers into the schools and people who can teach the traditional songs, as well as woodcarvers. There have been experiments in American Indian schools along these lines and they seem to have been very successful.

Hoogerbrugge : Now there are no longer any ceremonial houses. The position they used to have in ceremonial life could perhaps be taken over by the schools. Any way in which the schools can become the centre of village life is to the good.

Sowada : In some villages we are building social centres. Could we build these in the form of ceremonial houses ? Perhaps the older people could be in one area where they could have their fire places and sing songs; the young people could use the other end for playing their guitars.

Hoogerbrugge : This is all very well but we need to know the government plans for the villages. There has been talk about modern villages with single family housing and so on.

Omberep : I can only repeat the statement I made before. All good elements in Asmat culture, that is, elements that work for progress and development should be encouraged. With regard to ceremonial houses there are elements that are not good and should not be encouraged.

van der Wouw : There is nothing bad about bachelors' houses. At the present time the villages are dead. There is nothing for the men to do. They need a place to go to make their shields and other things.

Hoogerbrugge : Every Javanese village has its special house for various activities.

Trenkenschuh : The problem is not the name--whether you call it a bachelors' house or a social centre--but where you decide to build it. If it is built in the mission area its not really theirs. The fact is the social centres we have built are not much used. The people prefer to use the shed of the lumber co-operative where they can sit around and have a fire.

van der Wouw : There is a difference between the long house or bachelors' house and a social centre. The former was where the bachelors lived, ate and slept. We have made a mistake with the social centres.



Walker : I would like to ask the KPS whether or not the people could build traditional mens' houses in some villages.

Omberep : I repeat myself for the third time. Real progress is supported. In these houses there is too much of a connection with old and bad elements but to build a social centre together with the people for progress and development is a good thing.

## THE ASMAT HANDICRAFT PROJECT

Jeremias Mbaid

ABSTRACT :

The purpose of this FUNDWI project is to revive Asmat woodcarving-an art that was fast isappearing because of various modern influences that had entered the area.

The task was to identify the real artists (wowipitsj) and persuade them to resume carving. A store was established at Agats and here carvers were able to sell their work for goods or cash. Picture books and photographs of old Asmat carvings were shown to the artists to let them see examples of the best Asmat work. Only woodcarvings that are in the genuine Asmat tradition are encouraged; carvings depicting figures wearing hats or spectacles or smoking pipes are not purchased.

The woodcarvings purchased by our store in Agats are sent to Djajapura where some are sold. Most of the woodcarvings are sent abroad where they can obtain the best prices from museums and collectors. The profits that accrue from this project are returned to the Asmat in a special fund. This money is expended on various projects to assist in the advancement of the people and the region.

Keradjinan membuat ukiran2 kayu menurun dan kesenian Asmat pada umumnya sedang menghilang dengan tjepat sebagai akibat dari pengaruh2 modern jang masuk didaerah ini.

Untuk menghidupkan kembali kesenian Asmat, Projek FUNDWI/18 mendirikan di Agats sebuah toko. Tugasnja per-tama2 menemukan pengukir jang asli dan mengajak mereka untuk membikin ukiran2 lagi. Pada toko ini pengukir2 dapat langsung menukarkan ukirannya dengan barang atau menerima bajaran uang. Pihak ketiga jang bukan pengukir tidak dilayani oleh toko ini. Djuga pada toko ini para pengukir dapat mempelajari buku Asmat Art, melihat foto2 dari benda2 Asmat jang berada diluar negeri dan melihat ukiran2 hasil keradjinan dari kampung kampung Asmat jang lain.

Dari pertjakapan jang diadakan langsung dengan pengukir, petugas toko dapat mentjatat keterangan2 mengenai ukiran tertentu serta ragam hiasnja. Tjatatatan keterangan2 ini merupakan bagian penting dalam pertumbuhan seni ukir. Agar terpelihara keasliannya ukiran, toko ini hanya membeli ukiran jang dibuat menurut tradisi Asmat tulen dengan ragam hias Asmat tulen pula. Djadi tidak

dibeli patung orang dengan katjamata, orang dengan pipa, orang pakai topi dan seterusnya. Djuga tidak akan dibeli ukiran patung binatang asing seperti patung naga dari Tjina atau patung gadjah.

Hasil keradjinan tangan jang dibeli oleh toko ini kemudian dikirimkan ke Djajapura dimana dapat didjual sebahagian ketjil. Djumlah terbesar diteruskan ke Djakarta dan keluar negeri dimana dapat diperoleh harga2 jang terbaik dari museum2 dan pengumpul2 kesenian.

Keuntungan jang diperoleh dari pendjualan diluar negeri dikembalikan ke Asmat dalam bentuk suatu dana khusus. Uang dana ini ditudjukan untuk membantu ber-matjam2 usaha perkembangan daerah itu.



## CONDITIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT IN ASMAT

Gottfried O.Lang

ICHTISAR :

Karangan ini mengungkapkan beberapa pengertian tentang pembangunan jaitu organisasi yang diperlukan serta motif2 dan tehnik yang dipakai agar pembangunan itu tertjapai.

Para ahli ekonomi berpendapat bahwa pembangunan yang didasarkan atas: Gross National Product-tidak akan mentjapai maksud yang lengkap. Harus memperhatikan pula: 1) Pentingnja menolong manusia agar menjadari kemungkinan pribadi, 2) menolong mereka dalam mentjapai kedewasaan dan penghargaan diri yang positif. Sekalipun demikian pembangunan harus kita nilai: 1) Apakah kemiskinan dapat diatasi? 2) Apakah pengangguran dan penggantungan diri dapat dihapuskan? 3) Apakah keadaan yang kurang seimbang itu dapat dikurangi? Pengertian pembangunan yang mengandung unsur2 tersebut agak berlainan dari pada pembangunan yang hanya membawa perkembangan keadaan yang tidak membawa hasil, yang merusakkan kebudayaan rakjat dan menimbulkan ketidak puasan rakjat pula.

Kebanyakan dari pembangunan itu tergantung dari motif dan tjara yang dipergunakan oleh perantara2 pembangunan itu.

Boleh memakai empat approach. Approach yang wadjar yang didasarkan atas banjaknja kapital yang disalurkan dan banjaknja pertanggungan djawab yang diberikan kepada masjarakat setempat akan menjatakan bahwa: "Approach Paternalis ma" dan djuga "Engineering Physical Infrastructural Approach" sangat terbatas. "Traditional Community Development Approach" memang membawa manfaat tetapi belum begitu berhasil baik. "Facilitive assistance Approach" adalah djalan yang terbaik yang memberi kesempatan bagi masjarakat setempat dan penjelesaiannja ditambah dengan pertolongan kapital dari luar.

Penjelenggara pembangunan yang akan memakai "Non Directive Approach"terlebih dulu harus ada approach dengan masjarakat setempat agar saling dimakluminja. Memang kadang2 perlu memakai "Directive instructional approach" untuk hal2 tertentu akan tetapi sifat2nja tak akan berubah dengan tjara ini. Sedang "Directive approach" tidak berguna apabila masjarakat setempat berkembang akan keprtjajaan diri serta kesanggupannja djuga rentjana dan keputusannja.

Achirnja keperluan yang terpenting dalam proses pembangunan adalah pembentukan struktur organisasi yang tjotjok dengan usaha yang akan membawa hasil karenanja dengan pertukaran pendapat. Approach yang dinamis mengharuskan didalam organisasi ada: 1) Saluran komunikasi yang akan memudahkan penukaran pendapat diantara perantara pembangunan dengan masjarakat setempat dan sebaliknya. 2) Struktur yang teratur dalam norma2 yang akan memudahkan partisipasi bersama dalam hal keputusan2nja. 3) Suasana berdasarkan pengalaman dan penjelidikan yang terbuka kepada bermatjam ide dan berdasarkan pendapat2 yang berlainan tetapi berdasarkan atas saling keprtjajaan. 4) Struktur yang memadjukan dan menghormati hak azasi manusia melalui badan hukum yang berlaku yang pula membawa orintasi pengabdian dari perantara2 pembangunan.

The topic of this symposium is the development of Asmat and its villages in relation to the provincial and national context. It is a most appropriate topic because it provides an occasion on which one can take a look at both the difficulties and the opportunities for the development of Asmat. The difficulties derive largely from the fact that development has already begun, that parts of Asmat are more developed than others, and that in the larger regional context, parts of Irian Barat as well as Indonesia too have developed at different rates and to different extents. As Myrdal has pointed out (reprinted in Dalton 1971:390), the expansion and development of one locality may have serious "backwash effects" in other regions; that is to say that even inflows of capital, labor, goods and services do not necessarily and of themselves counteract the tendency towards regional inequality, rather they become the channels for such movements so that lucky regions become wealthier, and less endowed regions become poorer, with a concomitant increase in population. For a newcomer to Asmat, like myself, this danger appears to be very great indeed because flow of capital and services is surely going to be directed to those regions of Irian Barat which have mineral wealth or other natural resources which provide a high yield both to the government and to the investor. And this is at a time when Asmat has just begun to be integrated into the regional, provincial, national and international network of social, economic and political relations. Yet in all these three spheres of social relationships Asmat at present appears to this observer to be receiving many more inputs from outside than it contributes outputs. In fact, it is probably not too rash to argue that Asmat villages on the whole continue to maintain themselves as more or less independent socio-economic systems which survive at a relatively comfortable subsistence level. This in no way implies a slighting of the Asmat traditional economy; on the contrary, in comparison to East African peasant subsistence systems with which I am familiar, Asmat is, to use Sahlins' (1968) phrase, "the original affluent society." Natural resources in food, materials for housing, canoe making, even tools are on the whole plentiful and sufficient in most places, given the current level of living.

In the present context, however, it is clear that levels of living

are bound to change as a result of the presence of external agents of change. Culture contact in some parts of Asmat has been intense; in other areas it has been relatively slight for at least the last 20 years. With contact have come new wants and aspirations, which Lerner in The Passing of Traditional Society and McClelland in The Achieving Society consider so important a motivating force for development on the individual level, and through it on the societal level. But whether or not agents of change or casual culture contact will produce development is not at all certain. The numerous case studies and reports on development projects may be taken as data for the study of the development process. Before proceeding any further( and here I am on uncertain ground because empirical data on the Asmat are not sufficiently abundant to support a developmental conceptual framework), it will be necessary to clarify the term development and give it more precise meaning.

Customarily, economists seem to have had relatively little trouble in defining development—even "successful" development. This is so because their unit of analysis is a nation state and their standard of comparison is the developed, usually the western world. Their measures are impersonal consisting of yearly percentages of growth rates in GNP and/or income, the distribution of that income, and the utilization of a modern technology at least in major sectors of production. But as Dudley Seers of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex recently pointed out, these measures are most inadequate, although not useless in evaluating developmental progress. In accepting the concept of development one is, of course, taking a position in regards to values. And values we must choose, wherever their source. The value position that I am taking here is that which has not only been voiced in international bodies, but which has been around for at least several thousand years and has been rediscovered even by the social sciences in the past several decades: to help individuals realise their potential as human personality, to help them achieve a mature and positive evaluation of self (Seers, p.2, Greeley 1969:155-187). This can, however only be accomplished if there is enough food, if there are jobs or work which gives them a sense of independence so that they can maintain their self-respect and equality in the sense of a



just distribution of income. The criteria by which developmental change may be judged are then simply these: to what extent has poverty been brought under control, to what extent has unemployment been brought under control (including dependency), and to what extent has inequality been reduced. These criteria apply to individuals, no less than village communities, areas, provinces, nations, and the world.

So conceived, we may perhaps venture to suggest that development is not inevitable, while indeed socio-cultural and economic change is. What we need to distinguish is its directionality. Following Dalton's categorization of change we can distinguish between 1) degenerative change, 2) growth without development, and 3) socio-economic development (Dalton, 1971:214-222).

Degenerative change implies "...severe disruption of the traditional life of a community over several generations with accompanying indicators of novel sorts and frequencies of personal and social malaise." It is due to rather severe incursions from the outside causing cultural decimation manifesting itself behaviorally in fantasy, aggression, withdrawal and escape, and culturally takes the form of such movements as cargo cults, institutionalized alcoholism or abortive movements like the Pawnee Ghost Dance. Furthermore, no substitute patterns or alternatives are provided by the intruder; on the contrary, traditional forms of social organization are destroyed as well as cultural meanings are belittled and social distance between the "conqueror" and the "conquered" are increased.

In growth without development, the change is distinct from the former in two ways: 1) the "incursion is not severely disruptive of traditional society" and a people become "engaged in new cash earning activities"(such as selling labor, or producing ironwood for an external or local market). But this is presumably the only important innovation that has been adopted. In other words, the traditional socio-cultural system stays largely as it was. It means that the income of a community does increase, but at this stage in the change process it brings with it certain kinds of "typical" responses such as: (a) the use of the new income for old status prerogatives, (b) the creation of new conflicts over the use of resources and (c) the undermining of traditional

arrangements such as reciprocity and thereby sharing, which increases individualism, and hence effects a decline in social security. Several writers have pointed out, including Bohannan (1959), how the introduction of cash may produce severe moral ambivalences. The exchange of prestige goods, like the stone axes in Asmat brideprice, when they become easily interchangeable for cash, or other non-valuable consumer goods, tend to upset traditional values and undermine social relationships.

Socio-Economic development involves nearly a total transformation of the local community or area. There is no development in this sense which is independent of larger economic and cultural units of which it is a part. It means the development of greater diversity with a concomitant need for greater integration with groups and institutions external to the local community, however we choose to define that community. For sustained growth to take place in economic, political and cultural spheres it is first necessary to increase income. This means production for sale in order to pay for the inflow of consumer goods, capital goods, and social services such as schools and health facilities. We are told that this is possible only with increasingly efficient technology, which includes technological knowledge, which initially, like some of the other goods and services have to be brought in from outside as a means of priming the pump of development, which I shall discuss in more detail below. Political development can and must take place as well through taxation (but not in excess of the new incomes produced, otherwise it will act as a counter-incentive), and through it provide vital services in economic, educational, security and health spheres. Finally, cultural integration involves the learning of a new language, new skills, development of literacy, new health practices. Here experiences increase so that rational choices can be made among alternatives and providing information about events and institutions beyond the bounds of the local community. If such development occurs, social costs in this transformation can be kept at a minimum; and with maximum local participation they can nearly be eliminated. It will also assure the preservation of an ethnic identity. In a society such as Indonesia this is fostered because there is a belief in the vitality of cultural pluralism.

And it seems, as judged by the bitter experience of American Indians and detribalized Africans, that some modicum of ethnic identity is necessary to help shape and maintain the individual as a unique personality.

To the extent that all of us here are interested in the third form of cultural change: socio-cultural development, we are forced to seek out new ways, new approaches that guide both the people and the change agents in producing behaviour changes at minimal social cost. Models of socio-economic change that have been produced in the industrialized nations turn out to be of little value in the developing nations and their communities. While in a country where individualism and income is high, and risks in the adoption of innovations are cushioned by reserves and insurances, and where an effective communications network is already in existence, a western model of the adoption of innovations is no doubt valid. This model holds that any item of behaviour, or any material innovations, if it proves advantageous in a more or less economic sense, will eventually be accepted. Research by Rogers (1962, 1971) and others shows that the pattern of the diffusion of such innovations follows a typical S-shaped curve, where some "early adopters" are courageous enough to try anything new; and provided communication is adequate, others will soon follow these leaders. But in communities where there is strong egalitarianism, this model does not hold. It also does not hold where there are pronounced norms of reciprocity among kin and neighborhood groups. This is not to deny that steel axes are readily accepted and that the only limiting factor to their acceptance in Asmat are their availability. But steel axes also do not in any sense alter, at least not at first, the ongoing socio-cultural system; nor is their introduction part of a plan that guides development. If so-called extension methods tried and proven elsewhere are not immediately applicable, as we think they are not, we must search for a strategy for development in the sense defined above that helps, rather than destroys development of self, through the transformation of the community. This implies that the change agent must focus his efforts not only on changing individuals, but also groups and clusters of groups as they exist in any community so that they can genuinely help themselves as well as the region and nation of which they are a part.



According to many analysts and professional development workers, two crucial questions have to be decided almost at the outset when designing a change strategy (Choldin, 1968; Bennis, 1966; Niehoff, 1966; Batten, 1967, 1969). One has to do with the locus of decision making. Shall it be at the local level or shall it be with the change agency? By a change agency I mean all outside personnel, usually organized into groups such as government departments, schools, medical teams, missionaries, community development teams and the like. A second question has to do with the amount of material inputs that are to be invested in the development process. These two major areas, the loci of decision making and the material inputs to be invested, provide us with a preliminary classification of the development strategies that can be used, and indeed have been used in various parts of the world. We may refer to this as "Strategies of Induced Change," represented in Figure 1.

Each of these approaches has its advantages and disadvantages. This depends on (a) the kind of innovation introduced into a community (b) the nature of kind of community it is (size, complexity, etc.), and (c) its past history with change agents. Perhaps a discussion of each of these strategies will help clarify the meaning, advantages and disadvantages of these strategies. In discussing them, we must be aware that like all typologies, they are aids in understanding a matter conceptually, and that reality is rarely so classifiable. But they provide a beginning for ordering our understanding of the bewildering amount of materials describing change strategies.

In the type A strategy, the decision making function rests almost totally with the change agency. The change agency decides what changes are necessary in the target population; it tells the "natives" what is best for them in moral behaviour, in clothing, in working and believing. We call it paternalistic because it tends to treat target populations in a condescending way, and since its relationship is essentially that between father and child, the concomitant stereotyping of all the "natives" as child-like is inevitable. Although this approach has often been associated with an older tradition of missionaries, it is by no means limited to them. Extension workers and "experts" of very modern change agencies frequently engage in this kind of

strategy as well. Its attractiveness lies, of course, in the fact that it calls for only minor material inputs and so costs are low(at least in the short run). It is assumed also that superior knowledge and expertise of the change agent will be received gratefully since the target population is "backward."

This approach has limited applicability as a survey of 50 case studies we conducted several years ago at the University of Colorado suggests. Half the cases analyzed used a variant of type A strategy, and all of them failed. The failures seem to be caused by change agents' perception and definition of the problem to be solved.

Fig. 1. STRATEGIES OF INDUCED CHANGE

Material Inputs invested	Locus of Decision Making	
	In change Agency ("Directive Change")	In Local community ("Non-Directive Change")
Low amount of investment in material inputs.	<u>Type A</u>	<u>Type B</u>
	"Paternalistic Approach"	"Traditional Community Development Approach"
	Superior knowledge & Skill of change agent forces acceptance of new teachings and changed habits .	Emphasized "self-help" with community resources to solve problems. Develops leadership identifies problems,formulates goals through democratic means.
	<u>Type C</u>	<u>Type D</u>
High amount of investments in material inputs.	*Engineering-Physical Infra-structure Approach"	"Facilitative Assistance Approach"
	Build new facilities needed for development and allow people to figure out how to use them..	Local group defines own problems, sets own goals. Outside organization(change agency) helps achieve goals.

What the change agency sees and what the target population sees, in these uncritical strategies, are always two different things. Thus, if there is little congruence between the change agent's perception of problems to be solved and those of the target population, the probability of failure is very high. One may call this strategy also a "directive approach" and we will say more about it later. It is sufficient to note here, that most instructional teaching methods are of this directive nature. But, this is not to say that there is not a place and time for their use, for instance in the use of machinery or keeping records; that is, in strictly technical and scientific procedures this approach is probably the best we have. But if there are alternative ways of doing things, especially if they involve several people or communities and there is not yet consensus on the nature of the problem, chances are that this strategy will not work. Furthermore, if a target population has had a large dose of instructional or directive changes imposed upon itself in its culture contact history (as during the colonial periods), this will usually preclude the type A strategy from being acceptable even if it would otherwise be called for because we have already reached a situation that resembles degenerative change.

In type B strategy emphasis is clearly on democratic decision making at the local community level, and the development of indigenous leadership is a primary goal. There is emphasis on developing the ability to solve problems with locally available resources. "Self-help" means the voluntary contribution of labor and local resources as means to community improvement and self-reliance. Like type A strategy, it calls for low outside inputs and hence costs are minimal.

This strategy has been widely used in India, Tanzania, and many South East Asian countries and continues to have wide appeal especially when outside resources are in short supply. But the successful projects have been limited, even though in the short run they may "look" like successes. One of the limiting factors of the approach is that the local village economics are very close to subsistence level. For effective development to take place people re-



quire, but usually do not have a surplus of either labor or other resources to maintain development projects. In Asmat, for example there is up to a point a labour surplus. The question is, how long will this last? Food resources will become scarcer near the permanently located villages and it will be necessary for people to go further afield to find food resources. A second limiting factor to this approach, at least in the past, has been the fact that the community development worker has been an educated outsider, a member of the elite, identified with government which collects taxes (see Rudra Datt Singh in Spicer, 1952:61). This has been the experience especially in India, but also in Tanzania where for some time the extension worker was a member of the elite. As such he found it easy to interact with the "progressive" farmer, but failed to reach the rest of the community. The singling out of modernizing or progressive individuals who are easy to work with has the effect of increasing inequality, and at the same time destroying the effectiveness of the project with a concomitant loss of face in any future attempt to introduce another innovation. Cynicism is not an unknown result that the community development worker finds where this has been the past history of development. In other words, failure to live up to expectations tends to destroy trust, and without trust between change agents and villagers there is practically no possibility for development.

The type C strategy emphasizes high capital investment but local decision making is either absent or only at a bare minimum level. It may be called the "engineering-infra structure" approach because it usually involves the construction of large structures planned by engineers which serve the region or nation as a whole. Because they are large projects such as dams and roads and harbor facilities, they often also call for high capital outlays in part obtained from abroad. The projects are initiated generally by the central government and the assumption underlying them is that roads, transport and other capital intensive facilities will provide the economic and social opportunities and over time the local populace will use these for their own benefit and that of the country. This happens often, but it would be dishonest not to point out that it is not quite as automatic as is often assumed. Particularly

dams have sometimes not been utilized, and costly irrigation works have been permitted to lie idle because the "human factor" has not been considered in adequate detail. If these gigantic projects require new forms of co-operation among the effected people, or new forms of land tenure systems, or new forms of usufruct rights as in fishing domains, careful preparation of the population for these changes is mandatory. Similarly, large projects have a tendency to aid only a limited proportion of the populace; and if there is a history of preferential treatment, for instance, large plantations, the chances for the ordinary citizen to accept such large scale innovations are rather small. And again, we have to ask if a local population can maintain large scale projects once they have been constructed.

Now, in the final type D strategy which may be called the "facilitative assistance" approach, the emphasis as in type B is on local decision making. But as in type C above, it also emphasizes relatively high capital inputs, but not in the same large amounts as in type C. We hasten to add, however that part of the inputs also involve considerable non-material inputs (though they have costs) which may be called information. Information inputs are, as we shall discuss below, of equal or greater importance than capital inputs. It also assists in developing new skills and in mediating between target population and the larger society.

Type D strategy emphasizes local community decision making; this constitutes a special problem to the change agency. The problem derives from the fact that in effect, control is given to the target population, at least over some aspects of a development project. On the psychological level, the change agent experiences difficulty because he lacks trust in the capabilities of the clients, especially if he is overly concerned with their illiteracy and lack of experience with new ways of doing new things. It also derives from the fact that change agents find it easier to resort to a stereotype such as "the people are lazy." This, like all stereotypes is based on an observation in this case, little work. But we should ask ourselves the question here, why little work? Rather than dividing mankind into "good people" and "bad people" (the lazy ones), it is more fruitful to look at the context, the situation in

which people manifest certain kinds of behaviour. When we adopt this view it commonly turns out that people behave the way they do because the situation in which they find themselves is frustrating, or, more importantly, they lack the requisite information that would allow them to consider appropriate alternatives. If people refuse a new practice or an innovation, it is because they are rational beings whose experience has been their teacher. But it is also true that experience may have been limited by lack of information inputs which could help a people in changing circumstances. If this reasoning is correct, and information theory and empirical evidence suggests that it is, then the big problem that confronts the change agents in the proper transmission of information. Can this be done in terms of type D strategy where much of the control for the development process is at the local level? There is evidence that it can be done if we take the experience of a number of development projects in Peru, Bangladesh, and East Africa (Holmberg in Dalton 1971:519-555; Vasquez in Dalton, 1971:556-565; Lear in Niehoff 1966: 60-67; Dobyms et al in Niehoff 1966:67-76, Choldin 1968; Lang and Hatfield, m.s. and Lang, Roth, and Lang 1970). But I would like to emphasize here that demonstrating the feasibility of an innovation is not enough to produce development as we have defined it. It is also not enough to provide capital, and even services of "experts" if at the same time people who are affected by the new inputs do not participate in the decision making process and thereby learn the use as well as the organizational structure of behaving in changing circumstances which an innovation entails. Demonstration, lecturing, admonishing, scolding, pressuring are of no avail if the innovation, however beneficial it may appear to the change agent, does not at the same time meet a felt need of the client population.

The problem then becomes one of bridging the gap between the client population and the change agents through appropriate teaching and demonstration methods on the one hand, and simultaneously build an institution on the other, that in the course of time makes the outside "experts" obsolete. The first problem may be restated as one of providing an appropriate climate or situation in which mutual teaching and learning can take place; the second



one may be stated as being one of building a self-maintaining, self-respecting social organization. I will try to discuss these two problems in turn in the remainder of the paper.

Before I tackle these two problems, it is necessary to review some general principles about the adoption of innovation process (Rogers 1962, 1971; Niehoff, 1966, Erasmus 1961, Barnett, 1953). This is so because both the teaching learning process as well as the building of an institutional structure can be viewed as cumulative and hence evolutionary and emergent. Thus, first of all, if an innovation meets the needs of a people, if they see a problem to be solved, that innovation is more likely to be accepted by them. Second, if the innovation promises an immediate or short-term reward which is also a highly visible benefit (and it need not be just material, it may be social as well, such as recognition or prestige), that innovation will be more likely accepted and integrated into their life. Finally, if an innovation, however complex, such as a lumbering cooperative which has both material and organizational aspects, can be broken down into its component parts, and one or at most a few parts can be adopted at a time, that innovation (given the first two conditions) will be accepted. This is so because it spreads the risks involved in accepting something new, and allows the adopters to gain confidence in the use of the innovation on the one hand, while on the other it builds trust in the credibility of the change agents. Taking these generalizations into account in a development program does not imply that there will not be any conflicts or dissappointments. It is precisely because of the inevitability of stresses and strains in the development process that special attention must be given to the teaching-learning process and the formation of an adequate organizational structure in which this can take place. To those problems I now turn.

The first problem, that of evolving an adequate process for both teaching and learning, if a facilitative assistance strategy is to be applied, has we have said, been labeled a "non-directive" approach. It has been explained by an experienced community development worker, T.R. Batten, who contrasts it to the "directive approach." In the latter, heavy reliance is on instructional techniques, techniques we are familiar with. We have experienced

them through most of our early schooling and beyond, even into graduate work. The essence of this approach, as we have seen in what we called the "paternalistic" type A strategy is "that the agency and its workers think, decide, plan, organize, administer, and provide for people. Always the main initiative and the final say, remains with "the outside agency." (Batten, 1969). There is no doubt that in some instances this approach is effective, perhaps even necessary. Perhaps in the teaching of technical skills where there is a close and predictable connection between cause and effect such directive or instructional teaching is appropriate. More precisely, I suggest some criteria or conditions when the directive approach is especially appropriate: 1) In the eyes of the learner, the ideas, information, and skills of the teacher are considered relevant to the job to be done. Learning how to saw a log, for example, becomes relevant at the moment to a learner when it becomes the means to obtain some other good such as tobacco. 2) It follows from this that the learner must want the training offered by the teacher because he sees its relevance. Seeing the relevancy for learning a new skill is far from easy for the change agents, and therefore a more non-directive approach which makes this apparent may be called for in the first instance. 3) Most important is that the teacher makes sure that the training objectives are such that they can be achieved by instructional methods. One may instruct an Asmat all one is capable of in the marketing procedures of lumber, but this, without a trip to the market is meaningless, not to mention the entire concept of marketing and markets in a society in which the principal mode of economic transaction continues to be some sort of barter, based on face to face relations.

But when other conditions prevail, especially when attitudes are to be changed, when perceptions are to be changed, when the target population is expected to take on responsibility and making sound judgement for themselves, it is then that the non-directive approach seems more appropriate. This is not an idle and fanciful suggestion. Both the cases in applied anthropology, as well as the increasing body of empirical work in organization research point in this direction, even though all the evidence is not yet in. The change agency in this approach provides a structure and organization through which

the people decide what their needs and wants are, what they are willing to do to meet them, how best to organize and plan, and how to carry out their solution to a satisfactory conclusion. The interaction process involved can perhaps be best illustrated by a diagram (see Fig.2).

Fig.2 INTERACTION PROCESS STAGES LEADING TO ACTION

<u>Stages</u> : Members of a target population (a committee, or other representative group)		Members of a change agency (initiates process by asking questions)
I	Vague dissatisfaction; passive reaction.	Stimulates people to think about their dissatisfactions; with what, and why.
II	Are now aware of certain needs and problems (increased specificity).	Stimulates people to think about what specific changes would ensue if needs and problems were met.
III	Are now aware of wanting changes of some specific kind.	Stimulates people to consider what they might do to bring such changes about by taking action themselves.
IV	Decide for or against trying to meet some want for themselves.	If necessary, stimulates people to consider how best they can organize themselves to do what they want to do.
V	Plan what to do and how they will do it.	Stimulates people to consider and decide in detail just what to do, who will do it, and when and how they will do it.
VI	Act according to their planning.	Stimulates people to think through any unforeseen difficulties or problems they may encounter in the course of what they do (he may again need to help them work through each of the preceding five stages in deciding how to tackle each problem)
VII	Satisfaction with result of their achievement.	

(Adopted from Batten, 1969)

There are of course limitations as well as advantages to this non-directive approach. First, as already mentioned, the change agents cannot



dictate the course of events, he can only influence its course. But, if he is skilful, he will help people to arrive at decisions which are theirs, and thus the goals of development can more readily be achieved because the input of the local people is due more to their greater commitment to "their" project. Secondly, the client population not infrequently dislikes the non-directive approach, especially when they have not been accustomed to handling responsibility. But it is precisely at this point that the potential of a people can be developed by encouraging decision making and independent thinking within their group. Third, there are rules of procedure which must be established and especially in the beginning of a change process, people are unfamiliar with them. Perhaps, also, particular tasks call for strict technical skills, like weighing, measuring, operating a machine etc., all of which call for an instructional approach. But to the degree to which even procedure and rules are agreed upon by the non-directive approach, this tends to create a "we-feeling" and tremendously increases the morale of the group, as so many management studies have shown. Fourth, the users of the non-directive approach must be experienced or have been trained in the technique. This implies, indeed it is essential, that he is convinced of the validity of the approach, in short, believe in it himself. But to the extent to which he is committed to such a non-directive approach, it provides nearly unlimited opportunities for educating and influencing people in a lasting way, again because it has become their own project, their own way of handling problems.

In applying the non-directive approach one needs to be not only convinced of its effectiveness and utility, but one must have an understanding of the conditions or the situations in which this approach is most likely going to be effective. It appears that the conditions for this approach are most propitious when the following two criteria are present:

1. The needs of the people (the target population) are greater than the ability of either the people themselves or the change agency to meet these needs and wants by themselves. This seems to be eminently the case as the Asmat people move into an area of greater involvement with the outside world--a corollary of which is a change in their wants.

2. For self-sustained growth to take place one of the greatest needs objectively speaking, is for a people to build confidence and competence in thinking, deciding and implementing their efforts towards the achievement of new goals. Therefore, as new opportunities become available, as indeed they will with increasing education, new jobs, new commercial ventures and the like, there arise new problems to be solved which require new interactions that can become opportunities for self-learning, experiencing, and self-realization.

This brings me to the second problem, of creating structures and organizations which provide opportunities for and promote interaction, self-learning, and self-realization. Furthermore, this involves building an organization that is self-maintaining, lasting yet flexible so that it can cope with changing circumstances and problems. This involves, I think, a way of conceptualizing organizational structures in a new way--a way that is different from more static organization charts, more in conformity with a dynamic systems approach, that not only emphasizes channels of command, but also speaks instead of channels of communication with appropriate feed-back loops between the various components of the organization. Fortunately, the social sciences are able to help us in this regard. We can obtain valuable insights from the Cornell-Peru Project at Hacienda Vicos, from the Comilla Project in Bangladesh, and from the students of the sociology and social psychology of organizations. While one may certainly object to these cases and studies and generalizations derived from them on the grounds that they do not fit the Asmat situation, they nevertheless show us processes of organizational structuring which are widely applicable, just as physiological processes are applicable in many different physical types of mankind.

While it is not possible nor desirable at this stage of my knowledge of Asmat to spell out what the specific nature of these organizational structures should be, I can at least suggest what they are supposed to do if their purpose is to facilitate development as we have defined it, that is to promote employment, prevent poverty, and assure equality. But we need remind ourselves that the fulfilment of the human potential requires much that cannot be

expressed in economic terms alone. This then means that the objectives of such a structure should promote also education, health, freedom of movement and expression, and a sense of belonging to a local, regional and national citizenry. If these are legitimate goals, that is, economic development and the development of a whole person, then it seems to me that the organization of human interaction must be so structured that it meets the following requirements, no matter what its specific structural arrangements are in civic and political processes, in co-operatives, in health services, in educational services, in commercial transactions and in services provided by missionaries who are principally concerned with increasing the worth of the individual as a fully autonomous, responsible, concerned person.

First, and perhaps most importantly there must be a structure that provides for the maximum flow of communication. Not only downwards flow to the lower echelons of groups and communities, but especially attention must be given to arranging structures that facilitate upward flow. This entails a willingness on the part of the change agency or the agents of change to listen--a capacity which is not "natural," but one which has to be developed by change agents, especially those in authority positions. Although there are many "master plans" on how to improve communications, most of them are not worth much because they have been drawn up without reference to the reality of the local situation. Therefore, what is called for is slow and careful experimentation in this most critical area and an evolution of a viable communications network that maximizes as much as possible all existing channels of communications. From my short experience in Asmat, I would say that there are already in existence a number of separate and independent communication networks, but they are not articulated. For instance, there is one on the level of the village, perhaps least utilized and listened to by agents of change; there is one within the various mission groups, and overarching all these are the government administrative communication networks. But I am not as yet persuaded that beyond a minimal level they articulate to any great extent. These remarks are not intended to be negative criticisms, but rather an identification of a problem that needs experimental attention in restructuring this aspect of a total



organization for development.

So that the two way communication process that was suggested does not become a mere system for giving orders on the one hand, and opportunities to informers on the other, it is equally important that the broadest possible participation in decision making is achieved. This refers not only to the usual democratic processes of election of public and corporate officers, but also the establishment of some regular bodies for consultation. Those in authority in particular, cannot make relevant decisions that have the support of the people affected without their co-operation; and their co-operation cannot be obtained without consulting them. This is not to say that force cannot produce results, certainly in the short run; but in the long run unmitigated force tends to produce counter pressures at precisely those points in the history of groups when free co-operation is most essential. Increasingly, studies tend to show, even for highly structured corporate bodies, that increased participation in matters pertaining to members of the corporate bodies increases their productivity, proportionate to an increase in their morale.

Organizations must be so structured that they promote an experimental attitude towards new situations. What is needed is a willingness to be open to different ideas, however different they may be. This is so because without a large number of different ideas, as well as behaviour patterns, the possibility of becoming involved in creative behaviour is severely limited. Instead of being afraid of diversity, diversity must be actively encouraged because the whole process of modernisation itself is creating more diversity. And with the creation of greater diversity it becomes critical that integrative institutions, integrative behaviour are also found. Thus a change agency together with the client population must be concerned with creating an environment that is geared to and concerned with the identification of problems and their solutions through participation in the decision making process.

This cannot, of course, take place if there is no trust between change agents operating through their diverse structures, and most of all between change agents and the target populations. A trust relationship implies that one person or group will give some other person or group something before he

takes it, and that the two sides of the relationship are open to another's suggestion, and put aside aggressive barriers. It seems to me that trust is very highly developed in Asmat among family groups in villages, within change agencies themselves, but what needs to be worked out is a structure and organization that can coordinate and extend this trust beyond the boundaries of these small social groups. This of course might be effected only if face to face relationships are built. Such face to face relationships need not imply that there is agreement, on the contrary, they provide the mechanism to establish the fact that there is diversity, and through the pooling of diversity a new consensus can be created, which, as we have suggested above, is the stuff of development. Creativeness, and innovativeness so conceived is not something that is reserved to the genius or the team or experts, but rather becomes the way of operating among all people who are involved in the development process. And creativeness and innovativeness come about, psychologists tell us only after a problem has been identified.

So in order to bring problems to light, an organization must have as part of its functioning structure a mechanism for self-evaluation. This might be a committee or a permanent group which engages on the level of the change agency as well as on the community level in self-study and self-criticism. Organized change agencies through this mechanism may be able to avoid the "iron law of oligarchy" through which means become ends, through which the organization forgets what it was created for and becomes an end in itself.

The change agencies dare not forget that in accordance with the United Nations Charter, and also in accordance with the precepts of most world religions, they are concerned with the promotion of human rights. Missionary effort, no less than the specialized agencies of the U.N. have been founded for the increase of this most precious right of all of man-kind. Yet, in the day to day struggle to survive, to cope with bothersome detail, it is so easy for change agencies to lose sight of this. And the larger the change agency is, the greater it would seem this problem looms as the Jackson Report so amply documents. But again, the degree to which the organization promotes communication and feedback, participation in decision making, and an experimental

stance in solving problems, to this extent it will further human rights and freedom through the encouragement and--where only incipient--the development of leadership and responsibility.

Change agents will accomplish this only when they take their leadership seriously as co-workers in the development process. More specifically, when they avoid acting as a privileged caste or an elite that is capable of being either intimidatory through the arbitrary use of force in the name of some authority, or patriarchal and patronizing in the name of its special social position made possible by greater resources than available to the target population. Rather, the style must be, as Mazrui (1971) the African political scientist recently put it, capable of mobilizing the members of the target population through his ideological stance no less than his charismatic abilities that can stir the imagination of his colleagues and those for whom he works and serves. Or, at times it must be reconciling in the sense that leadership is tactically able to accomodate when the situation seems irreconcilable by discovering common ground and thus achieving compromise and/or synthesis. Or put another way, leadership style must be task oriented where tasks are clearly defined, and membership oriented where the problem is neither well defined nor the participation of the people involved is called for. This means that where policy has been agreed upon tasks have to be carried out by competent professionals, and if they do not exist they have to be trained. But where policy is in the making, a membership oriented leadership style in the sense in which we defined it as non-directive, is more likely to obtain participation, co-operation and through it, development. The attitude of the change agency and its members clearly calls for a service orientation rather than that of the colonial masters. The image of the colonial master is dead, but his behaviour patterns linger on.

It is this service orientation that should be the objective of any development organization. And if it is not so oriented, it should organize itself in order to achieve such a functional goal. But if service is to be the goal of change agents, and if organizing their technical skills, however scarce they may be, has high priority, it implies that they should be "all things to



all men." And clearly, this has been the most frustrating part of our lives in so far as we have been active as change agents. How is one to be educator, mechanic, economist, navigator, historian, carpenter, psychologist, accountant community development worker and storekeeper without far exceeding the capabilities of any one person? The answer, of course, is that one cannot competently master all these roles. Our developing world is much too complex and it is high time that even in Asmat we understand the complexities of development. The problem, rather, is that while we have a very complex technology at hand, and while we can solve nearly all technical problems quite adequately, we are only beginning now to understand that the more important aspect of development is organizing ourselves, developing appropriate structures which facilitate, rather than hinder development. This clearly means that the first requirement of a change agency must be its openness and accessibility to the people who seek development. It means secondly, that the nature of the problems brought to the agents of change can be extremely varied. Hence change agents must be wary of the immediate temptation: providing quick answers. Instead, there must be interaction that not only clarifies the multitude of problems brought up, but sorts them out as to priorities; furthermore, instead of providing a part or a wrong answer, the change agent has something to offer by virtue of his much larger network of communication so that he can get the clients and "experts" together for the purpose of their solving problems together. This is, then, what we mean by a facilitative strategy, and one that can lead to development.

In Asmat, as elsewhere culture change is well under way at an ever accelerating rate. The question that is far from clear, however, shall it be degenerative change, shall it be growth without development, or shall it be socio-economic development? The strategy and the organization of change agencies will probably determine which one of these changes will take place.

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EDUCATION FOR RESPONSIBILITY : SOME PRACTICAL  
REFLECTIONS BY AN ASMAT CO-OPERATIVE ADVISOR

Michael Adrian o.s.c.

ICHTISAR :

Rentjana kerdja Misi didaerah Asmat ini jaitu menolong supaja orang Asmat mengerti tanggung djawab dalam kehidupan mereka sehari-hari.

Dulu orang Asmat tidak tahu tentang mempergunakan waktu atau kesempatan, sebab kebiasaan mereka hidup setjara bebas, tak ada suatu pekerdjaan jang mengikat. Sekarang mereka harus bekerdja setjara kontinju dan teratur. Meskipun pekerdjaan ini demi untuk kesedjahteraan mereka tetapi hal ini merupakan suatu hal jang sulit dan berat mereka terima.

Koperasi jang ada didaerah ini kami harapkan dapat menolong mereka baik dalam bidang sosial-ekonomi maupun dalam bidang pendidikan. Mereka harus mengerti bahwa koperasi adalah hak milik mereka bersama bukan orang lain.

Ada tiga hal jang harus mereka ketahui tentang koperasi itu:

- 1) Mereka harus tahu bekerdja dengan alat2 jang dipergunakan meskipun alat2 itu asing bagi mereka.
- 2) Mereka harus tahu tentang administrasi, tahu ukuran2, tahu tentang menghitung uang dan lain2.
- 3) Jang terpenting mereka harus tahu tanggung djawab dan menjadari bahwa koperasi adalah kepunjaan mereka bersama.

Segala peraturan harus mereka buat sendiri agar tahu kewajiban dan djawabnja.

Maka dalam kehidupan berkoperasi itu mereka harus kerdja sama antara anggauta bahkan kepada orang2 sekampungnja. Lebih landjut mereka akan dapat kerdja sama dengan orang2 dikampung lain sehingga mereka bersatu. Kesatuan mereka itu kami harapkan bukan hanya dalam hal koperasi, tetapi djuga dalam segi segi sosial jang lain sehingga mereka merasa bertanggung djawab atas kemandjuaan daerah Asmat ini. Kalau djiwa persatuan dan rasa tanggung djawab itu betul betul sudah didjiwai mereka, maka koperasi akan mendjadi pusat kehidupan mereka jang akan mendatangkan kemadjuan jang baik untuk kehidupan mereka.

## Introduction

The Diocese of Agats - Asmat has evolved a mission programme aimed at helping the Asmat people achieve a sense of responsibility for their own welfare and with a restored sense of pride in themselves and their way of life. If we are to succeed in this programme, the Asmat Catholic School system and all those we train in Agats or the outposts, be they carpenter crews, boat-men or members of the co-operatives, need to be incorporated into an all embracing plan designed to reach this goal.

Perhaps our most talked about means to achieving this end of independence and pride in the socio-economic sphere is our gradually evolving system of co-operatives. At this stage we have helped the people start nine co-operatives which are, in various degrees, working toward official recognition by the Indonesian Government. We also have other work projects started which will soon enter into the co-operative pattern.

In this paper I would like to offer what insights I have gained through my experiences in working with the Asmat co-operatives as an advisor. The paper is practical rather than theoretical and I hope to conclude with some concrete areas of concern. I will use the co-operatives as my prime example, but what I have to say can just as well be applied to the carpentry crews in Agats, the education of our boat men, or to working with village chiefs or leaders.

When we first introduced the co-operative movement to the Asmat people it was a foreign concept which was, in many ways, beyond their understanding. Such "simple" ideas as keeping time schedules (i.e. starting work at 8:00 and continuing until 2:00) seemed unreasonable to the people and they could not see the need for it. Time has never been appreciated in this manner. The Asmat people, traditionally, did not use time as we do. They ate when they were hungry, slept when they were tired and fished when they felt like fishing. The amount of work required in our sense of the word, was minimal. The roof over their heads was good enough until the rain came in. At that time they would carry out whatever repairs were necessary. The men were always free to sit around the fire and tell their stories. The women did most of the

arduous work. The Asmat were simply a food-gathering people and this, together with their casual approach (in our terms) to time handicapped them when they came into contact with the outside world and were forced to compete with other peoples.

For these and other reasons which can be explored in theoretical papers I suggest that the introduction of the co-operative movement was a foreign concept to the Asmat people which had no parallel in their past. It follows then that before co-operatives are able to become a real part of the Asmat way of life, the Asmat people themselves must come to understand that the co-operative is not just a job which will provide a salary. They will have to appreciate that the co-operative can answer their social and economic needs. They will have to realize that through their co-operatives they can arrive at a sense of achievement experience. The future must be determined by the people themselves and the co-operatives can assist in this determination but only if they realize that the co-operatives are "theirs" and not "ours".

### Levels of Education

#### 1. Technical Skills:

There are at least three phases or levels of education called for in the introduction of the co-operative movement. In actual fact these levels may be said to coexist rather than to form a sequence through time. The first level is that of technical skills, the second the introduction of administrative skills and the third (to my mind the most crucial), the acceptance of social discipline and the basic leadership patterns required for socio-economic growth.

Because at this juncture in our work efforts have been aimed mainly at lumber co-operatives, the points made concerning skills to be learned will focus only on lumber activities.

If the people wish to initiate a lumber co-operative they must first learn how to use the tools required for lumber production. Before the mission and government appeared on the scene, the people knew only how to use simple tools of non-metal materials. Lumber production, however, requires saws, planes



metal axes, saw sharpening tools etc., and there is very little flexibility in the way that these tools can be used and cared for.

It is our responsibility to teach these mechanical skills. Initially these skills are just as foreign to the people as the basic idea that the co-operative is owned by the members.

Teaching these skills is the easiest task we face (because it is the most practical) and I should add that it is simple enough to enter a village, observe the product (finished lumber) and the process of production (sawing, chipping and finishing) and note whether these skills have been properly taught or not. My impression is that in various co-operatives the members expend at least five times the amount of work actually needed to saw and finish a single log. This is probably because the members have never learned the correct way to use the saws.

There are various reasons for this. The most obvious is that not each pastor whodesires to open and work with a co-operative knows these skills himself. This is partly the responsibility of the bishop who should try to provide such training for mission personnel. A more important factor, however, is that of time available to the pastor who works with the co-operative. The pastors in the villages also try to promote native feasts, art, folk-lore, etc.,. At the same time the pastors have their primary religious obligations both personal and to parish members and they must also spend hours each day in giving medicine to the sick. They have many administrative tasks for both government and diocese. They care for two to seven villages in addition to their main posts, oversee projects, schools and so on. They keep all of the records of births and deaths, and also provide some basic store goods for the people and the teachers.

With so many demands upon his time it is hardly possible for the pastor to offer training in lumber skills even if he himself is an expert which, in most cases, he is not. Perhaps, then, we have to ask ourselves as agents of change whether we need other experts who can assume this responsibility for teaching the necessary skills. Such teachers could be provided by the government, by FUNDWI, or by lay missionary organizations. Whatever the

solution may be, we are forced to admit that this level of education will demand much more time and fairly constant presence. It should also be realized that a co-operative is unlikely to function effeciently if the members do not have an adequate grasp of the basic skills of lumber production.

## 2. Administrative Skills:

The second level at which education must take place is that of administration. Here I include everything from reading the metre stick accurately to general book-keeping and the administrative reports to the Co-operative Central Office in Agats, and the Government's offices in Merauke and elsewhere.

Now, in this regard literacy is absolutely fundamental. To have all the membership literate would be the ideal but for the time being this is impossible. We have to depend largely upon the schools to provide younger men who know how to read and write and to work with figures.

Once we have found men who know how to read and write and are willing to enter the co-operative system, our task as educator just begins. Many long hours will be required to teach uniform administrative procedures, basic arithmetic, simple accountancy, how to calculate payment of salaries and to pay for logs which are brought by non-members for sale to the co-operative. This education will be a slow and on-going process but it is a necessity if one day the Asmat co-operative system is to become totally self-sufficient and competitive .

The problem of providing education on this level has yet to be fully faced in our efforts to establish an independent system of co-operatives. Perhaps the new central co-operative office (Pusat Koperasi) in conjunction with the educational materials provided by the Museum of Culture and Progress in Agats, will be able to offer some of the basic training required in this crucial area. Again, however, we must ask ourselves whether we have the time or the know-how to provide such training with the present manpower available to us. At all events, we must recognize our deficiencies in this area and search for more adequate means of providing skills in administration. In that the new Pusat Koperasi is staffed, in part at least, by Asmat co-operative

members, these men could also become some of the staff of educators enabling another step to be taken towards self-sufficiency.

### 3. Social Discipline:

Having worked for several years here in Asmat it is my belief that teaching basic skills and administrative ability will prove to be our easiest job with the co-operative system. The most difficult problem will lie in the area of "social discipline". But this I mean the personal responsibility that each co-operative member must take not only for the well-being of the co-operative in his own village, but for the co-operative movement as a whole. Each member must learn to pull his weight in the co-operative. Each man must carry out his assigned tasks to the best of his ability realizing that he is working not just for himself but for the good of his fellows.

What I am discussing is not simply "personal responsibility" or self-discipline, although certainly this is part of it. By stressing "social discipline" I am indicating that Asmat society itself, as manifested in local villages, must begin to support such personal discipline in its individual members and to censure those who do not strive to achieve these personal qualities. It must be our goal that the members of the co-operatives themselves take this first step and gradually communicate the need for these qualities to the other members of the village society. This is a crucial area where we, as an agency for change, gradually turn over the responsibility for change to the Asmat people themselves.

A first step in this direction might well be the making of a clear statement of what is actually expected or required. This could be accomplished if each co-operative would have its own and agreed upon written bylaws which would spell out clearly what is expected of the membership. Such bylaws should point out how money is used, salaries set, payment made, etc., They should also include how penalties for failure are arrived at and enforced. The co-operatives already elect their own chairmen and other officials such as secretaries. These leaders will have to assume increasing responsibility for the enforcement of these bylaws. This is really possible only if the members



understand that the bylaws do not come from the mission or from their elected leaders but from each of them. From this we might hope that the people will gradually know that the members of the co-operative are actually in control of their own future and progress. It is their co-operative and their personal responsibility. We are present as outsiders only to help and to advise and not to administer or to dictate decisions. It is the membership which bears the responsibility to elect leaders and to abide by decisions.

It seems to me that often, although with the best of intentions, we outsiders have usurped the role of leader. We have tried too often to make the co-operative "our co-operative" by running it "our way". Several months ago, for example, we sat in this very room with one silent Asmatter and drew up the bylaws of the co-operative centre here in Agats. This took responsibility and decision making out of the hands of the members to whom the Pusat should be responsible. This indicated that it is not their co-operative but ours, just, in fact, as was the case fifteen years ago. This is the quickest way to kill any spark of leadership on the part of the co-operative members. It seems to me that the best way to develop a leader is to simply let him lead. This has to be done in all matters and from the very start of a project. If the co-operative members know that they can (or must) turn to us for their decisions, they will never be able to be independent of our leadership. They will always turn to us when there is a decision to be made.

### Concrete Areas of Concern

#### 1. Decision Making:

Such a simple matter as receiving a letter from the Central Co-operative Office rather than from the pastor can be important. The leaders should receive the letter, read it, and explain its import to the full membership. From such letters member co-operatives will learn of the basic needs from the central office. They must then themselves decide what action to take. After such a letter, for example, they will probably come to us with the problem. We may try to clarify ideas and present different options for action. The crucial point is that they must make their own choice. We may feel, after they

do choose, that there may have been a better solution to the problem. It is my conviction, however, that the best choice will always be theirs rather than our decision. This is simply because in the long run they are learning to become responsible--and that is our agreed upon goal.

There are now seven "preparatory co-operatives" here in Asmat (i.e. non-official so far as the government is concerned). These are in the villages of Erma, Komor, Jamasj, Atsj, Pirimapun, Basim and Jaosakor. Each of these villages also has a resident pastor. He is present as advisor and educator. There is one official co-operative in Ajam, a village with a resident pastor who also acts as advisor. Three villages have preparatory co-operatives but do not have a resident pastor; the pastor acts as advisor only on his once-a-month visits of one or two days. These are Warse, Amborep and Damen.

It is my impression that if we examine the co-operatives of Warse and Amborep (without a resident pastor) we find that these two co-operatives have advanced more rapidly than some of the co-operatives which have the "advantage" of a resident pastor. These two co-operatives have been forced by circumstances to be far more independent. They have been forced to take responsibility and to make their own decisions. These people know that the co-operative belongs to them and they are proud to be members. To be fair, it should be added that these two villages are very close to each other and traditionally are in constant competition. This factor is partly responsible for the drive and spirit which keeps the co-operatives alive and progressive.

## 2. Realistic Demands:

There is a danger that in the demands we make we move from one extreme to the other. There is danger of our placing demands on the people before they have had proper preparation to meet these. We cannot, for example, expect the co-operative to give its own yearly reports until we have taken the time to teach basic administration. We cannot demand that the co-operative make its own decisions until we have provided the opportunity for understanding that the co-operative is really theirs and that they are fully responsible for it. The other extreme, equally as dangerous, is that we would not ask enough of

the co-operatives. This could happen if we begin to provide a buffer for the members at every point of stress.

### 3. Continuity in Policy:

There is a need for far greater rapport between one co-operative and another as well as between the individual co-operatives and the Central Office here in Agats. As an advisor on the scene I can explain to the members that they will have to put more effort into their work if they are producing a low quality product. This is wasted, however, if later on the Central Office accepts inferior quality lumber from the co-operative.

### 4. Avoiding Paternalism:

As educators, we have to be careful in our dealings with the people. Our actions, too, communicate a great deal. We dare not attempt to relate to these adult men in the same way we would teach children. At the same time all adults need some sort of recognition for achievements and work. We have to praise them and encourage a sense of pride in their own work. It is very important for this to be a realistic possibility that we view the co-operative not from our vantage point but rather from theirs. In doing this I feel that we will more quickly find means of praising achievement and encouraging development.

### 5. Co-operatives as Centres for Social Activity:

One final point can be made concerning how the co-operatives can serve to meet the social needs of the people. Every village needs some excitement, some sense of play, some opportunity for social activity. This might range from football to Saturday night dances and full scale feasts. Basically, the co-operatives have failed to answer these needs. If a co-operative is to survive it will be because it is part of the total village which supports it and because young people are attracted to the co-operative. In this sense, I think that a co-operative social centre or playing field are just as important if not more so, than co-operative stores in the village.

The co-operatives could easily become centres for such social



activity. They could help organize village feasts. They could also attempt to hold inter-village feasts, one co-operative inviting another to its village for a celebration. This could be extended to the new co-operative centre which could organize an Asmat co-operative feast in Agats or in another village. This would offer opportunities for the various co-operatives to discuss common problems, to learn from each other and to benefit from the healthy competition which could arise from such gatherings.

### Conclusion

It is appreciated that many of the points made in this paper are easy enough to state but difficult to implement. I have already mentioned our limited time and, in some areas, limited ability, no matter how good our intentions or how well defined our policy. We need to recognize this and the Bishop and the government and others have to recognize our personal and financial limitations. Nevertheless, we must keep the goal clear: an independent and self-sufficient system of co-operatives here in Asmat.

The entire co-operative system must be seen as a process of education for the Asmat people. The system will mean nothing to them if it does not bring the benefits and opportunities for which the people hope. We cannot expect that this will be accomplished in just a few years. It will take time because growth and change always demand this. However, if we choose to follow the role of advisors and present options, rather than seek to impose change, there is real hope that as it grows the co-operative system can become the centre of the Asmat way of life --spiritually, socially and economically. It can be the answer for tomorrow.

### DISCUSSION

Walker: How much ironwood is there ?

Adrian: There has been no adequate survey but we know the people now have to go further afield to find supplies than they did three years ago.

Djohan: Last year 2000 cubic metres of logs were taken out not including sawn timber. According to the head office at Merauke there are supposed to be supplies for another twenty-five to thirty years. But then supplies will be totally finished because ironwood rarely replants itself. I am told

it takes about sixty years for an ironwood to mature. The head of forestry at Merauke also says the people are cutting young trees.

Omberep: At the rate of cutting over the last two years there may be no ironwood left ten years from now. The government will talk to the Forestry Department to see what can be done.

Adrian: There are many trees other than ironwood.

Trenkenschuh: True, but outside the Asmat area they have no commercial value and do not bring in any money.

Sowada: In some areas of Asmat there is no ironwood and the co-operatives cut other types of lumber. It is true though that the outside demand for lumber (other than from the mission) is only for ironwood.

Lang: I think you will have serious problems if the co-operatives just concentrate on ironwood. Is there likely to be any problem over marketing ironwood in the future?

Hoogerbrugge: The answer to this is dismal as the experience in Djajapura shows. The price for ironwood there in one year fell from Rp.36.000,- to Rp.30.000,-, probably as a result of overproduction. The prospects for the timber industry in West Irian are poor. Have you considered encouraging entrepreneurship and individual trading in the co-operative? What about family owned saws? In Papua, New Guinea individualism is being encouraged. Here I don't think you are making any provision for the man of enterprise to get ahead. Also, I don't think any attempt is being made to make use of the former traditional social groupings.

Adrian: The whole aim of our co-operatives is to bring men together, not to divide them into sections. Our aim is to have people understand that it is their co-operative and not to encourage the idea that one person should try to get ahead of others. This is not to say that if a pair of sawers wish to cut more timber they should not earn more money. But the point to be made is that our stress is on the village level organization.

Hoogerbrugge: Which is the better for development--the co-operative approach or the individualistic approach?

Effendi: In West Irian the village situation is such that the people are bound together socially. It is important then that they work as a social unit; through the co-operatives they can do this. In the course of time perhaps individuals can move ahead alone.

Hoogerbrugge: In Java all the co-operatives have failed.

Lang: Why did they fail? In the U.S. we don't throw out the school system because people say it has failed. With co-operatives a basic matter is organization. They must be multi-purpose. Now, in the case here this is not so; not enough thought has been given to this. There must be preparation made so that if the ironwood fails the co-operatives can turn to other things--perhaps crocodile skins. If a co-operative is profitable people will want to belong. In the U.S. co-operatives arise when money is to be made by this means; they fail when it is not.

Sowada: The co-operative at Ajam tried coconuts and crocodile skins but this did not work because there was no profit to be made.

Trenkenschuh: It's all very well to talk about diversification but this calls for capital. We began a co-operative garden at Ajam years ago but there was little profit in the bananas, coconuts and other things we grow--not really enough to pay the wages of the workers.

Lang: Diversification is not just in terms of producing but perhaps also in consuming. The co-operatives could become consumers co-operatives as well, in which the whole village participates.

Djohan: Before they can move to consumer co-operatives here there are many basic problems to be overcome. At the present time there are not really enough people involved in the co-operatives. A basic problem is to find a way to get rid of the middle men who take the profits. The co-operatives need to find their markets directly. The Pusat should provide the co-operatives with consumer goods.

Sowada: We are looking for some source of funds to enable the central office to import goods from other parts of Indonesia rather than West Irian where prices are much higher. The central office could then sell goods to the co-operatives at a profit and the local co-operative stores would then be able to compete price-wise with the storekeepers.

Lang: Many of the merchants sell logs to the Forestry Department. Could the co-operatives not do this?

Djohan: The co-operatives could do this. There is a tax involved but this money which is collected in Merauke is divided up and sent back to the various districts to help with development. The only problem is that the Forestry Department will buy logs only, not sawn timber.

Effendi: Have your co-operatives asked for help from the co-operative office in Merauke and, if they have, has any help been given? Have people been sent to Djajapura to learn technical skills or have teachers come here to teach these skills?

Kasiran: People from the head office in Merauke have come here and given



courses. Three men from here were sent off to do a course in fishing co-operatives. Nothing has been done about training in administration.

Sowada: If the Department of Small Industries could send people to offer training on the technical side, use of saws and so on, the mission would provide housing and cover transport costs and wages.

## KESAN SEORANG ANGGAUTA KOPERASI ASMAT

Daniel Jorpitsj

ABSTRACT :

When the co-operative first began in Amborep the pastor had all the authority; this has now changed and the pastor acts as an advisor.

One good effect of the co-operative has been to stimulate the flow of outside goods and inter-village trade. The village of Biwar Laut, for instance, has few opportunities to secure manufactured goods from outside. These village people now trade for manufactured goods with Amborep giving in exchange such items as oars and feathers.

The children and young people of Amborep favour the co-operative and feel the need to learn more about co-operative operation methods. Some people question why the pastor guards the co-operative so closely when it is supposed to be owned by the members; others recognize that there is still a need for guidance. The opinion of the speaker is that there is less need now to lean on the pastor; the greatest need is for capital. The co-operative has demonstrated to the people that they can work together to obtain the goods they desire.

Waktu koperasi baru mulai dikampung Amborep- tempat kelahiran saja banyak orang ragu2, terutama karena kelihatannya pastor yang berkuasa dan mengatur segala sesuatu. Lama kelamaan kegunaan koperasi dapat diterima juga, sebab memang bantu membantu adalah suatu kebiasaan yang lama di daerah ini sedjak turun temurun. Misalnja diwaktu seseorang hendak mengeluarkan perahu yang telah dia buat di hutan. Semua orang laki2 dikampung itu akan turut membantu menolak perahu itu sampai ke air. Sebagai balas jasa, sipemilik perahu menjediakan makanan setjukupnja untuk semua orang yang menolong dan biasanja disiap kan berlebihan, sehingga bahan makanan banyak yang dibawah pulang. Demikian pula diwaktu seseorang akan membangun rumah. Semua orang pria dikampung akan menolong dalam membangun sedang wanita2 bergotong-rojong menjediakan makanan selama pekerjaan berdjalan.

Djadi maksud koperasi dapat segera difahami oleh orang2 kampung di daerah Asmat ini. Yang mendjadi pertanjaan bagi orang2 bukan anggauta ialah mengapa pastor masih mengawasi koperasi, kalau koperasi itu memang milik rakjat sendiri. Menurut hemat saja pribadi, kami masih membutuhkan nasehat dan

bimbingan dari orang yang telah banyak berpengalaman dalam hal berkoperasi. Terutama dalam bidang pengaturan keuangannya serta adjakan yang terus menerus supaya anggota2 bisa tetap giat.

Beberapa bukti yang dirasakan dengan nyata disini adalah koperasi itu melantarkan mengalirnya barang2 kebutuhan ke-kampung2 dan menghidupkan perdagangan antar kampung, seperti halnya yang terdjadi antara kampung Biwar Laut yang menjual djagung, kulit kuskus, buluh burung kakatua, bulu kasuari, sagu dan ikan kekampung Amborep dan kemudian dapat membeli disana barang2 yang mereka butuhkan seperti sabun, pakaian dan tembakau.

Dengan tjara berkoperasi pula beberapa kampung telah berhasil memperbaiki gedung sekolah dan mengumpulkan balok2 yang baik untuk membangun rumah geredja.

Sesuatu kenyataan yang lain ialah bahwa koperasi memupuk perasaan persatuan, baik diantara anggota2 maupun dengan orang2 sekampung yang bukan anggota. Sekarang di Agats sudah ada Pusat Koperasi.

Pada Pusat Koperasi ini memang masih ada pastor2 yang bertindak sebagai penasehat dan menurut kejakinan saja mereka tidak ingin mempertahankan dirinja terus menerus. Pada saat sudah ada tjukup putera2 daerah yang sanggup menjalankan koperasi dengan baik, mereka akan mengundurkan diri. Sekarang ini yang perlu dipikirkan ialah bagaimana mendapat modal yang tjukup agar koperasi dapat lebih giat dan mendatangkan manfaat bagi lebih banyak orang dikampung kampung Asmat.

Demikianlah kesan seorang kelahiran Asmat yang telah mendapat kehormatan mendjabat sebagai Bendahara pada Pusat Koperasi di Agats.



# AKTIVITAS DARI KOPERASI DI ASMAT

Norbert H. Kasiran

## ABSTRACT :

The hand sawing and finishing of lumber on the village level was initiated in Asmat during the year 1958 in the village of Ajam. Soon after, identical projects were initiated in other villages. It was not until 1966, even though the previous years prepared the people for the step, that real efforts were made by the mission to hand over the full responsibility of these projects to the local people through the establishment of co-operatives. In 1967, the co-operative of Ajam was given official status by the Head Office at Merauke.

On January 4, 1972, a central co-operative office was established at Agats. Its duties and areas of competency in relation to the village co-operatives are :

- a. to aid the local co-operatives at understanding the co-operative system;
- b. to act as an agency for the sales of the lumber gathered from the village co-operatives;
- c. to purchase tools and other goods in behalf of the co-operatives
- d. to co-ordinate the administration of all the co-operatives;
- e. to be a center of education for both technical and organizational aspects for members of the village co-operatives.

Each village co-operative, even though the pastors presently function as advisors and, at times, as coordinators, is to become self-determining. Being a member of a co-operative entails a totally different life pattern from that traditionally followed. To make adjustment easier for members a system has been adopted whereby two distinct groups of members rotate the co-operative work every three weeks. During the three weeks of work a member is able to earn an average of I.B.Rp.5,- per day (approx.US\$.25).

Even though great advances have been made, problems which hamper more rapid development are encountered constantly. These are both internal and external to the co-operatives.

Internal : Because the members are illiterate and fail to understand new ways of doing things, the process of learning is slow. Also, an ordered day of work and responsibility is felt to be a burden to many of the members; consequently, their performance is often unenergetic.

External : In the recent past outsiders and even some Government personnel occasionally have taken unfair advantage of a number of the co-operatives. Naturally, the enthusiasm of the members quickly dwindle because of this interference.

## Pendahuluan

Dengan kesempatan ini, ingin kami berikan gambaran sepintas kilas tentang pengertian berkoperasi bagi orang2 Asmat. Demikianlah karena dalam uraian ini tidak kami sebutkan setjara statistik jang lengkap, tetapi hanya tjara -kerdja serta pengembangan anggauta disamping kesulitan-kesulitannja. Djadi bukan merupakan sebuah paper jang lengkap, namun demikian tulisan ini kami harapkan akan dapat mendjadi bahan pemikiran, merupakan salah satu unsur dalam menindjau dan mempeladjadi kehidupan rakjat Asmat dari segi perekonomiannja. Lebih dari itu kami harapkan agar segala apa jang mendjadi rintangan dan kesulitan dapat kami atasi, karena kami yakin bahwa dengan berkoperasi berarti kami menundjang program Pemerintah dalam Pembangunan Lima Tahun dan chususnja dalam meningkatkan kehidupan rakjat Asmat.

## Semangat Berkoperasi

Orang Asmat jang bertempat tinggal di-pingir2 pantai serta dipinggir sungai jang berdaerah rawa dan lumpur dengan mata pentjaharian jang tidak menentu, ketjual mentjari ikan disamping berburu dan mengambil sagu. Sedang berkebun kurang dikerdjakan rakjat mungkin karena daerah rawa berlumpur disamping kurang pengertiannja dalam hal bertjotjok tanam. Djelasnja kehidupan rakjat Asmat masih serba primitif. Ditengah2 masjarakat jang primitif itulah Missionaries o.s.c. membawakan kabar keselamatan jang kemudian pelaksanaannja ditjurahkan dalam sosial-ekonomi.

Thn.1957 sebagai titik tolak uluran tangan dari para Rohaniwan Ordo Salib Sutji di Agats dengan merintis tjara berkoperasi di Kampong Ajam, Di-Kampong2 Erma, Per, Uwus, As Atat dan Jufri thn.1962 dalam usaha penggergadjian kaju besi.

Sebenarnjalah pengertian berkoperasi bagi orang2 Asmat sangat sulit untuk mengerti, sebab sebagian besar orang2 dewasa kenjataannja buta huruf dju -ga pengertian bermasjarakat masih rendah. Sebab itu para rohaniwan Ordo Salib Sutji di Agats tidak nanja memberi bantuan dari segi keuangan sadja melainkan langsung memberi bimbingan dalam usaha penggergadjian tersebut.

Ditindjau dari segi administrasi sebenarnja usaha2 penggergadjian

di-kampung2 tersebut belum bisa dikatakan Koperasi, sebab ketjuali pembukuan-nya belum teratur sebagaimana mestinja, djuga djumlah anggota2 jang belum tetap serta belum dapat menentukan simpanan pokok dan simpanan wadajib bagi para anggota2. Suatu kenjataan pula bahwa tjara menggergadji, meniekaf dan lain2 perlu bimbingan jang membutuhkan waktu ber-bulan2, karena hal ini masih merupakan pengertian jang baru bagi orang2 Asmat. Kami kira usaha2 tersebut merupakan suatu pekerdjaan jang berat bagi orang Asmat. Karena kesadaran berkoperasi bagi mereka belum ada. Meskipun Pastor jang bersangkutan selalu mem-budjuk2 dan memberi spirit agar mau bekerdja demi kesedjahteraan mereka bersama namum kehidupan koperasi mereka timbul tenggelam, antara hidup dan mati. Sampai achir th.1966 dari Koperasi2 tersebut sebuah diantaranya jang dapat diharapkan jaitu koperasi di Erma dan Koperasi Ajam.

Demikianlah Misionaris OSC di Agats dalam membantu usaha Pemerintah untuk madjukan taraf kehidupan rakjat Asmat. Karena telah mendjadi kejakinan para Misionaris bahwa pengembangan--Kabar Keselamatan--bukanlah bertitik tolak pada segi agama sadja, tetapi djuga bidang pendidikan dan sosial-ekonomi rakjat. Hal jang terachir inilah sangat diutamakan dan dikerdjakan oleh para Pastor dengan sepenuh hati.

### Peresmian Koperasi

Permulaan th.1967 atas nama Kantor Koperasi Kabupaten Merauke, kami meresmikan salah satu dari hasil rintisan para Pastor tersebut jaitu Koperasi Penggergadjian Kaju di Kampung Ajam dengan nama-Koperasi Ajam Akat--berkedudukan di Kampung Ajam dengan anggota2 67 orang. Setahun kemudian menjusul Koperasi penggergadjian kaju dikampung: Erma, Warse, Atsj, Jaosakor, dan Bajun di Pirimapun. Hal ini merupakan realisasi dari pada rintisan para Pastor tersebut agar tidak dikatakan Koperasi Liar, artinja koperasi jang didirikan oleh seseorang atau golongan jang hanja untuk kepentingan mereka pribadi.

### Tata Kerdja Koperasi

Berdasarkan pengalaman tahun2 pertama, maka kegiatan kerdja koperasi kami tertipkan dan diatur sbb.:



Tiap2 koperasi kami bagi mendjadi 2 kelompok. Kelompok I bekerdja ber-turut2 selama 3 minggu berikut selama 3 minggu djuga, adalah hari istirahat bagi regu I disamping mereka akan membawa hasil pekerdjaan jang berupa balok2 ke Agats sebagai koordinatornja. Sedang regu II akan bekerdja masa istirahat bagi regu I. Dan masa istirahat bagi tiap2 regu adalah kesempatan untuk menjari kaju jang kemudian akan mereka kerdjakan pada waktunja.

Setiap anggauta jang bekerdja akan langsung menerima gadji rata2 IB. Rp.5 sehari menurut hari kerdja. Apabila keadaan normal jang kami maksudkan kalau mereka radjin bekerdja maka setiap anggauta akan menerima gadji IB Rp90. selama 3 minggu. Pengaturan kerdja jang demikian itu perlu agar mereka tidak merasa berat atau djemu, lagi pula mereka bisa usaha lain selama istirahat misalnja : pemeliharaan rumah dan kebun.

#### Bidang Keuangan

Sebagai pemodalan dari semua koperasi tersebut diatas adalah dana bantuan dari Misi Katolik di Agats melalui Pastor setempat. Mengingat pengetahuan para anggauta masih rendah apalagi sebagian besar dari anggauta buta huruf, maka sekalipun tiap koperasi ada pengurus lengkap jang terdiri dari orang orang kampung jang mendjadi anggauta maka Pastor itu sebagai koordinatornja. Demikian maka koperasi dapat berdjalan tertip dan lantjar.

Sisa dari hasil pendjualan papan/balok adalah merupakan keuntungan koperasi, uang itulah dianggap sebagai titik tolak modal mereka bersama. Djelas apabila para anggauta koperasi itu radjin terus maka koperasi tersebut akan mempunyai modal jang ber-tambah2 sehingga mendjadi besar. Tetapi sebaliknya djika para anggauta malas maka pemodalan koperasi akan menurun. Pengalaman jang sudah2 bisa Kas Koperasi itu kosong. Inilah merupakan suatu kesulitan dalam menentukan uang simpanan pokok dan simpanan wadjab bagi tiap anggauta koperasi itu.

#### Administrasi

Karena pengetahuan para anggauta koperasi masih rendah sebagaimana kami sebutkan diatas, maka penjelenggaraan administrasi tidak dapat diadakan sebagaimana mestinja. Mereka hanja mengisi daftar kerdja sebagai buku absen,

sedang pengerdjaan administrasi jang sebenarnja dipool oleh koordinator jang berkedudukan di Agats.

### Koordinator

Meskipun kehidupan Koperasi2 itu timbul tenggelam sebagaimana kami sebutkan diatas tetapi biar bagaimanapun koperasi2 itu tetap kami giatkan. Djustru karenanja Pusat Koperasi jang mendjadi induk semua koperasi primer belum dapat djuga kami dirikan/namun demikian mengingat kesanggupan kami jang mendapat mandat dari Dinas Transkop (dulu) tetapi membina kehidupan koperasi2 primer tersebut dengan istilah koordinator jang berkedudukan di Agats.

Adapun tugas kewadajiban koordinator di Agats sbb.:

- Menampung dan selandjutnja mendjual hasil dari semua koperasi primer jang berupa papan atau balok.
- Mengusahakan bahan jang diperlukan bagi semua anggota koperasi.
- Mengadakan pembukuan untuk bahan statistik dan mengerdjakan administrasi bagi semua koperasi primer
- Mengadakan pengembangan pengertian tentang administrasi bagi semua koperasi primer melalui pengurus2nja.
- Pusat sebagai centrum pendidikan dalam hal tehnik dan pengetahuan lain jang ada hubungannja dengan perusahaan koperasi.

Awal th.1969 pedjabat Kepala Kantor Koperasi Kabupaten Merauke (Bp. Jusri Sajuti) berkundjung ke Agats mengadakan penindjauan kesemua koperasi primer. Kedatangan beliau itu djuga bermaksud menjiapkan mengadakan kursus kader koperasi, maka pada bulan April 1969 kursus tersebut dapat dilangsungkan di Agats selama satu bulan jang diikuti oleh 20 orang peserta dari 10 kampung.

### Pembentukan Pusat

Berdasarkan petundjuk dari Kepala Kantor Koperasi Kabupaten Merauke, maka pada tgl.4 Djanuari 1972 terbentuklah Pusat Koperasi Penggergadjian Kaju dengan nama DARAS - jang berkedudukan di Agats.

Pembentukan pusat ini setjara spontan diakui oleh Kantor Koperasi Kabupaten bahkan langsung ditjatat untuk mendapatkan badan hukumnja

Ditindjau dari djumlah anggauta, susunan pengurus serta anggaran dasar dan anggaran rumah tangga, maka Pusat telah memenuhi sjarat sebagai induk Koperasi jang berpenghasilan kaju balok. Tetapi sebenarnja Pusat tak ubahnja tahun pertama jaitu sebagai koordinator karena kenjataan koperasi<sup>2</sup> primer belum dapat berdjalan lantjar baik dalam bidang administrasi maupun tehniknja perusahaan koperasi.

Mengingat hal<sup>2</sup> tersebut diatas, maka atas persetudjuan Kep.Kantor Koperasi Kabupaten, Pastor<sup>2</sup> dikampung sebagai penasehat koperasi jang ada di daerahnja. Demikian djuga permodalan baik pusat maupun primer adalah diperoleh dari fons keuskupan Agats.

Meskipun besar bantuan jang diperoleh tetapi kehidupan koperasi primer tersebut belum begitu lantjar karenanja hasil produksi dari semua koperasi primer itupun belum seimbang. Sebagai tjontoh: Achir th.1968 hasil balok dari 6 koperasi primer kurang dari 100M<sup>3</sup> setahun. Sedang, th.1970 hasil produksi 150M<sup>3</sup> setahun. Angka<sup>2</sup> tersebut tidak terhitung pendjualan balok dari koperasi setempat untuk pembangunan, tjontoh rumah<sup>2</sup> sekolah, geredja, balai pertemuan dan dari instansi pemerintah setempat. Demikianlah karena hambatan<sup>2</sup> jang merupakan kesulitan untuk kemadjuan koperasi<sup>2</sup> itu.

### Kesulitan-Kesulitan

Ada 2 hal jang merupakan kesulitan bagi perkembangan koperasi didaerah Asmat :

- 1) Kesulitannja itu datang dari dalam :
  - a. Pengetahuan mereka jang rendah itu sehingga segala sesuatunja berdjalan lambat.
  - b. Pengertian berorganisasi dan administrasi masih sedikit.
- 2) Kesulitannja itu datang dari luar :
  - a. Beberapa pedjabat pemerintahan kurang menanggapi tentang koperasi dengan kata lain koperasi tidak mendapat bantuan dari pedjabat pemerintah daerah.

sebagai tjontoh: Disuatu kampung selalu menerima perintah setjara<sup>2</sup> masal sehingga koperasi dikampung itu terganggu karena-



nja, ada jang sampai mogok ber-bulan2, ditempat lain anggota bubar. Hal ini terdjadi disemua koperasi primer dikampung.

- b. Adanja pedagang2 kaju besi jang pemotongannja melalui beberapa pedjabat Pemerintah setempat dan diperintahkan setjara masal ke-pada rakjat dikampung. Hal ini terdjadi sedjak th.1970.

Untuk mengatasi kesulitan2 tersebut Pusat selalu berusaha dengan tjara.Mengadakan penindjauan serta memberi bimbingan dan petundjuk2 para anggota koperasi primer di-kampung2, ini untuk menanggulangi kesulitan jang datangnya dari dalam. Sedang kesulitan jang datangnya dari luar ini merupakan hal sulit. Pusat telah berulang kali membuat laporan baik lisan maupun tertulis kepada Kepala Pemerintah Setempat bahkan sampai kepada B.p. Bupati namun hasilnja belum memuaskan. Selama 2th. belakangan ini penebangan kaju besi setjara besar2 an. Kami sangat kuatir, ketjualian koperasi2 tidak berdjalan lantjar, kami djuga kuatir masa depan bagi rakjat Asmat karena selama masa pemerintahan Republik penebangan kaju itu berdjalan terus sedang peremadjaan kaju besi belum pernah ada.

Sebagai tjontoh: 5 thn jang lalu kaju besi itu terdapat banjak di-pinggir2 kali dekat kampung, tetapi sekarang djauh kedaerahpedalaman baru orang kampung mendapatkan kaju besi.

Dalam laporan kami kepada Bapak Wakil Bupati kami usulkan agar diadakan penerbitan mengenai pemotongan kaju besi serta mengadakan peremadjaan.

Demikianlah usaha2 kami dalam menanggulangi kesulitan2 tersebut.Saat ini kami mempunjai satu harapan bahwa KPS Asmat mulai mengadakan penelitian masalah penebangan kaju besi. Mudah2an oleh pedjabat pemerintahan daerah jang sekarang ini mendatangkan kebahagiaan bagi rakjat Asmat. Dan kami dari Karja-wan Koperasi akan menundjang karenanja sebab koperasi merupakan pula alat pe-djuangan dibidang ekonomi rakjat, koperasi maju berarti perekonomian rakjat baik adalah suatu peningkatan kemadjuan bagi masjarakat.

#### Penutup

Kiranja belum begitu terang untuk mengachiri uraian kami ini sebelum kemukakan faedah dan keuntungan koperasi bagi rakjat Asmat.

Meskipun kehidupan koperasi2 itu timbul tenggelam sebagaimana kami sebutkan diatas tetapi sedikit demi sedikit ada membawa bukti kemanfaatannya bagi anggota dan masyarakat umumnya. Karena bukan se-mata2 koperasi hanya mengusahakan peningkatan hasil produksinya, tetapi lebih diutamakan kesedjahteraan bagi anggota. Dengan adanya koperasi2 di-kampung2 berarti memberi mata pentjarian yang tetap bagi orang2 kampung itu. Dengan berkoperasi perekonomian rakyat teratur disamping tambah pengetahuan2 yang lain.

Selama ini koperasi tidak sedikit memberi bantuan untuk perkembangan dan kemajuan kampung, sebagai tjontoh dapat kami kemukakan disini :

1. Koperasi Ajam Akat dikampung Ajam: Sebuah balai pertemuan telah didirikan berkat usaha koperasi, beberapa rumah yang baik untuk pengurus koperasi setempat dan pemeliharaan gedung sekolah setiap tahunnya.
2. Koperasi di Atsj: Geredja dan rumah sekolah bahan2nya diperoleh dari koperasi setempat, juga pembangunan2 kampung Atsj(pembuatan Djembatan2) yang ditegel oleh Kepala Distrik.
3. Koperasi di Erma: Pembangunan gedung sekolah dasar Negeri, koperasi memberi bantuan papan2 juga kaju2 bulat dan tenaga kerdja.

Demikianlah apa yang kami sebutkan diatas sebuah gambaran sepintas kilas atau selajang pandang mengenai kehidupan koperasi didaerah Asmat ini. Kami yakin bahwa uraian ini djauh dari pada lengkap dan sempurna, apa lagi tidak tersusun setjara sistim matik dan setjara statistik sehingga hanya merupakan suatu pemberitahuan data2 tentang perkoperasiannya di Asmat.

Harapan kami mudah2an akan dapat membawa manfaat bagi perkembangan koperasi dimasa mendatang.

## DISCUSSION

van der Wouw: The basic problem is that the co-operatives must become more efficient in the marketing of lumber.

Kasiran: There is efficiency on the central office level and the price paid is good, but there are problems in communication between the co-operatives and the central office. At the village level there are many factors

causing inefficiency. Often the cutting and sawing is inaccurate and much timber is lost because edges are chipped from the logs instead of being sawn and sold as scrap. There are other problems as well. For some of the village co-operatives there are no statistics. The educational level of the members is very low. Also it is very difficult to get the members to understand that they own the co-operative so that they will take more responsibility.

Lang: In Tanzania education in running co-operatives is given much attention. It is very important that members understand they are the owners of the co-operative. As to statistics, it is vital these be kept on both the local and central office level. Without this there will only be a vague idea as to fluctuations in production and prices.

Walker: Do you have any idea as to how much lumber is marketed through the co-operatives?

Sowada: In 1969, 100 cubic metres was sold through the Pusat; in 1970 it rose to 150 cubic metres. As well as this there is a lot of timber sold directly by the co-operatives to schools, churches etc.,

Walker: I am told that members of the co-operatives earn only about Rp.100,- per day<sup>1</sup>. Is this correct? It seems very little.

Sowada: This is the normal wage here for this type of work. It is also the official government wage. Some members earn up to Rp.120,- or Rp.140,-. Out of the Rp.100,- a member earns Rp.20,- goes to the co-operative to accumulate capital.

Walker: Could more money be earned by the co-operatives if they sold logs directly to the storekeepers or other buyers?

Kasiran: Not usually because these people don't pay enough for the logs. Another problem is that the men handling the sales of each co-operative cannot add up large sums. We found big quantities of lumber going out for very little money. When timber is sold through the Pusat the correct price is always paid. Sometimes they might earn more money by selling logs directly to the storekeepers but potentially the co-operatives have an educational role. The co-operatives are to make money but also to teach members how to run a business.

Sowada: More money could be made but there is much inefficiency in cutting. Out of 100 cubic metres of logs they only get about twenty-five cubic metres of sawn timber.

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At the present rate of exchange Rp.415,- = US.\$1.00



Djohan: Has research been done to find out why this is so?

Adrian: There is too much wastage in practically every aspect of the operation. We still have a lot to learn even about pit-sawing. We have considered bringing in some Macassar men to have them teach their methods.

Sowada: Getting back to the financial returns. The selling price for logs from the co-operative is Rp.30.000,- per cubic metre of sawn timber. Traders will only pay about Rp.2.500,- for one cubic metre of logs. The fact that the co-operatives are involved in the sawing creates employment. Even if only Rp.100,- a day is earned it is better that a large number earn this than if the money for the logs just goes to a few. If a trader buys 100 cubic metres of logs the people receive Rp.250.000,-. If the co-operative saws this quantity and produces twenty-five cubic metres of timber the return is Rp.750.000,-

## EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN ASMAT

Edward Greiwe o.s.c.

### ICHTISAR :

Pendidikan harus merupakan usaha untuk kemadjuan demi pembangunan dan perkembangan masjarakat, daerah dan negara umumnja. Melihat zaman sekarang ini pendidikan mengalami kesulitan besar jang boleh disebut crisis, sebab hubungan antara pembangunan dan pendidikan terlepas dari rangka dan susunan seluruh masjarakat. Maka pendidikan membawa bahaya, bahkan bentjana kepada masjarakat dan negara.

Supaja bisa mengerti keadaan pendidikan pada saat ini, perlu ditindjau kembali pada zaman jang lampau. Dengan demikian dapat mengerti apa sebabnja si-tuasi pendidikan di daerah Asmat pada saat ini.

Seringkali terdengar bahwa pendidikan adalah djalan, kuntji atau sjarat bagi pembangunan. Dengan sendirinja utjapan ini tidak benar/Segala-galanja tergantung dari orientasi atau tudjuan pendidikan/Persoalan jang menjejabkan kelemahan pendidikan pada saat ini, karena salah orientasinja. Belum ada kebutuhan akan pembangunan semesta pada sebagian besar rakjat dan sekarang terdapat pertentangan antara keinginan dan kebutuhan. Djadi pendidikan atau sekolah jang tidak berorientasi kearah pembangunan masjarakat, menghambat pembangunan dan mengantjam masjarakat.

Soal pendidikan dipedalaman belum dapat masuk kedalam hati masjarakat, chususnja daerah Asmat. Untuk ini sangat penting adanja hubungan antara pendidikan dan pembangunan jang sesuai dengan kebutuhan masjarakat umum. Supaja dapat tertjapai tudjuannja, maka hendaknja kita harus mengetahui dan mengerti betul, apa sebab sampai terdjadi keadaan sekarang ini. Situasi sekarang ini dapat berobah, kalau dari segala pihak, baik guru-guru maupun instansi lain, turut mengambil bagian dan menjalurkan kepada masjarakat, apa jang perlu dalam pendidikan dan pembangunan.

### Introduction:

This paper concerns one aspect but a very fundamental aspect of development--that of education. Any consideration of education in relation to development in the area must take into account the fact that Asmat is now part of a wider society.

The Asmat area has been opened to the world community for about twenty years, the first ten years of this period being during the time of the Netherlands control. Since 1962, Asmat has been a part of and has joined the

Indonesian community. These historical factors are pertinent to a discussion on the educational situation in which Asmat finds itself today. Before proceeding further then, some remarks are offered concerning this historical background.

Under the colonial government a new elite from among the Indonesian people was formed. The elite who entered the new world of education and technology was kept small; the avenues to liberating knowledge and skills was limited to this small group. Nevertheless, this elite was able to influence and change the traditional, static character of indigenous Indonesian society into a unique and dynamic national community, comprising a variety of regional groups. This set the atmosphere for the revolution against the colonial government and independence in 1945.

One of the revolutionary trends in Indonesian society since independence has been the rapid expansion of education. During the colonial period education was possible only for a privileged few. The census in 1930 revealed a literacy rate even lower than 10%. Now a revolution in education has taken place. Education has been opened to the masses, compulsory education laws set up, the educational system revised, and higher education expanded. Consequently, education has assumed an increasingly important role as an agent in the Indonesian society for social and culture change. Gaps caused by the previous neglect of education are beginning to be filled.

There has been a rapid and far reaching change in traditional norms, ideals and values. The traditional world view and ways of thinking and living have been abruptly altered. The community has been enlarged by new philosophies and ideologies; as well there has been the impact of science and technology. What has been happening is the massive process of transformation of regional societies and cultures into a nation. In this process of abandoning the old and building something new, there are conflicting ideas, values and principles--all competing for acceptance. As a result of these conflicts, there is a lack of balance in the forces working for the transformation of the society and in the exercise of leadership. There is sometimes a lack of clear orientation.



Indonesia has experienced in the last ten years, the most rapid expansion of education in Asia. The number of pupils in elementary schools rose from 5 million in 1950 to seven million in 1959 and is at present fifteen million. Students of secondary schools total one and a half million compared with half a million ten years ago. The total number of universities climbed between 1957 and 1967 from 56 to 412 and in that time span university students increased from 50,000 to 360,000.

### The Problem in Education :

Corresponding to this rapid expansion of education is the other side to the coin of expansion--that of scarcity of properly trained teachers, low standards and poor facilities. As a result, in the field of education there is a tremendous cultural lag and education does not have an organic function in building the nation. Instead of being a primary tool for the development of the society, it is providing a large semi-intellectual class at the expense of needed vocationally skilled personnel. The present education system over-populates the society with lawyers, politicians, public speakers, artists, office clerks, teachers, and so on. The system represents a tremendous national investment each year but is not providing for national needs. The science and technical skills that are needed for the development of contemporary Indonesian society are absent.

The root problem is improper orientation. A misdirected social orientation permeates the whole field of education and the wider the expansion, the more disastrous the effects. There is an unhealthy disproportion between the academic choice of the students and the needs of the society. Some percentages are available from general surveys which illustrate this improper balance and orientation. At present only 30% of the students in the universities are science graduates compared with the 70% who are arts graduates. A further breakdown of the above 30% reveals that only 7% are technical graduates and 1.5% are agricultural and biology graduates. To make matters worse, of the last two named small percentages few are dedicated to their field but seek, rather, administrative work.

There is an awareness of the situation and attempts are being made to rectify the situation. In an article in Kompas, 19th November, 1966, Professor D.S.Santoso stated :

"Until now the society is only capable of requesting more education and only passively receiving the effects of education. There must be a remedy against the catastrophe of expansion in education. If there is proper planning, it is possible to have a balanced educational program. Without an educational program that is realistic, the educational situation will only worsen".

That same year the Kasi Conference, educationalist Dr. Winarno Surachmad commented :

"Let it be true that other fields of Indonesian activities are in a process of transition, this is not true for education; this is definitely in decline and the present national education is a national calamity".

During an intensive evaluation concerning the relationship between education and development in the countries of Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, economist Gunnar Myrdal drew the following conclusion:

"It would be more justifiable to halt the increase, or even to contract enrollment in secondary and tertiary education. The enormous amount of miseducation at these levels is caused not only by the scarcity of properly trained teachers, but the wrong orientation of schooling"<sup>1</sup>.

Not only has there been an awareness of the situation on the national level as is frequently attested in seminars and conferences, but also a growing awareness of the need for change among the teachers on the local level. About three years ago the teachers of Bandung, just before the annual Indonesian Bishop's Conference, urged upon the bishops that a fundamental change in the educational system is necessary so that education will be more adapted

<sup>1</sup> Pelita Pendidikan No.1 : Analisa Situasi di Indonesia.

to, and more integrated within Indonesian life. Education, it was believed, needed to be brought more in harmony with the present day requirements of socio-economic and cultural situation of the nation.

#### The Situation in Asmat :

Viewing the general situations as to education in Indonesia as a whole provides us with a background for understanding the present situation in Asmat.

What Asmat has inherited is probably fairly typical of other emerging and transitional societies. In the initial stages (1952-1956) goals were superficial. Looking back at those years it seems that the primary goal was to bring "civilization". The people were gathered together, attempts were made to stabilize society and the tremendous task of bringing about peace within the villages and between the villages was begun. Considering the general situation in the Asmat at that time, perhaps these were the only reasonable steps that could have been taken.

This initial stage provided the foundation for the development that was to follow. But here, we as missionaries must be more self critical because we completely failed to examine the needs of the indigenous Asmat community. Rather, in the arbitrary manner in which we proceeded to open primary schools we seemed to have considered only our view of Asmat needs. Goals should have been more clearly determined and school policy given a greater sense of direction. It should be added, however, that our lack of foresight was understandable once we view the general educational situation in Indonesia.

Asmat was trapped. Primary schools were opened following the traditional system of the West. There was no concern for the indigenous Asmat culture and society in the education program. Nor was there any attempt to adapt schooling or the school itself to Asmat life. During this stage, too, much priority was given to schools as such with little or no concern for the whole man--the whole society in relationship to social, economic and cultural development. This created an improper balance in the society. Each day some 3,000 students from recognized and non-recognized primary schools in Asmat returned



home to a traditional environment. The traditional environment provided no opportunities for the students to make use of their newly acquired knowledge. On the contrary, foreign elements were provided by the schools and the schools in no way aided the child to adapt to his society. All this indicates the improper orientation of education during this stage. But a further lack of balance began to reveal itself--the over concentration on the younger segment of the society who, in fact, have very little influence, prestige or status, and the corresponding neglect of the adults. The rapid expansion of schooling during the period 1957 to 1967 also resulted in a shortage of trained teachers and lowering of standards as well as a lack of basic facilities.

Confronted with this situation we have moved into the third stage--that of re-evaluation. We are attempting to give a new direction to our educational system so that it might be brought into line with our goal of total development. Fortunately, this comes at a time when on the national scene high level talks and planning are taking place among educators, community development planners, economists and sociologists who are critically evaluating the present situation of education and its role in development. There is a genuine search for solutions to bring about a balance and realistic orientation in education to meet regional developmental needs. On the provincial level in Djajapura, the University of Tjenderawasih together with UNESCO are uniting their efforts to bring about an awareness of the situation and are initiating concrete programmes to change the situation. Last year, a stance was taken on the provincial level to halt expansion. The need to upgrade the quality of teachers and schools is recognized and general education has now been extended to six years of primary schooling and three years of secondary.

On the local level the Diocese of Agats-Asmat has already initiated new policies. In 1968, because of a shortage of teachers and lack of adequate facilities, only nine of the seventeen primary schools continued with the six year programme; these schools were in villages where the degree of development justified the longer period of schooling. The other eight primary schools which were in villages where less development had occurred were reduced to a three year programme. At the same time, for the upper three classes a policy

of screening and selection was implemented to provide opportunities for more capable and promising students. Greater concentration on the adult segment of society was also stressed together with the provision of vocational training on the youth level. For the future, primary schools would be opened in villages only on the basis of corresponding development.

#### Conclusion :

It is our responsibility to keep aware of the changes that are taking place in education and to communicate these to our teachers. At the parish level there is a need for regular meetings with the teachers so that problems may be discussed and schools achieve a greater integration with the programme of overall development. School and society should not be divorced; in this regard our orientation should stress the following :

1. a concern for the values of Asmat culture and society,
2. a concern for the needs of Asmat society today and the importance of providing basic vocational training,
3. a concern to bring about an awareness which encourages the Asmat people to participate more fully at the regional level so that they might have a greater voice in determining their own affairs and future,
4. a concern for character building, leadership and self-reliance,
5. a concern for the rights of the individual and the community with justice for all.

Education can play a primary role in society in a programme towards total development. However, for this to be a reality it is essential that channels be kept open between teachers and parents so that schools be kept relevant to the changing needs of a developing society. In this regard, and as a first step, we would hope that the proposed museum of Agats and the printing press will provide media of communication to achieve an integration of the traditional and contemporary currents of Asmat life.

## DISCUSSION

Hoogerbrugge: Is there tension between the villages that have schools and those that do not?

Greiwe: Yes, there is some tension. The people in villages without schools feel that they are lagging behind in development; they feel that they are second class citizens. There are many requests for schools.

Sowada: In the villages I don't think people look to schools as a factor in village development. Schools are seen as a means of getting jobs, such as becoming teachers and escaping from the village and earning money.

Greiwe: That is very true but its not just the young people who feel dissatisfied with the way things are in the village. It often happens that many people disapprove of the government appointed village chiefs because they cannot speak Bahasa Indonesia well and are illiterate. They want younger men appointed who can communicate with the outside and get them the things they want.

Trenkenschuh: It is evident that in some of the villages where schools have been reduced from six to three grades due to shortage of teachers there is much distress. In one village after much urging by the head teacher, teachers have given extra lessons to the older pupils so that they might continue their education without the formal fourth, fifth and sixth classes. The fact is, that after three years of schooling children can read and count a little but nothing more.

Greiwe: There are avenues for further education. Children in village schools with only three grades can continue their schooling in another village where six grades are available.

Trenkenschuh: This is true enough for children from the Kei Islands, for instance, but the Asmat people cannot really send their children to other villages because of mutual hostility between the villages. Who could the children live with when they go to another village?

Kasiran: The assumption that children go on for higher education just for personal gain is not really true. Most of those who have become teachers have really tried to get down to the village level and help the people.

Preston: If we consider education in relation to development and village needs the situation is bad. Education is not related to the village. How can this be corrected?

Greiwe: I think the first step must be a general awareness of the situation among missionaries, teachers and government people. Unless we have this



the situation cannot be corrected. Young teachers in particular do not see any connection between education and the needs of the village, although I would not deny that many of them try to help the people in various ways.

Kasiran: The teachers have problems because the curriculum is not geared to village life. If we have to follow this type of curriculum there is not much hope. A good idea is to bring the teachers in for upgrading every so often and show them how to get around the syllabus.

Trenkenschuh: Two years ago we ran a questionnaire in the schools to find out if they were conveying any sense of present needs but at a realistic level; we were afraid of promoting cargo cults. The results of the questionnaire were computerized at the University of Colorado. The results seemed to show that the children had respect for the co-operative leaders, for instance, but no more so than they had for the traditional song and feast leaders. As to occupational choices, of fifth and sixth grade children only two wanted to enter the co-operatives. This implies that they saw no personal future in the co-operatives. Apparently there is a gap between the mission development programme and where the children see their future.

Lang: You were dealing with young children. Young children everywhere have unrealistic ideas as to future jobs.

Trenkenschuh: But we put so much time and effort into the co-operatives and yet only two out of 200 saw any future in them.

Adrian: The educational system here is geared for pupils to become teachers or officials of some sort. With the new policy of dropping pupils who cannot keep up we have very few entering the SKP or SMP. This is reinforcing the idea that education is for the select few who will get jobs outside.

Setitit: We have often discussed the shortcomings of the primary school system but in my visits to schools I feel the real need is for departments to work together. For example, one department tells the people to cut so much ironwood; the people then disappear into the forest and the school virtually closes. Another problem is the low respect in which teachers who are Asmaters are held. We are trying now to get the Asmat teachers to leave the area for two or three years and teach elsewhere; teachers from other areas come here. When the Asmat teachers return they will have had outside experience and will not be treated like children by the villages. The high drop-out rate is largely because of the nature of the system and we cannot interfere with this.

Adrian: The high school drop-out rate is often because of a language problem. This could perhaps be solved.

Greiwe: Language is a problem in the early grades because the children don't

know Bahasa Indonesia and the teachers from other areas do not know Asmat. In several areas throughout Indonesia grades I through III use the vernacular. Could this be done here?

Setitit: A good idea but our new Asmat teachers are too young to be able to give a good foundation in the first grade. One of our older teachers does use the vernacular in the first grade and his class seems to make better progress than others.

Kasiran: If it were possible it would be good to use the vernacular in the lower grades but I notice that even in the high school the language used is often more like a "market place" Indonesian. In tests or in dealing with other Indonesians the children are confronted with a more sophisticated form of the language and are at a loss. The teachers themselves periodically need upgrading courses in Bahasa Indonesia.

## THE FUTURE OF THE ASMAT

Malcolm T. Walker.

It is no easy task to conclude a seminar of this type where papers have been presented on a wide range of topics covering Asmat woodcarving, problems confronting the co-operatives and the inadequacies of the school system. Virtually all the papers read bear on development and the need to assess mission policies in the light of old and emerging problems. In these remarks I shall refer to some of the major problems that have been recognized and the solutions that have been proposed. Much of what will be said will concern the lumber co-operatives.

There is a recognition on the part of all that traditional Asmat society is undergoing dramatic change. There is also the often repeated concern that the "good" features of traditional life (no one has really specified what these are) and the "best" of the old values (again, these are left unstated) should somehow be preserved. Some have spoken of the need to restore dignity and pride to the Asmmatters --- their need to achieve a sense of identification such that in the midst of rapid social and economic change they can learn to stand on their own feet. The ultimate hope is that the Asmmatters will learn to take responsibility for their own future and not merely be passive acceptors of decisions made on their behalf by others.

No one would question that these are worthy aims. The question is, how are they to be accomplished? There are two factors to be considered here. Firstly, the current directions of change in Asmat socioeconomic life and in what path this is likely to follow in the future. Secondly, what resources are available to the mission to encourage change along the lines deemed desirable. In this latter regard we also need to consider the options open to the mission as perceived by the mission itself.

At the present time there is a pressing demand for trade goods among those Asmat villagers who have had considerable contact with outsiders. Tobacco is greatly desired but so too are items such as fishing lines, hooks, knives, axes, pots of various kinds and, on the part of many, clothing.



There is also a growing demand for cash. In the future it can be anticipated that the desire for trade goods and cash will become greater.

It is also apparent that some villages are more advantageously situated than others with regard to obtaining cash and trade items; economic disparity among the villages has already begun to appear and in all probability such disparity will increase. It is also evident that within some of the villages certain individuals have more than others and there is a growing tendency to hide wealth in various ways so as to avoid giving or sharing with others that which one has managed to acquire. This tendency can be expected to increase as more goods become available and as inequalities increase.

These trends are not perhaps irreversible but experience has shown that once apparent they are likely to accelerate. Experience also teaches that once trade goods begin to find their way into an area such as the Asmat, frustrations result if the supply of goods or the cash to acquire them is not maintained at an ever increasing rate. It commonly happens that frustrations of this sort lead to cargo cults. Compared with certain other areas of the Province, cargo cults in the Asmat have not posed great problems. However, frustrations over the inadequate supply of goods and cash certainly exist and it is said that there are many misconceptions as to the sources of supply of goods. The point to be made is that the flow of goods into the hands of the people not only must continue but ways will need to be found to increase this supply.

A number of the papers and much of the discussion centred on the co-operatives and their future. It is evident that the mission has great hopes for the co-operatives and sees these as the primary means by which social and economic development will be achieved. The co-operatives are to provide not only a source of income for members but also foster a spirit of cooperation and a concern for progress within the village.

Co-operatives are commendable and it may be, as Professor Lang tells us, that they have enjoyed much success in Tanzania. But this has not been the case in Papua, New Guinea which is closer to home. Similarly, fishermen's co-operatives that have been initiated in Jayapura over the years have

not endured. This is not to say that they will not be successful in the Asmat but, as has been candidly admitted in the papers and discussions, these co-operatives face serious difficulties. The foremost problem of how to develop an efficient management system could probably be overcome by intensive training programmes, but this assumes that suitable candidates are available and there is some doubt about this.

Two serious problems have been raised in the discussions. It seems that young people are indifferent to the co-operatives and that the future supply of ironwood, the main resource upon which the co-operatives rely, is uncertain.

We are told that young people of the Asmat do not see any personal future in the co-operatives. The nature of their schooling is such that it has caused them to look not to the village but outside where opportunities are seen to lie. Yet, except for the fortunate few, opportunities outside the village do not exist and the vast majority have to reconcile themselves to a permanent village existence. The fact remains, however, that the co-operatives have yet to take any sort of hold in village life. It seems that those who play a leading part in the co-operative are not accorded significant prestige.

It is hoped that this will change when the plans the mission has for the co-operatives materialize. Should the co-operative come to assume a leadership role in village social and economic life it could well be instrumental in galvanizing the villagers to work for development; it could have a revitalizing effect on the village as a whole. At this point, though, it might be appropriate to ask whether the co-operatives, in the manner in which they are organized and the age group which make up the membership, match any significant element in traditional village social organization. Certainly the Asmat people have the tradition for collective effort in such endeavours as house building, the building of the mens house, canoe making and so on. But individual talent was also given recognition in areas such as woodcarving, story telling and head hunting. If the "co-operative approach" embracing as it does a wider group which cuts across the extended

kin group is not matched by any traditional segment of Asmat society, people may find the basic concept bewildering.

Assuming that the co-operatives do develop along the lines envisaged the most serious problem to be faced in the future would seem to be the lack of lumber. We are told that the only known resource the co-operatives can exploit is lumber - in particular, ironwood. We are also told that the supply of ironwood will not be everlasting; on the contrary one estimate is that the supply may be exhausted within ten years. Already villagers have to go further afield to obtain the lumber. To tie a programme of development to co-operatives is risky at best; to have those co-operatives wholly dependent upon a resource which is likely to peter out within a few years hardly seems wise. It is also said that the price of ironwood has begun to fall. It could be that the problem in the Asmat area will not be a dwindling supply so much as the lack of a market.

Whether or not the future for ironwood is as dubious as some have suggested the search for alternative resources should be initiated now. It is said that bananas and coconuts are not economically viable and that the numbers of crocodiles have become so depleted that hunting them is hardly worthwhile. Perhaps crocodile breeding farms such as are being introduced in some other parts of the Province would be a possibility for a minor co-operative project. Asmat waters appear to be very rich in shrimp. Perhaps the Government could be persuaded to undertake a survey of shrimp resources. If shrimp are present in sufficient quantities it may be possible to establish a number of small freezer plants in more centrally placed villages to which fishermen could bring their catch. There is also the possibility of putting Asmat woodcarving on a more commercial basis; this could be done while at the same time safeguarding quality. The point to be made is that no time should be lost in exploring every possible resource that might assist in development. This, of course, must be the responsibility of the government but the mission, notwithstanding its meagre resources, could probably help a great deal.



If I have given the impression that I believe the programme in the Asmat of development through co-operative to be misguided this was not the intention. The fact that co-operatives of the type being encouraged in the Asmat have probably more often failed than succeeded is not the point. If only a few of the objectives the mission hopes to achieve through the co-operatives are realized the programme will have been worthwhile. What I would suggest is that in fostering the co-operatives the mission should not close its eyes to the possibility of encouraging entrepreneurial skills among those who may show some business acumen and have the motivation to move ahead of their fellows. Encouraging Asmaters to open trade stores in their villages is one way of beginning such a programme. Perhaps, too, it is time that the mission itself in dealing with the local people moved wherever possible to a monetary economy and began dealing in cash rather than in trade goods.

Before concluding, a few words might be said on the question of the schools - a topic which received much attention in the symposium. It is true that the question of educational reform is receiving much attention in high level circles but drastic reforms are not likely to take place overnight. It is necessary to work ways within the confines of the present school system and the syllabus to enliven education and make it a more meaningful experience for children most of whom are going to spend their entire lives in a village environment. In the course of the papers and discussions many valuable suggestions as to what can be done have been made and it is clear that all who deal with the schools are aware of the problems and have given thought to possible reforms. I cannot improve on the suggestions that have been made except to stress that every endeavour should be made to involve the parents in the schools. Only if this is done are the schools likely to keep touch with village life and education be a meaningful experience.

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Michael J. Adrian O.S.C. :

From the time when he arrived in Asmat almost five years ago, Br. Michael has been involved with the Co-operatives. His first year was spent in the village of Jamasj. He then was transferred to the center of Agats where he was responsible for the sawmill. He has worked with the Co-operative of Erma for the past two years and, later this year, will transfer to Jaosakor.

Sedjak tiba di Asmat kurang lebih 5 tahun jang lalu, Bruder Michael telah menggabungkan diri dalam koperasi perkajuan. Tahun pertama beliau bekerdja dikampung Jamasj, lalu dipindahkan ke kota Agats dan bekerdja pada usaha penggergadjian kaju milik koperasi. Tahun 1971 beliau mulai bertugas di Kampung Sawa-Erma sebagai penasehat koperasi di kampung tersebut. Tahun ini Bruder Michael akan pindah lagi ke kampung Jaosakor.

Edward Greiwe O.S.C. :

After completing his studies in theology and philosophy at the Crosier House of Missions, Indiana, Fr. Greiwe undertook training in Anthropology at the Catholic University of America. He arrived in Asmat in 1965 and was first stationed at the village of Atsj. Since 1970 he has been the superior of the Asmat Crosiers. He is also the pastor of the cathedral parish of Agats and of Sjurru village. As well, he is on the board of advisors for the Co-operative Development Head Office, in Agats.

Sesudah ia menamatkan pendidikannya dalam Theologia dan Filsafat pada Crosier House of Missions, Indiana, Fr. Greiwe mengikuti latihan2 Anthropologi pada The Catholic University of America. Beliau tiba di Asmat pada tahun 1965 dan memulai kerdjanja pada desa Atsj. Sedjak tahun 1970 beliau mendjabat sebagai Pemimpin daerah Keuskupan Asmat. Beliau adalah djuga pelajan dari djemaat Asmat dan desa Sjurru. Disamping itu beliau adalah salah satu penasehat dari Pusat Koperasi Asmat di Agats.

Jacque Hoogerbrugge :

Born in the Netherlands in 1923, much of Hoogerbrugge's professional life has been spent in Indonesia. For many years he was involved in shipping but was also a painter and a collector of Indonesian art. In all he has spent seven years in West Irian. At present he is the project manager of the FUNDWI handicraft project. Among other writings Hoogerbrugge has authored a book dealing with the art of Lake Sentani.

Lahir dinegeri Belanda thn.1923; sebagian besar dari masa kerdjanja dipergunakan di Indonesia. Selama ber-tahun2 beliau berketjimpung dibidang perkapalan disamping sebagai pelukis dan pengumpul barang2 kesenian. Beliau sudah 7 tahun berada di Irian Barat dan sekarang bertugas sebagai



Projek Manager dari FUNDWI/18 (Projek Ukiran2 Asmat). Diantara tulisan2 Hoogerbrugge telah diterbitkan antara lain sebuah buku tentang kesenian daerah Sentani (The Art of Lake Sentani).

Daniel Jorpitsj :

An Asmatter, Daniel Jorpitsj has had seven years of schooling including two years of secondary school. He was chosen as the first secretary of the co-operative and has remained in co-operative work ever since. In 1971 he was appointed treasurer of the Co-operative Centre in Agats.

Seorang putera Asmat, dengan pendidikan tujuh tahun, termasuk dua tahun sekolah landjutan pertama. Sedjak terpilihnja sebagai Sekretaris I Daniel Jorpitsj tetap menjumbangkan tenaganja bagi perkoperasian. Dalam tahun 1971 beliau diangkat mendjadi bendahara Pusat Koperasi di Agats.

Norbertus Kasiran :

Norbertus Kasiran, Vice-Chairman of the Co-operative Centre in Agats, was born in Jogjakarta, Central Java. He was first trained as a teacher and as well as the position he holds at the Co-operative Centre, is the head of the Primary Teachers' Training School in Agats. Over the last five years Kasiran has played an active part in working with the missionary initiated co-operative organizations in the Asmat region.

Norbertus Kasiran, Ketua II Pusat Koperasi Agats, berasal dari Jogjakarta. Selain dari pendidikan dan pengalaman sebagai guru-idjazah terachir PGSLP. Bahasa Indonesia - beliau telah banjak berketjimpung dalam urusan perkoperasian. Disamping tugasnja sebagai kepala sekolah SPG Katolik, sedjak tahun 1967 koperasi2 didaerah Asmat jang dahulunja dirintis oleh para pastor, telah banjak mendapat bantuan dan bimbingan dari beliau.

Gottfried O. Lang :

Dr. Lang is Professor of Anthropology and director of the Research Project in Socio-Cultural Change in the Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado, Boulder, USA. He has carried out research on acculturation and education among American Indians, on modernization in Tanzania and is currently researching the relationship of population dynamics and modernization, including the Asmat of West Irian.

Dr. Lang adalah guru-besar dalam Antropologi dan Direktur Research Project dalam Socio-Cultural Change pada Institute of Behavioral Science, di Institute of Colorado, Boulder, USA. Beliau telah melakukan penelitian tentang akkulturasi dan pendidikan diantara orang2 Indian Amerika, modernisasi Tanzania dan sekarang sedang meneliti tentang hubungan dinamika penduduk dan modernisasi, termasuk Asmat di Irian Barat.

Jeremias M'baid :

Jeremias M'baid was born in the village of Sjurur, Asmat in 1942. He had five years of schooling. From 1965 to 1969 he was a catechist in the village of Sowa-Erma. From 1969 until the present he has been employed by the FUNDWI Asmat Handicraft Project as a local buyer of Asmat woodcarvings.

Jeremias M'baid lahir didesa Sjurur, Asmat pada tahun 1942. Beliau telah sekolah selama lima tahun. Sedjak tahun 1965 sampai 1969 beliau mendjadi guru agama didesa Sowa-Erma. Sedjak dari tahun 1969 sampai sekarang beliau bekerdja pada Projek FUNDWI Asmat Handicraft sebagai tenaga pengumpul barang2 ukiran.

Joseph Omberep :

Joseph Omberep was born on December 1942 in the Muju region, West Irian. After six years of primary school he went to the Training School for Civil Servants. He was first employed at the office of the District Commissioner in Merauke but in 1962 was transferred to Tanah Merah where he was under-district officer. His experiences in the Asmat area began a year later when he became under-district officer of Erma. In 1964, after completing a special course for civil servants in Surabaya, he became under-district officer of Agats but subsequently was transferred to Merauke and Okaba. Since March 1972 Joseph Omberep has been the District Officer for the Asmat region.

Beliau lahir tgl.1 Desember 1942 didaerah Muju-Irian Barat. Sesudah enam tahun pendidikan, beliau melandjutkan sekolah selama empat tahun dalam Sekolah Pendidikan Pemerintahan. Tugas pertama sebagai pegawai kantor di Kantor Kabupaten Merauke selama setengah tahun. Tahun 1962 dipindahkan ke Tanah Merah sebagai Kepala Distrik selama satu tahun. Kemudian bulan April 1963 mulai tugas baru sebagai Kepala Distrik Erma didaerah Asmat. April 1964 beliau dipilih untuk mengikuti kursus pendidikan pemerintahan di Surabaya. Sesudah empat bulan beliau kembali kedaerah Asmat sebagai Kepala Distrik Agats sampai Februari 1965. Sesudah tugasnja di Merauke beliau mendjabat sebagai Kepala Distrik Okaba selama enam tahun. Tugas beliau sekarang ini mulai bulan Maret 1972 sebagai Kepala Pemerintahan Setempat untuk Daerah Asmat.

Alphonse A. Sowada :

Bishop Sowada, an American, studied Philosophy and Theology at the Crosier House of Studies, Fort Wayne, Indiana. He was ordained a priest in 1958. After ordination he gained an M.A. in Anthropology from the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. In June, 1961, he arrived in Asmat and was stationed at the village of Sawa-Erma. On August 4, 1965, he was appointed superior of the mission. He was ordained as a Bishop on November 23, 1969 for the newly established Diocese of Agats-Asmat.

Mgr. Sowada seorang warganegara Amerika mempeladajari filsafat dan Theologi pada Crosier House of Studies, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Beliau telah

ditabiskan sebagai seorang imam pada tahun 1958, dan sesudah pentabisan itu, beliau beladjar Anthropology pada Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. dimana beliau kemudian memperoleh gelar Sardjananja. Sedjak 1961 beliau tiba di Asmat dimana beliau ditugaskan di kampung Sawa-Erma sebagai misionaries. Pada tgl. 4 Agustus, 1965, ia diangkat sebagai pimpinan mission. Beliau ditabiskan sebagai Uskup di Keuskupan Agats-Asmat pada November 23, 1969.

Malcolm T. Walker :

Dr. Walker is a Research Associate in the Department of Anthropology, Southern Illinois University, and currently Professor of Anthropology, University of Tjenderawasih. Dr. Walker is on secondment to the University of Tjenderawasih until 1974 in accordance with a FUNDWI subcontract Southern Illinois has signed with UNESCO. Dr. Walker was with the Education Department in Papua, New Guinea from 1961 until 1964 before moving to the USA. His main field work was carried out in the Dominican Republic.

Dr. Walker adalah tenaga Research pada Lembaga Anthropologi Universitas Southern Illinois USA dan kini guru besar dalam ilmu Anthropologi pada Universitas Tjenderawasih. Beliau diperbantukan pada UNTJEN sampai tahun 1974 berdasarkan suatu perdjandjian yang dibuat antara Southern Illinois dan UNESCO/FUNDWI. Sebelum berpindah ke USA Dr. Walker bertugas pada Departemen Pendidikan di Irian Timur dari tahun 1961 sampai 1964. Lapangan pekerdjaannya dan tulisan2nja yang terutama membahas keadaan politik setempat di Republik Dominican.



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## THE COMMUNITY OF KUGAPA

by

Bernard Otto van Nunen

Produced by the Institute for Anthropology  
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THE COMMUNITY OF KUGAPA

A report on research conducted in 1957-1958 among a group of

Moni in the Central Highlands of

Irian Jaya

by

Bernard Otto van Nunen

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I wish to express my gratitude to the editors of IRIAN: Bulletin of Irian Jaya Development for producing this report as an issue of the IRIAN. By so doing it is my hope, which is shared by the editors, that this work on the Moni will reach a wider audience of readers.

Thanks are owed to Mrs. Adrienne Ward for her many hours of editorial assistance. I also wish to express my appreciation to Mr. R.D. Mitten for drawing the maps.

Bernard O. van Nunen



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## INTRODUCTION

In the following report the writer presents data which were collected in a small area of the Central Highlands of Irian Jaya (the western half of New Guinea) from January, 1957 until March, 1958. The area known as Kugapa lies about ten miles east of the administrative centre of Enarotali at Lake Paniai (Wissel Lakes). The area is the habitat of some 500 Moni who live rather in an enclave, isolated from their fellow tribesmen, in the territory of the Ekagi from whom they are physically, culturally and socially distinct.

The report in its present form is an editorially revised version of my M.A. thesis submitted to the Department of Anthropology at the University of Sydney in 1966. There were several reasons for the long delay in originally presenting the material. For one, the writer works as a missionary in a province where connections with academic centres are hard to maintain. More to the point, however, it had long been the hope to make a follow up study in order to gather more material on the subject of social control which was originally chosen as the theme for the M.A. thesis. This hope did not materialize and it was thought better to present the material, which although intended to be the basis for further research, contains data which should be of interest to those concerned with the cultures of the Highlands. The report reflects the conditions of 1957-1958 when the area was still under Netherlands administration. A re-study of the Moni is very much called for.

The idea at the start of the research was to make a study of one not too large a group of people who seemed to constitute a more or less coherent community. For four years the writer had been working as a missionary in various locations throughout the Wissel Lakes area and had become acquainted --in a superficial way--with some characteristics of the native culture and



the social organization of the Ekagi people. When the opportunity presented itself to begin a more intensive research, it was difficult to cast aside the previous experience and not to make use of the knowledge of the Ekagi language. However, during 1955, an American anthropologist, Leopold Pospisil, had made a detailed study of an Ekagi community for his Ph.D. degree at Yale University. It would have been a waste of time and energy to initiate a study of another community in the same cultural group as Dr. Pospisil's, whose material soon would be published. This argument was the more telling at the time because the whole of the Highland cultures of New Guinea were still a closed book to most anthropologists.

Detailed community studies of the Central Highlands of West New Guinea had not been made before Pospisil went to Itouda for his research on Kapauku law. Until that time there was only the compilatory work of C.C.F.M. Le Roux, De Bergpapoea's van Nieuw Guinea en hun woongebied (The Mountain Papuans of New Guinea and their Habitat), which had put together all the information obtained during several expeditions to the mountain areas of West New Guinea, in particular the results of the expedition of the Royal Netherlands Geographical Society in 1939. In these books were also inserted the data from reports of administrative and mission personnel who made the first contacts with the people in the years preceding the Japanese war. All in all, the work of Dr. Le Roux is very helpful, though by no means a complete or accurate inventory of social and cultural material. It also fails to disclose the dynamic character of social institutions and their inner coherence which are of great interest to modern anthropologists. Since the publication of Dr. Le Roux's volumes other studies have focused on social institutions but all of these studies were conducted among Ekagi groups. Pospisil's thesis on law seems to be the most comprehensive study. It was preceded by Dr. de Bruyn's notes on kinship and land tenure, and just at the time this present report was first written a study of the sociopolitical organization of the Ekagi, made by the government anthropologist Dr. van Loghem, became available.

Whereas all these studies can be considered to deal with specific problems on the solution of which social theory is commonly based, the present writer's intention was somewhat different. It might be expressed in Dr. Richard's words as an attempt "to discover the nature of human society by means of a very detailed study of one individual society, of the organization of its members' activities and interests, and of the forces that keep them united as a group, rather than to ascertain 'what details are significant in setting off his tribe from its neighbour'".<sup>1</sup>

I am fully aware of the fact that this report does not come up to the expectations raised by this quotation. In part this may perhaps be attributed to the impossibility of placing the facts within the generally adopted categories of social theory, but it is certainly also due to the deficiencies in the way in which fieldwork was conducted. Although almost six months were almost exclusively devoted to the study of the language, I gained only sufficient knowledge to converse with the people in a clumsy way, and I was at no time sufficiently proficient to understand people in their own conversations and disputes which are such important sources for gaining insight into existing alliances and tensions, sentiments and ideas. Reliable and interested interpreters who could elucidate matters in the Indonesian language were for the most part unavailable. The only man who could have been of use lived in Enarotali where I visited him on several occasions; although helpful at times, his information was not always reliable partly because he was not well acquainted with the actualities of the situation at Kugapa.

Most of the material was collected in an informal manner by observing the behaviour of the people of Watagamuda where I had my house, by attending special events at other villages and by stimulating visits of all kinds to my house. The "open door" policy resulted in my house becoming a social centre where people often met to discuss their problems and the topics of the day with each other in the same way they used to do in any other house

in the community; they never appeared to object or to feel hampered by the presence of the observer. Quite often the somewhat official gatherings of the notables--parliamentary sessions so to speak--were held in front of my house. On such occasions the houseboys would explain what was going on, and afterwards the older men were generally willing to expound the matters in greater detail. Most helpful was Soadekigi Zongonau, who assisted greatly in the drawing up of genealogies and in the wording of tribal tradition. Other possible sources of information however were never rejected, but always the informal character of the conversations was maintained. Several attempts to conduct interviews according to a preconceived plan or with the help of questionnaires led nowhere. A Moni community is still too much of an uncharted field where "the discussion may at any moment lead to completely new and unforeseen facts which force the investigator to abandon altogether any plan that he may have made."<sup>2</sup>

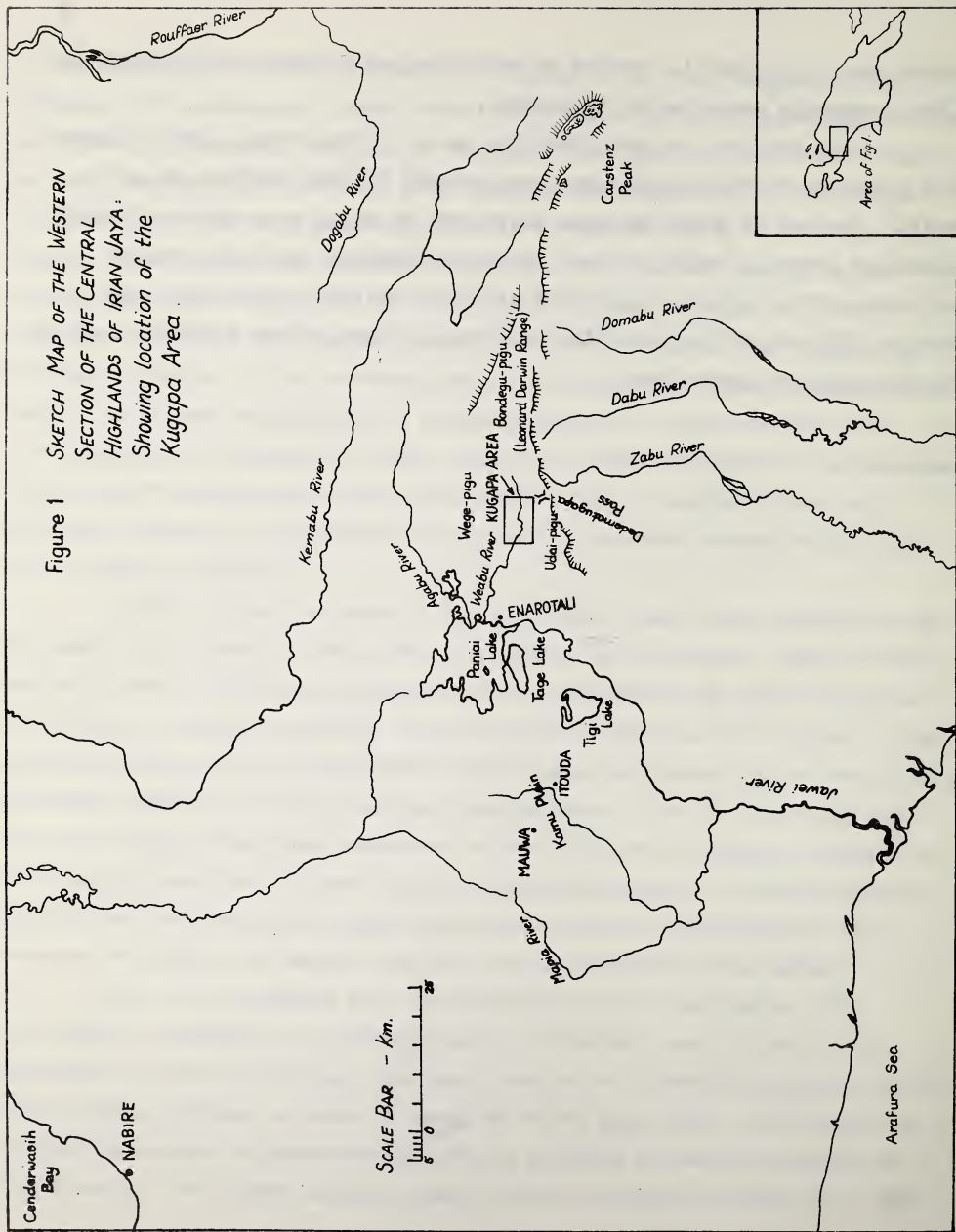
Mention should be made of the fact that I had a tape recorder at my disposal, which proved to be a great attraction to the people. Many of them wanted to have their speech recorded and the performance of various songs on the tape was extremely popular. Texts as well as songs on the recorder often contained ideas or just simple words which opened new fields for investigation. Sometimes, however, it was clear that people tried to use the apparatus for their own ends in that they attempted to have unfriendly messages recorded to other people whom they did not like to approach directly. In these attempts they did not succeed as the tape in such cases was not played back in the presence of others, but merely kept for private analysis by the author.

As it is presented now, the report falls into two parts. The first part is intended as a general survey of the Moni way of life in its physical and cultural setting; this part remains on a purely descriptive level. The analysing approach of what is meant to be the main body of the report is intended to provide an understanding of the problems of social structure in Moni society. No attempt has been made to solve specific problems or to test



hypotheses, but rather to provide an understanding of what social reality in a Moni community means to the individual.

One note may be made about the use of native texts. The orthographic practice of Father Drabbe has been adopted for the spelling of native words.<sup>3</sup> The use of these has been restricted to such cases where no English equivalent seems to exist or where the use of English words may lead to confusion. This is not a linguistic study and original texts often make reading difficult without clarifying matters. Where native words are used in the text they are underlined.



## PART I

### GENERAL SURVEY OF MONI CULTURE

The material which follows introduces the social problems of the community at Kugapa and seeks to place these problems in their proper perspective. There is also material of a descriptive nature for those readers who find literature on West New Guinea difficult to obtain, or who are looking for data with which to make comparisons with the observations of earlier visitors to the area.

#### Distribution of the Moni group

"Moni" is the term applied to a linguistically and socially differentiated group of people who inhabit the Central Mountains. They populate the valleys on the northern side of the Nassau Range, viz. Kemandoga and Dugindoga<sup>1</sup> and their side valleys. Their number is variously estimated at 50,000 to 60,000 by Le Roux<sup>2</sup> and at 15,000 to 20,000 by others<sup>3</sup>. The latter figure is probably the most accurate. A smaller group, perhaps not more than a few thousand, occupies some of the valleys on the southern side of the Nassau Range. Of these the Kugapa group appears to be an off-shoot.

The term "Moni" is probably derived from Mon used by the Ekagi when referring to the Moni. When speaking among themselves, the Moni use the term Me. The suffix ni in the Moni language has, in the opinion of Fr. Drabbe, the meaning of "people" like the suffix "-ers" in Londoners or New Yorkers.

When speaking to their tribesmen the Moni refer to themselves as Migani, i.e. "the real people," as Miga means "real, in the proper sense," or, "ideal" in terms of their own aspirations. The term Moni is quite commonly used by the people themselves, especially when speaking to outsiders, since etiquette would forbid the people to show depreciation of others by referring to themselves as the only "ideal men"<sup>4</sup>. Because in the Kugapa area the term Moni was heard more often than Migani, the writer has



adopted the former term for these people.

### Topographical notes

The Wea River, which has its origins on the northwestern side of the Leonard Darwin Range, sheds its waters into Lake Paniai after meandering through an alluvial valley 10 miles long and 4 miles wide at an altitude of 5,500 feet. Typical of large lake basins in the Central Highlands, the Wea valley provides a habitat for about 3,000 Ekagi who live by agriculture and pig breeding in this swampy terrain, or on the barren slopes of the surrounding mountains. There is a small intermediate section between the rough, inhospitable and unpopulated flanks of the Leonard Darwin Range and the valley floor. This is the hilly country of Kugapa. It is enclosed by the Leonard Darwin Range proper, called Bondege-pigu (pigu=mountain) by the natives, on the eastern side; and the Wege-pigu and Udai-pigu on the northern and southern sides respectively. The latter are promontories of the Bondege Range.

In the southeastern direction at an altitude of 9,500 feet is a plateau called Dedematugapa, which forms a pass leading to the area known at Kugapa as Zando, the Za (river) side<sup>5</sup>, where the Dabu, Zabu, Dumabu and many other rivers form many deep gorges through which the water from the Leonard Darwin and Nassau Ranges runs south to the great rivers of the coastal flats. Normally it is two days walk from Kugapa to the first settlement at Zando, but when necessary a native can walk the distance in 13 hours. The Moni of Kugapa have regular contact with their tribesmen of Zando, more than with those in the Kemandoga or Dugindoga. East of the Moni on the southern side of the Central range live the Ugunduni with whom the Moni of Kugapa also have connections.

The name Kugapa is used here to designate the whole district at the end of the Wea valley as it is the name commonly used in literature and by the people themselves. The name is more properly applied to a place that is

now abandoned by the Moni, but is of great importance in their cultural history. The legend of the Kugapa Moni tells of a man who is called Bondege-kimegame (literally: the man who came the Bondege way) who a long time ago went from the Dugindoga to the Domandoga where he cleared the jungle and began to cultivate the land. From there, 75 to 90 years ago, two men left the Domandoga via Dedematugapa to settle at a place which they named Kugapa. The whole area was at that time covered with heavy jungle to such an extent that even the Wea river was completely concealed. The country has a natural beauty, fertile soil and good drainage. Most of the soil is a white to yellow sand with patches of loam. When the bush has been cleared, the soil contains a good layer of humus, sufficient for years to come. Owing to the natural increase of the population and because of immigration a larger area gradually became occupied. Several times during their short history smaller groups of Kugapa Moni have emigrated, motivated partly by land shortage, only to return later. Most of these emigrants moved in the direction of the Kamu valley where they had friends among the resident Ekagis. The names of several persons have their origins in those temporary emigrations, e.g. Wanima and Mauwabui, born near the Wani and Mauwa rivers of the Kamu valley. Soadekigi and his brothers were living at Itouda in the Kamu valley when they were met by the first Europeans to reach the area in 1937<sup>6</sup>. Some individuals of Kugapa origin are still living at Wagimoma and Jotadi in the lower Kemandoga valley. Although there have been other reasons for these migrations, land shortage has been the primary cause in most instances.

The houses of the Kugapa people are scattered over an area which is about 4 miles long and 2 miles wide, the centre being at about  $136^{\circ} 34'$  east longitude and  $3^{\circ} 45'$  south latitude. The Moni live here at an altitude between 5,500 and 6,000 feet, though some of their gardens may be situated a few hundred feet higher. The area over which the Kugapa people claim hunting and collecting rights extends far into the mountain ranges.

### Physical appearance of the Moni

Dr. H. Bijlmer who made the first anthropological measurements of the Ekagi of the Mapia region in 1935/6, was also visited by 9 adult Kugapa Moni. He was impressed by their physical appearance which seemed to differ greatly from that of other known Mountain Papuans, who showed a pygmoid tendency. Among these Moni he found an average of 160.2 cm. standing height and 77.7 cephalic index<sup>7</sup>. A larger group of 26 Moni was measured in 1939 by A. Roushdy who obtained similar figures, viz. 162.6 for height and 80.2 for cephalic index<sup>8</sup>.

Perhaps these figures are coloured by the fact that only individuals of the Zongonau clan were measured. Although no measurements were taken by the writer, the impression gained was that members of the other main clan of Kugapa, the Kobogau, do not differ much from the Zongonau in their physical characteristics. There are however, some Dimbau people both living in and visiting Kugapa from Zando, who gave the impression of being shorter and tending towards the brachycephalic type. Of these Dimbau people it was said that their clan originated from the Ugunduni tribe living south of the Carstensz Mountains.

### Ecology and subsistence activities

The Moni live in small, rather autonomous settlements at distances varying from 10 minutes to half an hour's walk from each other. These settlements may consist of any number between 2 and 10 houses, providing room for 10 to 60 individuals. For subsistence these people have to rely mainly upon their own activity; gardening is of first importance and pig breeding a secondary occupation. The natural environment does not provide enough food for the people and only under special circumstances, e.g. when travelling, or during a short period of exile, will the Moni attempt to rely on collecting food.

The land can be divided into three categories, each representing a



different set of values and sentiments to the Moni. First there is the indo, garden land under cultivation which is the main source of food for the individual family. Then there are the patches of fallow land, the budi, which was worked in former times by living persons or by their forefathers. This land often belongs to a combine of families which originated from one household. Finally there is the mbidi, the jungle, largely untouched, not regarded as arable but not valueless.

The main crop of the indo gardens is sweet potatoes (*Ipomea batatas*), but they also contain various kinds of vegetables, such as spinach-like greens, various beans, a kind of asparagus, pumpkin, sugar cane, bananas and in recent times sometimes cabbages and maize. Some items, such as tobacco, are often grown in a small garden around the house in those cases where the main garden is not adjoining the house itself.

Special mention should be made of the growing of taro which in some gardens is the main crop. Although a small quantity of taro may sometimes be eaten on an ordinary day, it appears that these taro gardens are laid out for special occasions.

A legend about the taro tells of Bondegekimegame bringing some with him when he settled in the Domandoga. During the pig feast which the writer attended all the guests received taro along with their pork. The taro had been brought to the front of the dance house the day before and displayed on scaffolds. There was a great deal of singing and dancing during the procession but the pigs were killed with virtually no ceremony at all. On this same day a wa-zamo, a taro feast, was held in another village where pigs were also killed but the feast once again centred around the taro. Another taro feast was to be held shortly before the writer left the area. The priority given to taro in these festivities indicates the importance attached to the above legend.

The presence of a variety of vegetables in the gardens is important for the protein supply of the Moni. There are no fish in the rivers and

shrimp, which could be obtained from the Ekagi, are taboo for the Moni. Large quantities of vegetables are eaten daily by the Moni. Meat is not a regular item on the daily menu but the average individual will get several ounces a week. Each family owns at least a few pigs. These are not just for the pig feasts, but are also used on special occasions such as the birth of a child, illness in the family, death, marriage and the arrival of an important guest. Nearly always a large part of the pork is sold to outsiders, and as these special occasions occur in scattered locations, there is a reasonably regular distribution of the meat. This does not mean, however, that the total quantity is sufficient.

Pigs always roam in the fallow land during the day and are prevented from entering the gardens only by heavy fences. Since a man cannot appeal for damages when a pig destroys a badly fenced garden, he is forced to keep his fence in good order. Apart from the heavier work of preparing the garden soil, fencing is the main daily occupation of every adult male. Not only does the actual putting up of the fence and the binding with vines fall upon him, but he has to collect every piece of timber and every string of rattan himself. Often he has to walk long distances to gather these materials.

Most of the families have one garden near the settlement and another one in the jungle. In the latter they will sometimes work for a few days at a stretch, enjoying at the same time the special attractions of jungle life. A provisional shelter can be found in most of these gardens. Under special circumstances, or when the garden land near the settlement becomes exhausted, a family may settle more or less permanently near this secondary garden, which may eventually become a new community<sup>9</sup>.

The sentiments centering around the budi (the fallow lands) are related not only to their utilitarian value as future garden land but they also have attractions of their own. As a child the Moni roams through the fallow with his friends and derives much pleasure from trapping rats, shooting birds

and from gathering edible insects and shrubs. Here the young Moni are trained for future life. When they grow older and become sexually aware, the beauty of the budi is the theme of many songs while the bushes offer excellent opportunities for carrying out their singer's intentions.

The Moni impose property rights on the huge casuarina trees in these areas with regard to their utilization potential. Their forefathers planted these trees which are said to fertilize the soil; they also provide large quantities of planks for future fences.

The mbidi, or virgin forests, are considered dangerous places because of the many evil spirits that dwell in them. Nevertheless, a good number of valuable materials are sought in these forests. They are the source of rattan and other vines for binding fences. Some of the trees in the forest are cut into planks; other trees provide bark which can be used for roofing or flooring and from still others the inner bark can be spun into rope for netting. Pandanus leaves serve as rain hats and provide wrapping for the ribbon cigarette. Wild fruit, highly valued pandanus fruit and many other edibles attract people to the mountain forests. On moonlit nights bands of Moni go into the jungle with their domesticated dogs looking for so. This word covers a number of marsupials and mammals, large rats, tree kangaroos, anteaters, opossums and others, some of which have specific names but all are classified under the genus so. Although people derive much enjoyment from so hunting, it cannot be said that the sportive aspect of the hunt is the only motive for their adventures. The yield is highly appreciated and may either be sold or freely distributed in the same manner as pigs. Strings of so heads are often hung around the houses as symbols of success.

The Moni appear to be well adapted to making intensive use of the physical environment. The natural resources, however, are limited and there is a real struggle for survival. Several necessities of life can be met by making use of the natural resources but these are often so limited that no



free use of them can be allowed. Individuals or groups may claim certain parts of the natural resources. They in turn have to respect the rights claimed by others. There are indications that these rights become more clearly defined as the density of population increases. As yet there is no great danger of major conflicts within the Moni group of Kugapa itself, but this must largely be attributed to the fact that some 30 years ago the relation between natural resources per density of population had been balanced by a war with an Ekagi group after which the Kugapani<sup>10</sup> claimed rights over a territory several times as large as their original holdings.

#### Housing and articles of material culture

All the houses of the Moni are of a similar appearance and structure. The small variations in size and inner partitions that do occur are related to practicalities and do not reflect social differentiation. A distinction is made between nduni and mina i. The former are sleeping quarters reserved for males. Mina i means literally women's house. A monogamous man often will have only one house for the whole family as long as there are no grown sons. The three distinct types, men's houses, women's houses and family houses, have no special characteristics. Only incidentals will sometimes tell what kind of house it is, e.g. the strings of so heads will not be found around the mina i. A chief's house is not necessarily larger or better constructed than a commoner's, nor do the partitions reveal anything about the type of house. None of the Moni houses seen by the writer had more than two rooms.

A house is about 9 to 12 feet wide, 12 to 20 feet long and 9 feet high. The outer walls consist of a palisade of hardwood poles 6 to 7 feet high, slanting slightly inwards. To the inside of this palisade horizontal planks are tied to the poles. The floor is raised  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 feet above ground level and is covered with a special kind of bark from a pandanus-like tree. The same kind of bark is used to close the doorway opening. For the women's

houses the room between the floor and the ground is used as a pigsty. There is a fireplace in the centre of the floor in each room consisting of stones on a little mound raised on the ground. For the roof a double layer of tree bark is used sometimes covered with grass or pandanus leaves which contain a tar-like substance.

The house does not contain furniture and people squat around the fire or lie on the floor. There are hooks for bows and arrows on the walls and a water container may be found, which is a simple hollowed out gourd. There is no basketry or pottery. All food is cooked either by putting it directly into the hot ashes or by steaming it over the fire after wrapping it in large leaves. On special occasions, such as pig feasts, a pit is made outside the house and meat and vegetables are steamed by means of hot stones. The fire in the house is constantly kept burning. If it happens to go out the traditional firesaw of rattan and hardwood is used although imported matches are becoming more usual.

The rain hat which is also used as a sleeping mat or as a covering against cold is the only mat the people know. It is made of strips of pandanus leaves sewn together with rope. Men and women use net bags to carry their valuables and their daily ration of food. These net bags are made from string of the inner bark of certain trees. Some nets are decorated with yellow or red patterns obtained by winding the stem of grasses or orchids around the string. Though these nets are carried around for the greater part of the day, they are not to be regarded as part of the clothing as seems to be the case with the Ekagi women.

Clothing in Moni society bears little relation to protection from physical discomfort such as cold or hazards of the jungle. Clothing amounts to the socially prescribed covering of certain parts of the body. The men are clad solely in penis sheaths which are hollowed out gourds held in place by string or a decorated woven band around the belly. Young men nearing the age of marriage begin to wear a satchel which rests on the right shoulder

and passes under the left armpit. A few cowries, a piece of ribbon cigarette or a charm may be kept in it. Wealthy men may be seen wearing a small cushion on the loin which consists of a very long ribbon of finely plaited string covered with yellow grass husk and folded many times to a cushion about 8" in length. It is held over the right buttock by means of a string around the belly. Older men often have a long fibrous vine wound around the belly the significance of which is still obscure. The suggestion that it is a mark of magical power is not substantiated by the facts; many recognised magicians did not use them and the people deny any such intention. Necklaces of dog teeth, nassa shells and boar tusks are favorite adornments with men who can afford buying them. A wig of hair with rodent bones is a common hair cover for the young chiefs. Plaited rattan armlets generally complete a male's attire.

Faces may be painted with resin, soot and red ochre which is not necessarily confined to either festive or sad occasions. The extremely finely woven harness of rattan is rare, but not completely absent. A few were in evidence at a time when there was a threat of war but they were sold later to Europeans who asked for them. At a peace-making ceremony the leading man wore one to create an impression rather than for protective reasons.

The women, prior to marriage, wear a skirt of combed out inner tree bark whereas married women cover their genitalia with two or three skirts of short strips of plain inner bark sewn next to each other on a string. Women, especially adolescent girls and young married women, are supposed to have their breasts covered with rodent tails, shreds of cloth, dog teeth, beads and whatever ornaments they might fancy.

The native black and yellow necklaces of kernels and husks used mostly by the women have almost entirely been replaced by blue or multi-coloured beads. Wealthy women usually wear a strip of large valuable shell among their breast trimmings. Almost every woman has a small breast purse around her neck, and a band of plaited rattan around the belly is quite



common.

What have been described are the minimum socially acceptable requirements of clothing. It should be added, however, that a few individuals occasionally use imported European style clothing.

The primary tool used by the Moni in recent times is the steel axe which has completely replaced the original stone axe.

A digging stock is used for gardening which is an ordinary piece of pointed hardwood. This is being supplemented by the imported long bush-knife, although the natives find the price of the substitute rather high relative to the improvement the tool represents. The same can be said for steel knives in comparison with the old stone or slate knives. Steel knives are readily accepted but are not particularly highly valued as the people have only restricted use for them. The third main tool in the culture is the bone needle used both for sewing and carving.

Men always carry bows and arrows with them for shooting birds and animals, rather than as a means of defense. Spears are not used by the Moni although they have seen them used by the Dani. Bows can be made from several kinds of hardwood, preferably the kind obtained from the Zando area. The arrow heads mounted on reed shafts can be of four types: a straight hardwood point, a bamboo blade, a three or four pointed split bamboo or a blunted end for stunning. The first type would effectively kill humans.

The irregular decorations on these implements which are comprised of dots and lines on the hardwood arrow points and on the bamboo, constitute one of the few attempts at artistry by the Moni; another is the irregular orchid and grass decoration on the carrying nets. There is a crude attempt at carving tree roots to resemble human heads; these may be hung inside the houses. This activity is said to be recreational although one informant thought the heads were to frighten children. At all events the Moni are hardly renowned for their artistic endeavours.

### Goods exchange, trading and currency

Apart from the subsistence activities already mentioned, the economic behaviour of the Moni consists largely in direct or indirect exchange of goods and services. Even within the community where the same environmental conditions allow all individuals to avail themselves of similar goods, much exchange is carried on. Gift exchanges do occur but are mostly confined to the small kinship group, and then a return gift is expected later on. Indirect barter, by which goods are exchanged for cowrie shells is certainly the most important and customary mode of goods exchange. This enables the individual Moni to communicate with a great number of other people. The importance of the cowrie shell becomes more pronounced since it is the sole necessary item for bride price. We will deal with this special function of the cowrie shell in a later chapter.

Not all aspects of the cowrie as a currency are fully understood. This is true even for the most fascinating question, viz., what characteristics determine the value of the shell. Shape, size, colour and shine are certainly among the most overt determinants of value but the evaluation of these characteristics is not consistent over the whole area where the cowrie is accepted currency; the area in question covers all the known parts of the Central Mountain range of West New Guinea. This is not to say that a particular cowrie will be rejected in a certain area on the grounds that its shape or size does not agree with the locally accepted standard; people may find a use for such a cowrie in dealings with their trading partners in other areas. Few individuals are acquainted with the precise possibilities of all particular cowries and often have to rely upon the judgement of a connoisseur for the assessment of their value.

With the Kugapa Moni the cowrie should meet the following requirements. The miga-kigi, i.e. the really good cowrie shell, should have a lozenge shaped ground pattern, the transverse diagonal line being only a little shorter than the vertical one. It should have little knobs on the

side. The belly of the original shell is cut off above the rim. Other things being equal, a larger shell has a higher value. The colour should be a dull white, the original enamel-like shine having been removed by polishing the shell with a special leaf (meme-hoga). Beeswax (dimboga) and a fungus (maikazu) put inside the shell are essential for its monetary value. Finally, all signs of long wear and frequent use form the most comprehensive criteria of value, as well as shine, whiteness and also the dullness of the teeth on the original shell opening. Such shells have obviously been valued by many men thus determining their worth.

According to their value, the shells are divided into three main classes: munga, kubawi and saekigi. The use of the munga, which are again subdivided into five species, is almost entirely restricted to bride price in which they constitute the most important part of the payment. Kubawi and saekigi are used in ordinary trading. The relative value of a good saekigi as compared with a good kubawi is expressed by those who claim to have knowledge of European money, as one guilder to five guilders<sup>11</sup>. For one saekigi one can buy an ordinary carrying net, a small bow or a bundle of about 10 arrows, a complete penis sheath, 4 to 6 beds of sweet potatoes which would yield some 50 lbs. of tubers, and so on. The value of the kubawi equals that of an iron axe. It is also possible to express the value of cowries in terms of the amount of pork that could be bought for them. One leg of a medium sized pig, that is 6 to 10 lbs. of pork, was sold for one kubawi. One saekigi bought a portion of pork weighing about 10 oz. plus some fat.

The killing of a pig is nearly always an affair with strong economic implications, even on those occasions when it is a requirement to slaughter a pig, such as at the time of birth or burial ceremonies. On these occasions the larger portions of the pigs are sold for cowries, while only the waste (the head and the inner parts) are destined for free distribution among the participants in the ceremonies. For the rest, only the pig killed on the occasion of the death of a person, or the one that is killed for



curative magic, or the pig that vomits on being slaughtered may not be sold but must be distributed without compensation. These are probably the only exceptions to the rule that the pig should "yield its cowries." Notwithstanding the many social aspects surrounding the pig feast, the actual distribution of the pork is primarily an economic matter - to gain cowries.

Besides their being an essential requirement for marriage, cowries are important for intercommunity trading in that they are easily carried and allow a person to make distant journeys without being dependent upon personal relations for subsistence during the period of absence. In intercommunity trading some changes must undoubtedly have taken place from the time of European administration which has brought many people from the coast to the Paniai Lake area. For instance, in the old days stone axes were obtained from the east, from Ndanise, so the Kugapa-Moni say, although even before the advent of "foreign" trade relations a few steel axes had already reached Kugapa from the west. At present, however, the steel axe which is readily available to the Kugapa people is an article of export to the southeast, as well as to the Kemandoga, where the Kugapani have trade relations and where the people have next to no contact with foreigners. The same applies to other recently introduced articles such as beads, knives, and mirrors, which are traded to these areas. One wonders what articles of export the Kugapa Moni had before their contact with those newcomers and how much their trading capacity has been improved by the new situation. It cannot be assumed that in former times the Kugapa people always paid outsiders with cowries, the supply of which must have been limited. The problem is complicated by the fact that the cowries themselves are said to have reached Kugapa from the east. These questions could not be solved during the investigation in Kugapa itself. Perhaps conditions in the untrouched areas may throw light on these matters.

The imported articles in Kugapa range from magic charms, red earth for face painting, better quality bows and also dogs which come from the

Zando area, to tobacco, salt, rattan harnesses and especially the highly appreciated breeding piglets from Kemandoga and areas beyond. No exhaustive list of traded articles has been made but an idea of the variety may be surmised from those mentioned.

There is a notable difference in the trading position of Kugapa with regard to Zando and Kemandoga respectively. The Zanduni Moni as well as the Ugunduni who apparently have some salt wells of their own, prefer the better quality salt from the wells of the Kemandoga. Several times during the period of research the writer met with groups of Zando people, ranging from six to twenty persons who were on their way to the salt wells of the northern side of the mountain range. For these people, Kugapa was only a resting place where they stayed for a few days or some weeks with their relatives and acquaintances before moving on. They sold several commodities such as charms, red earth, bird feathers for head decoration, armlets and so on which they had brought with them or which they made on the spot. Others offered their services to their hosts for fencing and gardening. In this way they could provide for their food on their long trip and make some profit. They still intended to go further to the salt wells of the Kema valley. Therefore their position differed from that of people who came to Kugapa from Kemandoga, for whom this place was their destination. Several parties of them stayed in Kugapa for shorter or longer periods as guests, occupying themselves with the same kind of activities as the Zanduni, but not concerned with going further for direct trading with the tribesmen of the southeastern area.

The Kugapa people themselves go on trading trips in either direction. It must be remembered, however, that not all people make such journeys. A large number of adults have never been outside their area. Only the more enterprising individuals go on these expeditions on which they will act as commission agents for others. Some persons have built up a whole network of trade relations in far away areas. It may be assumed that the Kugapani on

their journeys provide for their food in a similar way to the people from Zando and Kemandoga when they visit Kugapa for trading purposes.

### Magico-religious conceptions

This research has not furnished sufficient data to gain a full insight into the subject of magic and religion. Among the Moni religion is vaguely defined and almost devoid of ceremonial events. Certain aspects, however, can be discussed.

The Moni recognise that the visible world is only a part of reality and that they may contact the invisible reality by word or action. This contact is made by mbai dia which refers to the verbal ("prayer" and the uttering of magic spells) as well as the ritual contact although sometimes a specific term is used for the religious or magical talking, viz. mbai-dode (dode = speech or talking). This term can also be used for "forbidden" or "secret" talk. The word mbai itself is not easily explained. It may be used to indicate unethical behaviour, the morally bad, the taboo, whereas in the case of mbai dia (in which dia is only an auxiliary verb for "to do") no thought of unethical action, such as black magic, is involved. On the contrary, mbai dia is on many occasions not only permitted but is considered to be beneficial and desirable for the individual as well as for the community. Perhaps it is the venturing or challenging aspect of the contact with the supernatural which is being expressed by the term.

The mbai dia of the Moni relate to Onga-dega-me, Tau, Manita and Tone. The relations between these classes in the unseen world are not quite clear. Onga-dega-me may be translated as "the Creator," "the Designer," or "He who shaped things." The concept seems to refer to the being who drew the original course of the Wea River, the outline of the mountains and the entire physical nature (em), as well as to the ancestors who more or less permanently contributed towards nature as it is. The word is also used in a secular sense for the man who measures out the portions of the slaughtered



pig, or who designs the plan of a house, or who tries out an axe.

Manita, on the other hand, can perhaps best be translated as "guardian spirit," the supernatural protector of the household, the clan, lineage or the whole community. So-sege (so river ghost) and dingi-so (black cuscus) are manita to the Kobogau clan; mai-mina (the earth woman), mbogo-so (anteater) and wa (taro) are manita to the Zonganau. Three species of trees, umabo, debabo and zibo near the original place of Kugapa are mbai and therefore not to be cut by the Zonganau because in the past tai-mina (sun woman) came down and rested upon them.

The tau are the evil spirits, the "satans" according to those young Kugapani who know some Malay. The tau are dangerous and erratic and a man has to protect himself against their influence. They are "seen" in rocks, oddly shaped trees, certain sections of the river banks or dark spots in the jungle, as well in some humans who have fallen ill either physically or morally.

Finally, mbai dia is also directed towards the tone, the spirits of dead who come to visit the relatives or friends. It is believed that the tone have influence over the welfare of the living.

The crucial problem in the understanding of the spiritual world lies in the conception of its reality. More than once the natives stated that they had no real knowledge of the supernatural and stressed that it is a product of the thinking process based upon apparent facts. "We think the spirits exist," they said. The term used was hangia (to think) and not zagi (to know). At the same time it was denied that belief in the spirits was the product of suggestion or imagination. Perhaps one can assume that starting out from sensory perceptions, a process of inductive thought has led the Moni to a world which they do not completely understand. If we should say that the resulting system shows little coherence and many contradictions, they would agree immediately and point to the erratic character of the phenomena which startled their thought. But this cannot reduce the reality of the

spiritual world to a product of imagination.

The lack of knowledge about the supernatural also relates to the conception of its unity and its relations within this world. Hence the often indeterminate character of the mbai dia:

minamao, wogo demo, mbaidagai demo, wa demo;  
minamao, wogo biapogo ngaio, kigi biapogo ngaio.  
Ondoma nundia usio. Zongonau ago.

Mother, pork abundant, sweet potato abundant, taro  
 abundant;

Mother, pork little I do not like, cowries few I do  
 not like.

Everybody (or, much?) to eat is good. Zongonau I am.

These words were uttered by Soadekigi on the day of his pig feast, while he slapped the slaughtered pigs with the zadu twig, a red-green long shrub leaf which is used for many magical purposes. He could not say, however, whether he was speaking to the Maimina (earth-woman), the Onga-dega-me ("Creator"), the spirit of his deceased mother or to taimina (sun-woman), all of whom could be held responsible for the granting of the request.

Mitaë, Minamaë. Du-igu, zanga-igu zambageë.  
Mitaë, mbaiö.

Father, Mother. Water reeds, rain reeds cut off.  
 Father, this is mbai (a prayer? or, forbidden?).

This instruction was given by a Kobogau man while performing rain magic, but he too could not explain to whom he was praying. Possibly it was

a guardian spirit whose identity could not be revealed. On another occasion, however, people were not reluctant to mention a name:

Aita Meagombabui, a ngane duame. Zanga diananga.

Father Meagombabui (name of a deceased person), have  
mercy on me. Rain let be.

A common mbai dia, apart from the informal uttering of magical spells, consists of the erection of a fence of special wood some three or four feet long. Intestines or genitals of rats are placed at the base and zadu shrubs and a banana shoot are planted in the front. The fence is bound with special vines. A pig is killed and the blood is smeared over the fence while the performer of the rite pleads, rather than demands, that the bad spirit go away. Often he will throw a small portion of the intestines or the genitals of the pig as an incentive to the spirit. Such performances take place in the case of illness and may be repeated at intervals.

It should be remarked that the materials used in such rites are not treated with special care or caution in everyday life. The same is true of a pig that is killed. The sacred or magical value is determined by the part they play in the ceremony. It is true that whenever a pig is killed people dip their arrows and sometimes their cowries in the blood, because this will bring them success in their hunting and trading. This suggests the same idea as the polynesian mana. However, it does not make the pig a sacred animal. Nor is every ceremony in which a pig is killed a religious or magical ceremony. For instance, the pig feast in the stricter sense<sup>12</sup>, the birth feast and the burial feast are merely economic and social affairs and do not appear to have any placatory, invocatory or any other supernatural function.

The writer was told that some years ago a man named Mededakigi, notorious for his magical powers, but also said to be given to madness (zoë



dia) or to mystical experiences (hazi dia), organized a large communal mbai dia. It seems to have been connected with a long period of drought and general misfortune in the area. A large fence was erected within which a great number of men, women and children were brought together and several rites were performed. No cowries were accepted for the pigs which were slaughtered on the occasion, and people were also forbidden to take any drinks until evening. The ceremony is called sege-ugumaia-mbai, i.e. a mbai for which a sege (ghost) fence is erected.

Otherwise there are no obligatory, communal rituals which would induce or sustain a Durkheimian "collective conscience." There are, to my knowledge, no initiation rites, no periodic fertility rituals or such like and no secret societies. A totemistic organisation embracing the whole tribe has not been discovered. The Kobogau clan seems to have the dingi-so (black cuscus) as a totem - a natural species to which the Kobogau people feel themselves closely related because of common descent in the myths. They regard the dingi-so as forbidden food for themselves. No corresponding totem could be found for the Zongonau clan. The attitude of the Zongonau people towards their manita, viz. the umabo, debabo and zigabo, the three kinds of trees which they would not use for firewood, did not resemble the attitude of the Kobogau towards the dingi-so.

### The life history of the Moni

The birth of a Moni child takes place in the house where only one or two of the female relatives are present to assist the mother. As soon as it becomes clear that birth is impending, the father takes all the household possessions he is likely to need over the next few days and puts them in the custody of his brother or friend. The life of his child would be endangered were he to use anything from the house in which the birth took place. Having removed these sources of danger the father goes to call on relatives and friends announcing the coming birth. If he has not already done so, he will

try to buy a pig for the impending feast. To kill one's own pig would be unwise because the person who raised the pig is not allowed to eat it.

Soon after birth the newly born baby is placed on a pandanus mat in his mother's carrying net and the relatives enter the house to see mother and child. The umbilical cord is cut off and thrown into the bush; the placenta is wrapped in leaves and placed on a three-forked stick outside the house. The mother is not allowed to leave the house until two to four days after the birth, when the pig has been killed. The father will take care that this is done as soon as possible. Preparations for the feast take at least two days. If the father happens to be absent on a trading expedition his duties will be assumed by his brother or some other close relative.

The pig feast on the occasion of a birth, soge wogo, has primarily a social character; to celebrate the safe arrival of a new member of the family and to honour the mother<sup>13</sup>. The restrictions on the father and the mother are not lifted until the soge wogo has been distributed. As was noted before, most of the meat is sold and the father, who during the past few days has been visiting extensively, has made sure that he has found buyers. The size of the pig and whether or not more than one is slaughtered depends upon the number of intending buyers. To be able to sell a large pig, or more than one, assures a man of his popularity. The birth of a child to a rich man will be an occasion for a large gathering of people.

Soon after this celebration the mother resumes her responsibilities in the household always carrying the baby with her in the carrying net. She feeds the child whenever it cries. At this stage the child is called e'a, a pet name by which the mother may also address the child at a later age. After three or four months, when it has become evident that the child will live, the relatives will decide upon a name which quite often reflects the place or circumstances of the birth.

When the child begins the crawling period it is more appropriately spoken of as kebawa, the name it will bear until it is 5 to 6 years old. As

the child grows it is more frequently taken out of the carrying net and is taught to sit on the mother's shoulders holding on to her head. As to feeding, within two or three months after birth the child may have been given tiny pieces of sweet potatoe or sugar cane juice but the lactation period is sometimes very long and may last until the age of two or three years. When the child grows older the mother will first try to stop its crying by hugging and petting before giving her breast. If the lactation period is very prolonged weaning becomes a difficult process with many temper tantrums on the part of the child.

After weaning, the mother will leave the child more and more in the care of an older daughter, or her husband's younger sisters, or sometimes in the care of her own sons, while she is working in the garden. Thus, at the age of five or six the child is introduced into the status of biabaga. The group of biabaga comprises all the young individuals between the age of about 6 and the normal age for marriage. For girls, this is generally seventeen years or so and for boys, about 20. On entering this stage the child is supposed to have learned most of the elementary rules of behaviour. It has learned how to treat food and to control excretion, to walk and to talk. Now it is said to be in possession of reason, mezozu. No longer is the excuse accepted for misbehaviour during the e'a and kebawa periods: "Waie. Ogo mego tawa." "Let it go. He has not yet reason." The child's reasoning powers are thought to slumber and gradually awaken as he grows older.

There is no strict separation between the sexes of the growing children, except that boys, after the age of about 5 or 6, no longer sleep in their mother's house. The children enjoy a high degree of freedom although they are expected to assist in smaller household tasks like fanning the fire and fetching water and firewood. Most of them generally do not go far from the house or the garden. At the age of 12, girls are supposed to help regularly in the family garden, while the boys are encouraged to start small gardens of their own. There is a strong tendency to reward initiative



and the growth of independence in boys. At a later stage, if a boy's parents are poor and have no means of providing him with a bride price, it often happens that he will go and stay with a richer man for a time. However, contact with his own relatives is not lost.

The adolescent girl is watched closely by her parents and by her older brothers to prevent promiscuity. During her first menstruations she is subjected to a number of taboos. Her brothers spend the night with her and keep her awake by singing; if she falls asleep during the singing it is believed that she will remain barren.

From time to time singing parties are staged in the evening where boys and girls from several settlements meet, zamo tegaia. During the singing a girl may receive small presents from a boy who has his eye on her. Acceptance on her part means that she will consider further advances. Pre-marital intercourse is permitted between those who have a chance of marrying, but it should not happen too often. The initiative in this stage of experimentation is usually taken by the boy, but quite often the girl lets it be known to a particular boy that she is interested in him. She tells her mother or her brother who will contact the boy's father or brother. The possibility of marriage is then considered.

The final marriage arrangement and the structure of family life will be dealt with in later chapters. It may be said here, however, that family life rests generally upon a good understanding between husband and wife, although this calls for a rather high degree of submissiveness on the part of the woman. The notion of divorce is unthinkable, but occasional cases of men sending their wives away, or of women being taken back by her family, do occur. Gross negligence on the part of the woman as regards her marital or household duties would give the man the right to kill her. Nowadays, because of the possibility of government interference, this sanction has lost its force, but so far no undesirable effects have been noted. During the stage of adulthood, man and woman are called deago me and deago mina, respectively.

When, finally, signs of senility appear, the individual is spoken of as etega (me or mina). The hair turns grey or falls out, the teeth decay, the light in the eyes becomes dull, but the sign of senility people mostly point to is bent knees which can no longer support weight and do not permit an individual to work hard or to make long walks. Rich men gradually put aside their scanty attributes of dignity. For their livelihood they become more and more dependent upon their sons or their younger brothers. An old woman who has outlived her husband will no longer think of going back to her own relatives, which she might have done had she been younger. Old individuals, though often regarded as a burden on the community, are nonetheless highly respected. To reach such an age is certainly the ideal of every individual.

Immediately after the death of an individual a pig is killed which is gratuitously distributed among all mourners. The idea behind this ogo pa dia wogo is to satisfy the spirit of the deceased, which is called his tone. After this ceremony there is little fear of the tone, although the Moni do not have decided views on life after death. The same idea of satisfying the spirit of a deceased man is said to lie behind the custom of killing the widow within a few days of the death of her husband. In case a man was polygynous, not all his wives would be killed but only about half their number. Whether or not this custom is still practised is uncertain. In two cases known to the writer, the death of the wives occurred a few days after that of the husbands. This was suspicious to say the least, but people flatly denied that there was any connection between the deaths. It may be relevant to note that in 1954 a Kugapa man was sentenced to imprisonment by the European administration at Enarotali after he had killed his widowed step-mother<sup>14</sup>. She was not killed immediately after her husband's death but at a later time when she had begun to act strangely and when, at the same time, several misfortunes befell the son's family. It was thought that the woman had become bewitched and therefore her killing was fully justified in

terms of Moni custom. Whether the administration's action has resulted in suppressing the custom or whether the truth about a still practised custom is concealed, could not be established. The custom of women having the joint of one of their fingers cut off upon the death of her husband, child or another close relative is still common and is regarded as a permanent sign of sorrow. Nothing in the data gathered suggested the idea of a sacrifice to turn away the vengeance of the wandering tone.

During the days between death and burial the corpse is kept in the house where the mourners come to hear the dirges of female relatives, ame muni tegaia. The motifs of the mourning songs are not very altruistic. "How good was our father to us. Who will from now on buy pork for us? Who will go out to catch the so? How are we to obtain our sweet potatoes without his help?" In the meantime, the relatives make preparations for the disposal of the body and for the funeral meal. The latter involves more trouble than the former. Pigs must be bought and pre-sold; firewood, stones, leaves and vegetables must be collected. The number of pigs to be killed depends on the status of the deceased person. For a child, one pig will suffice. For an ordinary adult, two pigs are normal. At a burial attended by the author of a very old and much respected man, eight pigs were killed. This man was the last son of the founders of the Kugapa community.

When everything is ready, the burial takes place. In the morning the closer relatives will privately dispose of the body. Children are wrapped in tree bark and placed in a tree near the house. Corpses of women are mostly let down into deep waterholes between rocks or sometimes placed in trees away from the house. The corpse of an ordinary man is placed in a tree or on a platform away from the house. In the case of an important man and sometimes even a woman, a special construction is made near the house. This is a small cage on stilts which is covered with tree bark. In this small house, i zoa mindia, the corpse is put in a crouching attitude. Through the action of sun and wind the body dries up and this sometimes



makes it resemble a mummy. These mummy-houses are intended to preserve the memory of the deceased and for that reason they will be kept clean by the family at least for a time. Nowadays, however, most of them have fallen into disrepair. I know of one man who had frightening dreams combined with bad luck with his pigs. One morning he took an axe and cut down the mummy-house in which the corpse of his father had been placed only a few years previously. This action was frowned upon by his elder brother not so much because he was afraid of the vengeance of his father's tone but because his younger brother had shown so little respect. Other i zoa in the area are at least several decades old.

After the body has been disposed of the pigs are killed for the burial meal, wangu wogo. Depending on the importance of the deceased person, the gathering of mourners will be restricted to the immediate kin or it may include members of the whole community. After the larger parts of the pigs have been presented to those who paid for them, the smaller sections are steamed with vegetables over hot stones in a pit. At the end of the ceremony this meat is distributed among the people present. This burial meal concludes the mourning period and people resume their normal life, having adjusted themselves to the loss of the deceased relative.

Even though there is some evidence that the Moni keep in touch with the spirits of the dead, for instance, the small offering of sweet potatoes, bananas or a piece of pork on the day of the burial, it certainly has not developed into a large scale ancestor cult. Other practises too, such as the building of mummy houses, or the possibility of contacting the spirits of the dead in mbai dia, have no pronounced religious background. There is a belief in life after death but whether or not the status of the tone is in any way related to his preceding life or to the treatment he receives from the relatives who yet live, the writer has not been able to ascertain.

### Contact with the world at large

The situation in Kugapa in 1957 cannot entirely be understood without mentioning the impact that has followed the discovery of the mountain people by the Europeans.

The first contact Europeans had with members of the Moni tribe was but brief. This occurred in 1926 during an expedition on the Upper Rouffaer River. It is possible that the Kugapa people never learned of this contact. When, at the end of 1935, Dr. Bijlmer reached the Mapia area, the Ekagi headman, Auki, offered to invite delegations of people with whom he had connections to meet the expedition members. Among these were nine adults and two young Moni from Kugapa whose dialect corresponded with the notes taken on the Rouffaer expedition.<sup>15</sup> Contrary to what is sometimes asserted, there were no Moni living in the Kamu valley at that time, but some had stayed there before and still maintained contact with the Mapia people. This information was obtained from the Kugapa people.

Not long after the departure of Dr. Bijlmer and his party, Soadekigi and his four brothers settled with their families near Itouda. The reason was that at that time a war was being waged between some Ekagi of the Wea valley (viz. those of the Badauwo, Geeko and Uwamani villages) and the Kugapa people. The war which was over jungle rights on the Wege pigu would continue for as long as there were more victims on the Ekagi side than there were on the Moni. The latter decided that perhaps a solution could be found if they killed some of their own people. Fearful of becoming the victims, Soadekigi and his brothers who were regarded as important war leaders, left Kugapa and moved to Itouda. It then happened that Dr. J.W. Cator met with the Moni at Itouda on his first overland expedition to this area in 1937. Some of these Moni had gone to see the Bijlmer expedition in Mapia two years earlier. The men who accompanied Dr. Cator, a government officer, on his return trip to the coast, acted as guides and interpreters for the second expedition to the Wissel lakes area. The Itouda Moni, visualising a

recovery of their prestige in their home village, led the members of this second expedition first to Kugapa where the reception appeared to be very good. The government flag was planted.

When, in 1938, a permanent government station was opened at Enarotali, the Kugapani were somewhat disappointed that their own area was not chosen as the government site. The Itouda Moni gradually returned to Kugapa after the District Officer, J.V. Bruyn, had requested that Soadekigi straighten out difficulties with the Ekagi neighbours by paying damages. Soadekigi acted as a guide and interpreter for Dr. de Bruyn on several expeditions to the east. Some men made trips to the coast as carriers. Young boys acted as house boys to policemen and other government personnel at Enarotali. The Catholic missionary from the Mimika area, Father H. Tillemans, who had also followed the Bijlmer expedition of 1935, visited Kugapa several times and opened a school which was put under the care of a Kaiese teacher. Several men and boys were offered trips by plane to such faraway places as Etna Bay, Fakfak and even Ambon.

The success of these contacts was interrupted by the Japanese invasion. The retreat of the District Officer via Kemandoga and Diginduga to the Rouffaer River had been the cause of the Japanese invasion of the mountains. For a while the Japanese stayed at Kugapa causing the people a great deal of trouble. The Ekagi of Badauwo had not yet forgotten their old grievances against the Moni and, on their suggestion, the Japanese went to look for Soadekigi whom they suspected of having connections with Dr. de Bruyn. One day they shot Soadekigi's wife, his eldest son and four other relatives. Soadekigi has never forgiven the Badauwo Ekagi for their treason. When the latter suggested that Soadekigi's pig feast in December 1957 was a me-nundia performance (literally "man-eating" i.e. a ceremonial for the conclusion of a war), Soadekigi had a public ritual staged to deny such an intention.

Soadekigi's personal loss was also a blow to the prestige derived from the contact with the white people. After the war the Kugapa kept



themselves aloof for a time. With the arrival of a missionary first in Pagapugaida in 1950, later moving to Watagamuda, relations were gradually restored. The school was reopened but in 1957 it attracted only fifteen pupils. Some boys were placed in schools on the coast, with the consent of their relatives. Others have joined the police force. Some twenty young people were baptized. The presence of the missionaries who have stayed at intervals was readily accepted; gradually the natives were feeling more at ease when government officials visited the area. Until my departure there had been only two cases of interference in internal matters by the government. One case was that of the murder referred to on page 24; the other occurred at the conclusion of an internal war. In both matters the government officials were invited by some of the people to act on their behalf.

Although no radical changes have yet been adopted by the Kugapani, they are becoming increasingly involved in the world at large. They have learned to accept introduced goods such as tools, clothing, canned food and the like. By contact with the administration and especially through schooling they will gradually become acquainted with new ideas.

## PART II

### THE FRAMEWORK OF SOCIAL ACTION

In observing the cultural tradition of the Moni little evidence has been found of systematic social interaction; nor is it clear whether there is co-operative effort within any one group. Clearly, it is unlikely that the Moni form an aggregate of individuals living close to one another without any social ties. To find expressions of group behaviour and sources of social attitudes and sentiments, it is necessary to determine the character and definition of such groups as tribe, clan, family and village. One must also look to the functional significance of kinship, the role of authority and more especially, institutionalized marriage arrangements. It is these role factors which reveal the principles of grouping and institutionalized interaction which make up "society" for the Moni.

In the pages that follow, a survey of the social structure is followed by some comments on the significance of the "tribe" as a cultural group and a social unit. Then we proceed to the situation in Kugapa. Some statistical data are presented as well as material to provide an historical background. The remainder of this section is devoted to the social relations that are derived from kinship. Attention is given to the family, to marriage, to the local unit, the clan and to the special position of the leader.

#### Outline of the social structure

As has been stated earlier, the people of Kugapa form part of a larger group called Moni or Migani. As such they distinguish themselves from similar large groupings in the Central Mountains which they call "Isani,"<sup>1</sup> "Ugunduni"<sup>2</sup> and "Ndani,"<sup>3</sup> to name those that are most important. The term "tribes" is used here for those larger groupings but it must be stressed that no political unity is implied by the use of this term.

Like the Ekagi (and perhaps the other Highland groups too) the Moni tribe consists of a number of unilinear, exogamous descent groups, designated by individual names. We call these groups "clans." Names for more than fifty of such clans have been recorded by Le Roux.<sup>4</sup> These clans vary greatly in size and they do not always live in contiguous localities. In Kugapa the majority of the people belong to the Zongonau or Kobogau clans, but members of these clans are also found in other areas.

The individual Moni thus becomes a member of the tribe and the clan by virtue of his birth and patrilineal descent. Solidarity on the levels of tribe and clan, however, is not very strong. In this respect the lower descent groups of patrilineage and sublineage are of greater importance. Solidarity is primarily derived from the family and from kinship relations. The fact that in residence, the family is patrilocal, gives a special weight to the patrilineage. It leads to the formation of villages or hamlets, or local units where each son, upon marriage, builds a house near that of his own family of orientation. Although the families are highly independent units, they are important spheres of interdependence in the villages. The social situation in the local distribution of the group is often an indication of the degree of integration in the patrilineal descent group. There are some twenty hamlets in the Kugapa area.

A distinctive attribute of the more important local units is the presence of a sonowi, a rich and successful man who is the recognized leader of his immediate kinsmen but who also exercises an indirect influence over others who live in the village.

#### The linguistic and cultural unity of the tribe

The distinction between the various tribes in the Central Mountains is based primarily upon linguistic and cultural differences. The term "tribe" as used here bears no reference to the character of an "organised whole." The question as to whether or not the differences between the tribes are



important enough to provide a basis for ethnological classification is not of our concern. Apart from the language distinction, the general culture of all the tribes is fairly uniform.<sup>5</sup> On a comparative basis, the variations within each group may be greater than the differences between the tribal groups.

The importance of the distinction between the tribes is that it is recognised by the people themselves. They refer not so much to the actual differences but to the fact that they belong to a specific tradition. When people call themselves "Migani" i.e. "the real ones," they are expressing recognition of a life pattern peculiar to them--the result of accumulated experience handed down in the process of tradition. The specific cultural traits are no more characteristic of the tribal tradition than those which also occur elsewhere. The Migani are those who speak the miga-dode (language), who in the making of gardens build miga-ugu (fences) and who select the miga-kigi (cowries) in economic transactions. The women wear skirts which differ from those of the Ekagi, and the men are distinguished from Ndani by their headdress. Birth takes place in the house and not in the open as with the Ekagi. Migani kill the widows at the death of their husbands and they practise finger-cutting as a symbol of affliction, but they do not burn the dead as the Ndani do. All these characteristics, of which the connoisseur can name dozens more, are embedded in the total Moni tradition, the way of life which they have learned from the etaga-mene (the elderly people, or forefathers).

The people recognize the unity of the cultural tradition by applying the term "au" to the group of people who adhere to it. The word au means "stem" or "trunk," which suggests unity in common origin. All the Moni are of the same extraction, and in that sense they form a unity which we have called the "tribe." Yet, the feeling of belonging is not the dominating one in reference to the tribe. When it is asked of a man to which mene-au (mene = human) he belongs, the answer is more likely to be that he is a Zongonau, Kugapani or Zanduni, rather than that he is a Migani. By specifying according

to clan or locality, the greater importance of the smaller group, also in the handing over of the tradition, is expressed, but at the same time it is implied that they are true representatives of the large "miga" extraction.

By stressing that the tribe is foremost defined as a cultural unit, little has been said about the social relations within this group as a whole, and also social interaction with members of other tribes has been left out of consideration. Likeness which is the result of a common tradition, does not necessarily imply solidarity with all those who share this tradition. Solidarity is established by specific mechanisms. Within the Moni tradition such mechanisms for establishing solidarity are found primarily on the levels of the family, the kinship group, the village and under certain circumstances also the clan, but they do not relate to the tribe as such. The tribe as a mere aggregate of uniformly encultured individuals has no machinery for effecting the unity of all its members, be it educational, legal, political or religious. While the "miga" way of doing things requires solidarity with the groups of the family, kin relations, lineage and, to a certain extent, also the clan, it also imposes an attitude of "live and let live" in the society at large. It also implies an abstention from interference with other people's lives as long as one's own interests are not in question. This holds for non-related members of their own cultural tradition as well as for people of other "tribes."

Mutual dependence is a more fundamental principle of solidarity in social interaction than mere uniformity. Its effectiveness is not restricted to relations between people who participate in the same cultural tradition. Tribal differences therefore do not necessarily pose barriers to interaction between people of different tribes. This is important to the Moni at Kugapa who have many connections with the Ekagi who live all around them. Particularly strong relations are maintained with the members of the Jatipai clan who occupy the slopes of Dedegetugapa. Many individuals in this area, it should be added, are bilingual, knowing the Ekagi language as well as the Moni.

Although the Moni often speak derisively of the Ekagi as a whole, a good deal of trading goes on between them. Goods as well as services are exchanged. Besides this many relations of a more personal character exist. Kugapa individuals will often name Ekagi amongst their good friends. People are present at each other's festivities, not only at the pig feasts, but also at birth and burial ceremonies. They partake in the dancing which precedes the feasts and join in the singing which differs from that of their own traditional tunes. Moni also allegedly make regular contributions to the bride price of some Ekagi, even to such an extent that one man spoke to me about Kobogau-Jatipai.<sup>6</sup> Another family of Ekagi extraction shares the village life of the Moni at Baguatugapa. The man, who belongs to the Ekagi clan of Jeimo, was reared by a Kobogau family which also paid the bride price for his wife. One orphan boy from Itouda in Kamu valley (of the Ijai clan) had lived as an adopted son with a Zongonau family at Ngedangetadi since January 1956 where he was treated as an ordinary member of the family.

Also on the political level the barriers between the tribes are often crossed. In the war between 1935 and 1938 which the Kugapa people waged for the extension of their territory against the Ekagi of Badauwo and their allies, the Moni were supported by the Ekagi from Timida and the Jatipai. In the same way, the Kugapani were the allies of the Timida people when the latter fought with people in the Eka valley in 1952. Also, as has been said before, a number of Kugapani have been guests of Ekagi in the Kamu valley when they had to flee from their own tribesmen because of internal wars, and they have lived there for several years.

In the field of sexual relations, however, all intercourse between Moni and Ekagi is forbidden by tradition. The internalization of this taboo appears to be so strong that nobody can imagine such intercourse could ever occur. It is as unthinkable as incest. Therefore, when a man takes an oath to absolve himself of any crimes, he may call out the names of all relatives whom he avoids sexually; then he also names the isa mina--the Ekagi woman.



It may be mentioned in this connection that one also swears by the food which is regarded as taboo. The Moni of Kugapa swear by the shrimp or crayfish, a rather typical item in the diet of the natives in the lakes district, but forbidden for the Moni.<sup>7</sup> This taboo is thought to be a symbol of the sexual separation between Moni and Ekagi. "We do not eat shrimp," the Moni say, "because the Ekagi eat it. For us to eat shrimp would mean 'tubaga'." This latter term is used for all illicit sexual relations.<sup>8</sup> The existence of this taboo upon sexual relations with the Ekagi can be regarded as a safeguard for the pureness of the tribal extraction. For if Moni and Ekagi mix sexually it is difficult to decide in what tradition the progeny should be educated: that of the mother who influences the child the more during the infant years, or that of the father. This interpretation is by no means certain, as the sexual separation (in Kugapa) is restricted to Moni and Ekagi. Several Moni at Kugapa have Ndani and Ugunduni wives. Perhaps the taboo is restricted to those areas where two tribes are close neighbours.

#### Demographic data about the Kugapa people

An analysis has been made of the population figures at Kugapa. People are classified according to age, sex and clan membership. We have used census data gathered by a Government officer in September, 1957, but this has been corrected and supplemented. When less than five individuals were concerned, these are put under the heading "others."

TABLE OF POPULATION FIGURES AT KUGAPA

Clan name	Zongonau	Kobogau	Dimbau	Hanau	Others	Total
Adult males*	57+6	34+3	5	1	1	98+9
Adult females*	53+3	49	10	6	28	146+3
Unmarried boys	93	38	-	-	-	133
Unmarried girls	79	47=	7	-	-	133
TOTAL	291	171	22	7	31	522

\*Differentiation is made between married and unmarried adults.  
57+6 means 57 married and 6 unmarried, and so on.

The first obvious fact derived from this table is that 88.5% (462 out of 522) of the community comprise members of the Zongonau and Kobogau clans. There are only seven adult males of other clans. These seven men upon closer investigation appeared to have no permanent residence in the Kugapa area; five of them had lived there less than a year at the time of the census. They were war refugees from the Zando area.

The numerical superiority of the Zongonau over the Kobogau (291 against 171) reflects the historical fact that the Zongonau had settled in the area at an earlier date than the Kobogau, and also have increased their numbers from immigrant groups. The tabulated figures do not provide reliable information as to birth rate differentiation between clans, or such like.

Of the sixty persons other than Zongonau or Kobogau, forty-four are women and of these five are widows. The high number of women here is a consequence of the marriage relations between Zongonau and Kobogau as well as the numerical superiority of the Songonau and, of course, the law of exogamy. As the people prefer to choose marriage partners not too far from their own locality, practically all of the Kobogau women are married to local Zongonau men. Some of the Zongonau men, however, have to go outside the area to find brides, while at the same time a number of Zongonau women marry outside the community. Of the thirty-nine married women of clans other than the Zongonau or Kobogau, thirty-one (79.5%) are the wives of Zongonau men. Only in six cases have Kobogau men taken brides who are not Zongonau (15.8%), while the two remaining women are married to outsiders who have no permanent status in the community.

The same trend can also be shown from the figures representing the marriages of the different groups. Out of eighty-one marriages contracted by Zongonau males, forty-nine (60.5%) are with Kobogau women; ten (12.3%) are with Dimbau women and twenty-two (27.1%) are with women of various clans.

For the fifty-one recorded Kobogau marriages the figures are: forty-five (88.2%) are with Zongonau women and six (11.8%) are with women of sundry clans.

The implications of marriage exchange between the clans will be mentioned later. Attention should be drawn to the fact that all seven of the males who are not Zongonau or Kobogau have their temporary residence in the area with their wives' relatives. Most of these men belong to the Dimbau clan which stands in a kind of phratry relationship to the Kobogau. The Dimbau and Kobogau are mutually exogamous. All the ten Dimbau women of the table are wives or widows of Zongonau men. This suggests a tendency on the part of the Zongonau men to turn to the Dimbau clan for marriage when Kobogau brides are no longer available. In other words, the phratry relationship between Kobogau and Dimbau is also recognized by the Zongonau. The twenty-eight adult females in the fifth column of the table are of sundry clans, even some of Ndani and Ugunduni. None of these, however, is represented by more than five individuals.

In the figures for the various classes of children, the ratio of the sexes of the two main classes is noteworthy. With the Zongonau there are ninety-five boys (54% of the total of Zongonau children) against seventy-nine (46%) girls while the ratio is almost reversed with the Kobogau where thirty-eight boys make up for 44.7% of the total against forty-seven girls (55.3%). There is no explanation for this fact. Hypotheses such as a preference for either boys or girls, leading to infanticide, or neglect of the unwanted, or an earlier marriage age for the Kobogau girls (expressing the shortage of marriageable females in proportion to the Zongonau men), could not be substantiated.

#### The present situation in historical perspective

The relations between the various groups in Kugapa can be traced back partly in their historical development. One day Zongonau related to me the story of two Zongonau lineages. It was possible to tape record this account. He started out from what is known as the Situgumina lengend, which has been published elsewhere.<sup>9</sup>



"I am a Zongonau," he said, "I will tell you the story of the men who came here from Dugindoga." In brief, the story is that five Dugindoga men and a woman (Situgumina), all siblings, went to the jungle one day to hunt so, which they needed in connection with a taro feast. While the brothers were hunting, a woman cut a tree for firewood. The tree which had fallen down during a heavy storm and earthquake appeared to be loaded with many cowrie shells. Among these cowries was an exceptionally costly one, called simbai sombai.

Just before the feast, the woman's oldest brother stole this shell, intending to buy pork with it. Situgumina became very angry and told her brothers that from then on they would be subject to illness, hunger and death. There would be a lack of cowries and of pigs and they would suffer from an over abundance of rain. She then announced that she would go to heaven, and disappeared.

The youngest brother went after her. He climbed the Bondege range and, in descending the southern side of the mountains, he found cowries, a rain cap and the carrying net of his sister. This happened in Domose, i.e. the Doma valley. The man is called Bondegekimegame, which means "the man who came the Bondege way." Not finding his sister immediately, he built a house and decided to stay in Domose<sup>10</sup> intending to continue his search later on. He begot two sons: Wagahodo and Dumbagago. Wagahodo begot a son, Kombodemai, who in turn begot two sons, Webega and Degambode. The latter were the first Moni who came to live at Kugapa. "Webega begot the people here (at Wategamuda and Ngetangetade), Degambode begot the people over there (Bobiapa, Bibida, Iagobado, etc.). They were brothers." Degambode begot Taugumbode and Zanagebega; Webega begot Endambode and Amenagambode. From then onwards the names of living persons begin to appear. "Endambode begot me; I begot Madame." Soadekigi, the narrator, is one of the few surviving men of his generation.

Whatever the historicity of the persons who are alleged to be the forefathers of Webega and Degambode, their genealogical connections and their

succession should not be taken seriously. Not only do Roushdy and Le Roux have different versions of the earlier genealogy,<sup>11</sup> but also Soadekigi himself named other people on almost each occasion he told the story.<sup>12</sup> The important fact, stressed by the narrator himself, is that the founders of the first two Kugapa lineages were brothers. Whether or not Kombodemai or someone else was historically their father is of little importance. Webega and Degambode were brothers, a bond which is not recognized in relation to the other Zongonau people who live in Kugapa.

If present day practice may be taken as a norm, the brothers probably made a common house and a common garden fence to start with. Later on, with their families increasing, ~~one~~ enlarged his possessions to the right, the other to the left from the centre. Today, the groups of descendants are about ten minutes walk from the original settlement. The descendants of Endambode and Amenogambode (the sons of Webega) live at Ngedangetadi and Watagamuda respectively, whereas Taugumbode's progeny is found at Bobiapa. Zamagebega, the second son of Degambode, stayed on at Kugapa itself, but he had at least eight wives and a very large number of sons. They finally became confined between Bobiapa and Watagamuda, and made therefore a move to Iagobado, from where the group split up in smaller units. This lineage shows less cohesion than the other groups which must be attributed to the fact that the family of its origin was too large. Degambode had a third son, not named in the above story, namely Imbumindiakigi, who died in July 1957. Only one of his sons was married at that time. The lineage is not yet important.

A similar gradual expansion can be noticed with the other groups at Kugapa. A third Zongonau man is said to have come from outside at the time when Webega and Degambode were still alive. This man, Dedegetagini, was perhaps another brother of Webega and Degambode, but probably in a classificatory sense only. He settled at Idazungate, which is about twenty minutes from Kugapa, went later to the Kema valley in the north-east and returned with a wife, a widow who already had some children from a Sinipa man.<sup>13</sup> Dedegetanagi himself begot two more sons by this widow. One of them, Wigabega, must

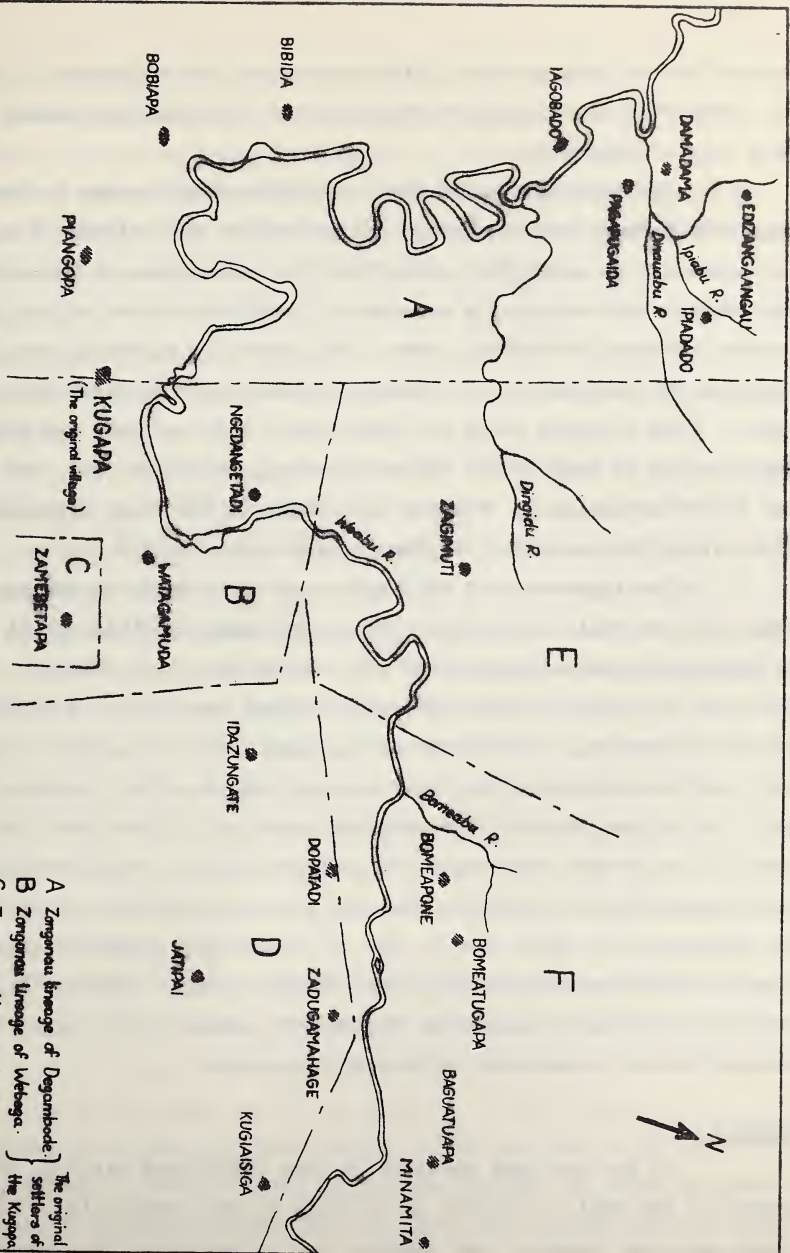
have been regarded as a very great man because he had twelve children from one wife. Several of his sons are still alive. As this group became larger, an expansion similar to that of the descendants of Webega and Degambode took place. They occupied places called Zadumahoge, Kigiaisiga, Bomeatugapa, Bomeapone and so on. The descendants of Dedegetagani's adopted sons are mostly denoted as Sinipa-Zongonau, thus distinguishing them from his own progeny. Perhaps the people want to express that between the two lineages there is not as much unity and cooperation as there is between lineages which recognize a real common father.

A fifth Zongonau lineage also began with adoption. A young child of the Nabedau clan was adopted by Webega, and later helped with cowries for a bride price. He was Kibugame, whose descendants have not been so numerous as to be split up among more than one group. The story that Nabedau and Zongonau were originally one clan which parted because of a quarrel is possibly only a rationalization for the present situation. Normally these people are called Zongonau, but occasionally, when they have disputes with other Zongonau, they are reminded of their Nabedau origin.

Just as Webega and Degambode are recognized as the founders of two main Zongonau lineages, two men are named for the Kobogau groups. They were Wisinago and Abumangeda, who settled at Dopatadi and Weasiga respectively. No suggestion was made as to any genealogical connection between the two men. The legend concerning their origin remains obscure and only connects them with the so, the marsupial from which they are said to have descended. They too came to Kugapa from Zando. There they had been associated with people of the Dimbau clan who had taken the place of the Zongonau after these had left Zando. The Kobogau people of Kugapa, especially the Wisinago group, seem to be less stationary than the Zongonau in their residence. At times groups of them have returned to Zando and then came back again to Kugapa; some of them even settled in the Kemandoga where more of their clan fellows live. This seems to be reflected in the name "Kitanizau," sometimes used to refer to the



Figure 2.  
SHOWING LOCATION OF VILLAGES  
AND DISTRIBUTION OF LINEAGES



members of the Kobogau clan. Kitanizau means "the wanderers." So far there is little evidence to support the view that the Kitanizau should be regarded as a clan of their own.

The important point about this historical survey is that the present relations between various groups can be seen as the outcome of an orderly development from an earlier situation. An examination of the adjacent map will reveal that originally a number of families settled at regular distances on the left bank of the Wea river. The gradually expanding families have occupied the sections of the land in between and afterwards they crossed the river. This crossing could not occur until they had made war with the Ekagi people of Badauwo who claimed possession of this land, but who did not use it for agriculture. The war took place in the years preceding the discovery by Europeans of the Wissel Lakes area in 1938.

The importance of affiliation of individuals to the male descent group will be dealt with later. With most Kugapa individuals it is possible to demonstrate genealogical ties with one of the first settlers. However, for some the connection with the past becomes spurious at a certain point. There are lineages, or branches of lineages which have almost completely died out, and their remnants have been incorporated in other lineages. A few individuals lack strong bonds with any group and either keep aloof from public life or base their sympathy on opportunistic considerations. Some are later immigrants in the area. But for the great majority social relations are determined by their ties to one of the descent groups mentioned. However, signs of disintegration within these groups begin to appear--the result of internal strife when the groups become too large. Common descent alone is not sufficient to maintain unity within a group.

### Kinship

It has not been possible to gain sufficient material on the kinship system of the Moni to present an analysis in any great detail. Some main lines are clear however, and comments can be made upon the terminological classification.

Murdock rightly emphasizes that a kinship system is not a social group and that it never corresponds to an organized aggregation of individuals.<sup>14</sup> However, the lack of structural unity in this network of interlocking and ramifying ties does not reduce the kinship system to a less meaningful element in social reality. On the contrary, kinship relations for the Moni constitute the primary source from which an individual derives his role in the social whole. It defines his alliances and adversaries as well as rights and obligations in social interaction. Also, the more stable units in Moni society, namely family, village and lineage, rest upon kinship ties between the members.

The expectations derived from kinship are either that an individual acts in a recognized, positive way towards his kinsmen, or that he refrains from a certain activity. Some of the requirements are well defined and specific to a particular bond; others are vague and apply to all the relations of the kinship group. A child should show respect towards all kinsmen who are older, but he owes strict obedience to his parents only. A man who collects his bride price may call upon the sympathy of many relatives, but the duty to help him obtain the cowries falls primarily upon his brothers, his father, his father's brothers and the paternal parallel cousins. A child may expect to be fed and to be educated solely by his parents, but if the parents fall short in their duties he will go to his father's brother, or to his mother's brother, or to his sister's husband, who feel equally bound to help him because of kinship.

Kinship ties are derived from birth and from marriage. Birth links the individual with all the members of the paternal descent group, that is, with those who have the same clan name as himself. The strength of the ties is not equally great with regard to all the members of this group. Rectilinear descent, for instance, establishes closer kin than collateral descent. Also, the more remote kinship of paternal descent is often surpassed by the recognition of kinship derived from maternal descent and from marriage.



Kinship relations are held to exist with the mother's primary relatives of the same generation and their immediate descendants, and with the mother's parents. With regards marriage, the group of affines comprises the immediate relatives of the spouse of one's immediate relatives.

The implications of particular kinship relations will be the subject of other chapters. Here attention is drawn to one aspect which is characteristic of all kinship relations, namely, their obligatory character which differs from that of other social ties. Kinship means that a man by dint of his birth or marriage is obliged to act in a specified way towards his kin, even though there is no equivalent return. Sometimes the recognition of a kinship tie may even be detrimental to the individual. When a man has to fight because he is born in a particular clan, he is in a different position from those who join forces to defend a common property or who are allies because of self chosen trade relations. This obligatory nature of the kinship system is important for the understanding of social control in a society such as that of the Moni.

Kinship terminology is important in that it catalogues relatives and labels them with qualifications for social attitudes and behaviour. "I had to come to his rescue," a man said, "because he is aita to me." Aita, which means "father," was used here for an older sister's husband. A child was told not to be afraid of a man whom he met for the first time, because "he is your aita," which in this case was his mother's brother. A young man said that he could not marry a particular girl because she was his zamege, that is, his mother's brother's child. On another occasion a man was condemned not so much because he had committed adultery, but because he had done so with the wife of his aita, the "father" in this case being a father's father's father's son's son. In all these examples, the use of kinship terms contained the reason for the particular behaviour pattern, an evaluation of what was expected or what was not expected.

For the sake of documentation we will now give a list of the

available kinship terms and expound somewhat upon their use. First will be mentioned the relatives to whom the terms are primarily applied; thereafter a comment is made on the classifying principles.

aita, mita: father. Mita is used only for the "real" father, but most people use the term aita for this person.

ama, minama: mother. Minama is applied properly only to the "real" mother and for this relation is the more usual term.

zu: son (also: boy, but plural is then zungama. Sons = zau).

zoa: daughter.

Note: The parent-child relationship is often expressed by a combination of the past principle of zingia (bring forth, beget) and me or mina. The direction of the relation depends upon the pronoun which is used. A zingiga me = my father; andi zingiga me = my son, etc.

aina, naiwa: older brother. Naiwa is never classifying.

nazu, naimbi: older sister. Naimbi is never classifying.

ni, niwa: younger brother. Niwa is never classifying.

na, nawa: younger sister. Nawa is never classifying.

Note: The first set of terms (aina, nazu, ni and na) are more usual. Siblings also quite often call one another nawaga me (male) and nawaga mina (female). Perhaps these terms are originally descriptive terms derived from nawa dia i.e. "to look after."

ambau, membau<sup>15</sup>: father's father; mother's father. Also: son's or daughter's child (male speaker).

baba: father's mother; mother's mother. Also: son's or daughter's child (female speaker).

mbiu: father's father's father; child's child's child.

tata<sup>16</sup>: father's sister.

auma, meuma: mother's brother.

panema: mother's sister.

zamege: sons or daughters of father's sister, of mother's brother and of mother's sister.

nabo: father's brother's son's son; father's father's brother's son.

mea: wife.

wi: husband.

apai: wife's brother; sister's husband's brother.

ngapa: brother's wife; husband's sister; wife's sister.

Extended use of the primary kinship terms is made in the first place to classify all the relatives of the patrilineal descent group which have no denotative terms of their own. Father's brother is called by the same term as one's own father, and his children are spoken of as older brother, younger sister and so on, as if they were one's own siblings. The same can be said for all those who belong to the same clan, and who thus in some way have consanguineal relationship with the individual.

The functional significance of the classificatory extension of the kinship terminology is quite clear when referring to the father's brother and his children. Father's brother, though not completely identified with the real father, is treated with much the same respect and takes his place when the father is physically or morally absent. Although no direct obedience is due to the father's brother and although he does not have the economic and educational function to the individual as the real father, his indirect influence is great. One depends upon his consent for the allotment of land and for the collection and distribution of the bride price. The same is true for the paternal parallel cousins who share a great many interests with one's own siblings. The social contacts which the growing individual develops with these relatives, run parallel to a great extent to those that are formed within the nuclear family. As we shall see later, the whole group of father and father's brothers, of one's own family and the families of the father's brothers, form the local community of the villages in which social interaction is quite intensive.

When classifying secondary, tertiary or more distant relatives by using primary kinship terms, the same principles are used as in the family relations. An older relative in the same generation is aina or nazu. A relative who is younger is named ni or na. If he is of an older generation



he is spoken of as aita, and so on. However, the criterion of relative age seems to be of a higher significance than that of generation level. If two individuals of succeeding generations show no noticeable discrepancy in age, they speak of one another in terms of "elder brother" and "younger brother," instead of "father" and "son."

The same may apply to relations for which the classificatory use of kinship terminology is not in question. If a man wants to denote a sister's husband who is much older than he, the term apai is not used but aita (father). Similarly, the term ngapa, used in a classificatory sense to refer to the wives of all the men of one's own clan, is quite often replaced by ama (mother) or nazu (older sister) when referring to one's brother's wife. In these instances the question arises as to whether such terms can still be classificatory when used in such a metaphorical sense.

Loose handling of kinship terminology also takes place with some close relatives for whom specific and significant terms exist. This applies to the distinctive labels for father's sister, mother's sister, mother's brother, the maternal parallel cousins and all cross cousins. It is true that bonds of affection and mutual dependence can often be said to exist among these people, bonds which resemble those that relate to the father's brothers and the paternal parallel cousins. This could account for the use of primary kinship terms. On the other hand, specific terminology in these cases is not out of place. Because all these people belong to a clan different from ego's, they are not as easily identified as relatives without this special label. This is also true for father's sister since a woman's identity is somewhat negated by her marriage in another clan (the writer knows of several young men who did not know their mother's clan). The special labelling is important in the prohibition of sexual intercourse with all these relatives. For comparable relatives on the father's side (father's brothers and paternal parallel cousins) such a special label is not necessary as they are already specified by the clan name.

Classificatory extension of the terms auma, tata, panema and zamege to include more distant relatives than those listed in the table, has not been discovered. Informants hesitated when questioned. In abstracto they did not regard marriage between cousins in the second degree objectionable as long as the parties were not of the same clan. Examination of the genealogies show many gaps in the descent of females.

### The family

The relationships within the Moni family (bugi) are threefold, namely, the bond of husband-wife (tango), of parent-child (aguzi) and that of the siblings (nani). They make up the strongest social unit in Moni society, establishing autonomy as regards the economic, domestic and educational functions of the group. Direct outside interference is not tolerated. Vis-a-vis outsiders the family always takes a unanimous decision in a public matter, certainly when one of its own members is involved. This does not mean that internal relations always run smoothly and without difficulties. They are of an heterogenous character and may also comprise so many people that complete integration is not always reached. A young family as yet consisting of husband, wife and perhaps a baby must have different patterns of social interaction from a polygamous family where there may be as many as twenty children with a great age range.

Out of the 89 families at Kugapa at the time of the census, 74.2% were monogamous. The remaining 25.8% were composite families resulting from polygamous marriages; fifteen men had two wives, five had three and three had four wives. Having a large family brings prestige and theoretically a man may have any number of wives provided that he can find the bride price. But a large family is not always advantageous in establishing strong bonds between the members. We may recall that Zanagebega Zongonau is said to have had at least eight wives and many children. It is true that he has become a legendary example of a truly great man, whose death is alleged to have been

accompanied by supernatural phenomena. But amongst his progeny, probably because it was too large, there is less cohesion than exists in other sublineages, which are smaller in size.

The strength of family ties is derived from the meeting of ordinary needs, and the feeling of interdependence in the sharing of a number of commodities. The level of communication between parents and children, between the parents themselves and between the siblings is high and not impeded by many restrictions. Children owe respect to their parents, but they see in them helpers rather than masters whom they must blindly obey. There rests, of course, a strict taboo upon sexual relations within the family other than between husband and wife, but the taboo is maintained by internalization rather than by physical separation.

The educational aim of the family is to shape individuals for their future in accordance with the personality ideals of the culture. This implies that a personality must be developed such that the individual will be able to take his place at the head of an independent and self sufficient family similar to his own family of orientation. However, the Moni personality type must not be characterized as egoistical and self centered, devoid of all social interests. He is self reliant, his social behaviour resting upon elicited rather than an imposed association between individuals. The educational effort within the family consists in the eliciting of such voluntary cooperation rather than the imposition of formal precepts. Reward is seen to have higher motivational value than punishment. A parental authority which rests largely upon physical punishment, denial of food and such like, is not highly esteemed.

Brothers and sisters should respect and assist one another. If one wants to express that a really strong bond exists between persons or groups, the relations between siblings are taken as an example: nanau-naga i.e., "sibling-like." A good understanding between brothers is necessary for the proper allocation of land and the defining of the rights which they inherit



from their father. The smooth regulation of marriages in the family also depends upon good relations between the siblings. The marriage payment collected upon the marriage of their sister is primarily considered to make possible the marriage of her brothers. On the other hand, the girl depends for her marriage upon the opinion of her brothers, even though they cannot force her to marry against her will. It is true that the father quite often takes a leading role in the regulation of these matters, but he never does so in an authoritarian way and it is generally accepted that he acts on behalf of his children.

The centre of family life is the house and garden. Each nuclear family has its own house with a fireplace on which the food is prepared by the mother. In the case of a composite or polygamous family, there is a house for each woman with her real or adopted children. During the day this house is open to all the members of the particular family unit, but at night it is reserved as the sleeping quarters for the females and the smaller boys. The monogamous man may spend the night with his wife, but normally he retires in a nduni, i.e., a men's house, especially when there are boys beyond the age of five or six who also sleep in the nduni. A polygamous man usually has a nduni of his own, which is also open to his brothers and their sons. Sometimes a group of brothers have one nduni in common without any of them being polygamous; sometimes a father is host to his married sons. If a nduni becomes too crowded, the normal procedure is that married brothers jointly build a nduni of their own. This arrangement tends to continue the bonds between the male members of one parental family--an important factor in the understanding of village life.

Each nuclear family has a garden of its own which is worked for the benefit of that particular family unit. For the polygamous family this means that there is a clearly marked section for each wife, who feeds her husband and her own children with its produce. In this case the separate garden plots are situated within the one fence, which may have been erected with the help

of the whole composite family. It rarely happens that two or more single families have plots within the one common fence, and such an arrangement is regarded as a temporary measure only. This arrangement marks the independence of the family and it also prevents difficulties. As the main function of the garden fence is to protect the garden from intruding pigs, the separate fences forestall friction which could result between families if a man neglected his section of a common fence.

The garden produce is regarded as the result of a common effort of husband and each individual wife, and it serves to support the single family unit. In case of illness or indisposition, the members of the composite family are supposed to help one another with food. It is the man's duty to build and maintain the fence, to cut the large trees, extract clumps of reeds and to do the other heavy work, including the making of the larger ditches for drainage if there is need for it. The women have lighter tasks. They cut the shrubs, collect and burn leaves, twigs and other unwanted materials. They plant the sweet potatoes, taro and vegetables while the husband is responsible for planting bananas, sugar cane and tobacco. Weeding is also a woman's task and so too is the harvesting of what she has planted. It is evident that the functioning of the family depends largely upon the division of labour between husband and wife. In Moni thought the woman would not think of using her claim to the garden produce as a means of coercing her husband.

The unmarried girls are supposed to help in the family garden. Occasionally a girl may give something away from what she has planted, but properly her labours are meant to help the family as a whole. Sometimes she also comes to the aid of a married brother or some other relation who is in need when, for instance, his wife is sick.

Boys are stimulated to show initiative in gardening. At the age of about seven they are given permission to have small plots of a few square yards within the garden of their mother. Here they may plant a few tubers of

sweet potatoes and some vegetables or some sugar cane. They erect some reeds or twigs around the plot to suggest a fence. As they grow older, the boys will be given a small section of land outside the family garden in which they imitate the garden arrangements of the adults, sometimes relying upon the help of their younger sisters to do the female work. The main reward is that they may regard the produce of this garden as their own, with which they can demonstrate their zeal and ability and also their knowledge of kinship obligations and social relations in general. They distribute food as if they were real sonowi, that is, rich and powerful men. This social aspect of education towards independent activity is perhaps more important than the augmentation of the food supply.

The economic independence of the family is also assured by the possession of one or more pigs, the care of which is entrusted to one of the wives. The wife, in turn, may leave this task to one of her own children during the time when she herself has to work in the garden. In the morning and before dark the women feed the pigs with a few potatoes; at night they drive them into the sty under the women's house or take them inside. Upon consumption or sale, the pigs are regarded as the common property of the family, administered by the father, and a special award is made to the woman who has fed the pig. Some people have pigs which are cared for by other people in distant areas, although no cases of Kugapa-Moni people caring for the pigs of others came to the notice of the writer.

We could also illustrate the self sufficiency of the family in the recreational and religious spheres and demonstrate how activities in these fields also function to effect the unity of the family. But lest we idealise, it will be better to relate what happens when the family breaks up. For the family is not a permanent union. Family ties are severed by the children upon marriage, and by separation through death or divorce of the parents. It will not be necessary to analyse in detail what happens in all these situations but some generalizations can be drawn. The main idea again is that with the



Moni the situation must be judged from the emotional complications that ensue because society is primarily a matter of affection and mutual understanding within the framework of the traditional culture.

The bonds of affection which were forged during the period of interdependence with the family last for a long time after separation through marriage. The young man who leaves his parental home upon marriage can easily maintain these ties in village life. For a woman, marriage means a more drastic change. If the village of her husband is not too far away and it is possible to remain within the Kugapa community in the beginning she will often try to run home. Her relatives, having accepted the bride price, will persuade her to return to her husband. Only when it is clear that the woman is badly treated is the possibility of divorce considered. This, however, is of rare occurrence, and "officially" divorce does not seem to be recognized. Two or three cases have been reported of women who could not adapt to their new social environment and who have permanently returned home to be remarried. In each case the woman originated from outside the Kugapa area. Normally a woman gradually finds satisfaction in the handling of her own household.

If a man dies, quite often his wife will return to her parental family, especially if she is still young and has no children or only a few. She will remarry after a time. If the husband dies at a later stage in the marriage, the woman is more likely to stay in the village of her husband where she herself and her children have found their place. Normally she goes to live with one of her deceased husband's brothers who regards her as his lawful wife (levirate). Sometimes, however, even such an older woman returns to her village or origin, while her older children stay with relatives in their father's village. What is consistently done about the marriage payment in cases of this sort could not be ascertained. The cases that were cited to the writer were so diverse in their circumstances that no fixed rule could be discovered.

When a woman dies, the widower, if he is still young, will marry

another woman who will then be responsible for the care of the children of the first marriage. In the case of a polygamous marriage, the children often make a personal choice as to who their stepmother will be. Adopted children generally receive the same treatment as true children.

### Neighbourhood groups

The Moni families live in small residential clusters which are scattered over the area. These hamlets or villages vary much in size and in distance from one another. Some of them consist of no more than two houses, such as the family houses of a father and his son, or those of a pair of brothers. In other cases there are as many as three nduni (men's houses) close together, each one of them surrounded by a number of women's and family houses, for instance the nduni of a polygamous man and a house for each wife, another nduni of his married sons and the family houses of each one of them, and a third, similar group of houses for the first man's brother and the families of his sons. These three sets of houses may be 80 to 100 yards apart, but they are still so close that people cannot avoid having daily contact and experiencing regularly the advantages and disadvantages of neighbourhood. The largest villages have twelve to fifteen houses and provide residence for fifty to seventy people.

The character of the villages is mainly determined by the communicative interaction between the villagers. There is little functional interdependence between them, since activities on a cooperative basis are almost nonexistent. On the other hand, the face-to-face relations within the village imply that people easily come to know about their neighbour's dealings, about misfortune in gardening and pig breeding and about tensions in family life. They can witness the preparations for trading expeditions and hunting parties, hear about lucky transactions and so on. The interaction which results from the partaking in each other's experiences is mainly of a "give and take" and deferred reciprocity nature.

As to the structure of the Moni villages, a common element is presented by a core of male relatives who constitute a sublineage. In a few cases the lineage as a whole still forms a unit, but mostly the branches have grown apart and form small communities in which the connecting link is no further away than the second ascending generation at the most. Structurally therefore, the villages could be regarded as extended families, but the high degree of independence of the single family units does not favour the use of this term.

Besides the families of the patrilineally related core, most of the villages have one or a few other families or individuals living with them. This is generally regarded as a temporary situation. Sometimes a father may stay in the village of his daughter's husband; in other cases it may be a man who after his marriage stays on in the village of his mother where he grew up, after his father died.

The unifying force in the village community can be found in the common interests of the sublineage core which are the result of common descent. These relate to marriages in the village (as will be shown later on) and to the occupancy of inherited land. In fact, the latter can be regarded as the main material factor leading to the formation of the village. It was asserted by several informants that the Moni, more strictly than the Ekagi, adhere to the principle that land ownership can be passed on only from father to son. The individual sons inherit the land and the jungle rights in common from their father as an undivided estate. The common property is gradually occupied and cultivated by the sons in accordance with the needs of their expanding families. Through their personal exertion the occupied sections become exclusive property in the sense that the occupants may restrain their brothers from claiming this land for their progeny and that they can pass it on to their own descendants. It remains common property in the sense that the lineage land cannot be alienated by selling it to outsiders or by letting others work it without the joint consent of the brothers. If any one branch of the sub-



lineage happens to die out, or permanently moves from the area, then the land is claimed by the remaining branches of the lineage. Aliens live and work in a village by the grace of the core group, mostly on account of the kin relationship with one or more members of this group, but they are prevented from laying a permanent claim to the village land that they work. If they can manage to hang on for two or three generations, when the original host village has fallen apart, then the rightful existence of the outside group in the area is accepted.

When the regulation of marriages is considered in a later section, it will become clear that the existence of a family in a village can be visualized as reflecting a phase of transition in which it is on the one hand bound by the rights and obligations of its parental family, while on the other hand it tries to secure the independence of its filial families. The more these rights and obligations become definitely established, the further the families of the lineage separate, socially as well as spatially.

In judicial and political matters the Moni villages act as independent social units, that is, they apply the Moni "law" without outside interference. Internal disputes are solved within the village; no external authority is recognized. In public affairs where several villages are concerned, the co-villagers support one another and try to take an unanimous stand. Matters may become complicated because of the bilateral nature of kinship relations which sometimes cause some villagers to look beyond the interests of their own village, but such matters are weighed before the village's attitude is defined. In other words, the localization of unilateral descent groups does not preclude the recognition of wider kinship bonds. Hence, when the villages act as units in public affairs, the totality of kinship relations of the members of the villages must be taken into consideration.

The convergence of village and kinship interests is illustrated by the following example. A married man, named Taubui Hanau, had for several

years lived in the village of his mother, a Zongonau woman from Bobiapa. One day Taubui was visited by his brother who lived in the Zando area. During this visit Taubui's brother became involved in a dispute with another outsider of Kugapa, namely Kapani Dimbau, who stayed at Piangopa. It happened on the day after the great pig feast while there was a large public gathering. After the two men began to beat one another, Taukubaiame Zongonau of Watagamuda interfered and took sides with Kapani, who was his sister's husband. Immediately all the villagers of Watagamuda stood up for Kapani for reason of their relation to Taukubaiame and his sister, while the Zando man received support from the entire village of Bobiapa because of the relations with Taubui. From then on the dispute was carried on by the two villages, both Zongonau villages, each basing its interference upon their kinship obligations towards the original fighters. All the men reached for their fighting sticks to have them ready in case the discussions would fail. However, because the other related villages of Zongonau extraction took over, the intensity of the dispute lessened and a solution could be found. The solidarity of the villages with one of their members, even though they did not belong to the core of unilaterally related persons, was particularly noteworthy.

Similar principles guide the alliances in the event of a war. The situation in the district can be exemplified only by a hypothetical case. If a Zongonau village, say Ngedangetadi, should happen to become involved in a war with a Kobogau village, e.g. Mitamita, then the other villages should either remain aloof, or they should divide their sympathies. Bobiapa could send some of its fighters to join Ngedangetadi, since they are Zongonau and thus have alleged descent links with Ngedangetadi; but also Mitamita must be supported by some Bobiapa fighters, because of the marriage ties with the Kobogau of Mitamita. This solution does not detract from the principle of village unity since the distribution of fighters rests upon mutual agreement. The informants added that this is a purely imaginary case since an inter-village war within the Kugapa community is not feasible. The interwovenness

of kinship ties, based either on consanguineal links, or resulting from marriage exchange, puts the possibility of such a war out of the question. The dichotomy of Zongonau-Kobogau proves to be a unifying force.

Another matter which is a typical village affair, is the organization of public celebrations in the recreational-economic field, which are known as zamo (either wa-zamo = taro feast, or wogo-zamo = pig feast), and of the public mbai dia, a ceremony in the magico-religious sphere. A rain-making ceremony of this type was recorded in 1953 (see p. 20). Such ceremonies seem to be of rare occurrence, which public zamo are held regularly, sometimes once or twice a year. Organisationally, all these celebrations show a resemblance in that they are carried by one or sometimes two closely related villages. They are open affairs in that they may be attended by everyone. Everybody can share in the enjoyment which accompanies the pig or taro feast, and may take advantage of the opportunity to sell and buy commodities. It may happen that other sections of the community bring pigs to be slaughtered and sold, but the initiative is taken by one or two villages which regard the holding of such feasts as prestigious. In this way Soadekigi asserted with much pride that the pig feast of December 1957 was his pig feast, the twelfth feast of this size organised by his lineage. No other village had seen so many.

As has been said before, the pig and taro feasts of the Moni, besides having recreational aspects, are primarily economic affairs. In contrast to what is known from many other areas of New Guinea, the Moni feasts reveal no religious or ritualistic purposes. The avowed aim of the feast is to attract as many cowries as possible at the one time, which enable people to buy food and pigs, but in particular, to pay off marriage debts and to arrange new marriages in the village.<sup>17</sup>

The pig feast highlights a number of features of village life. The following account which is not intended to be exhaustive is based on observation of a pig feast the writer attended in December, 1957. The first step actually occurred during the Christmas holidays in 1955 when a number of



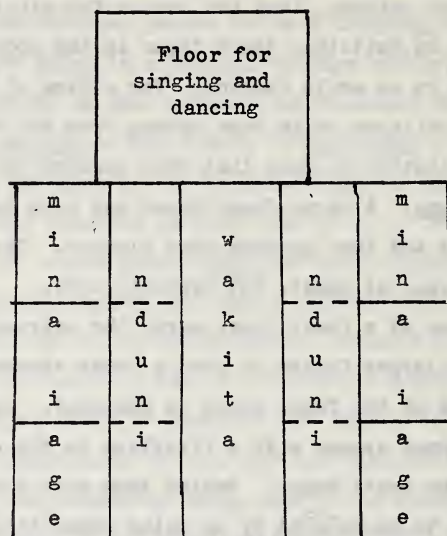
schoolboys spent their time hunting for so, mice, rats, birds and other animals. They collected their game near the school building at Ngedangetadi. Because they made good catches, they had reason for singing and dancing and they decided to make an imitation dance floor in the open. They sold and distributed the game in an adult fashion. The elders of Ngedangetadi and Watagamuda (the two villages which have sprung from the Webega lineage) appreciated this initiative so much that they decided to regard it as a motive for holding a real zamo. A large feast house was soon built, pigs were chosen for selective feeding and taro gardens were planted. The preparations were to require one full year at least, but probably more.

The presence of a feast house marks the approaching pig or taro feast. Only for the larger feasts is such a house erected. On the following page, the ground plan of the feast house is sketched. On either side of the corridor were three open spaces with a fireplace in the centre. These are called nduni after the men's house. Behind them were closed rooms, mina iage i.e. women's houses, to be entered by no males other than the husbands and the sons of the women who resided in them. Each of the six partitions (a gallery space plus an enclosed apartment) belonged to one particular family or groups of families who sat there with their guests in between the dances. At the end of the corridor was the common dance floor, raised above the ground. The whole structure, about thirty feet wide and forty feet long, was under one roof.

If we draw up a genealogy of the two villages of the Webega lineage, we find the structure of the descent group expressed in the design of the building, in which each family group has its own nduni and mina iage. The feast house then, as it were, symbolizes the unity of the villages under the one roof without doing away with the identity of the separate families.

During the time of preparation, dancing and singing evenings were held at irregular intervals, sometimes once or twice a week, at other times not even once a month. Much depended upon the presence of guests. Sometimes

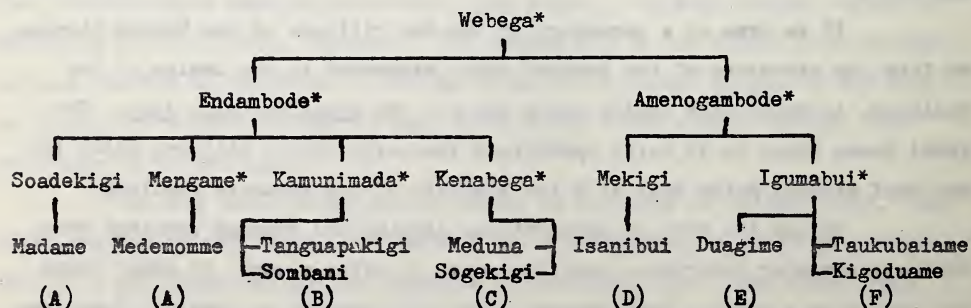
## FLOOR PLAN OF DANCE HOUSE AT NGEDANGETADI



## GENEALOGY OF THE TWO VILLAGES OF THE WEBEGA LINEAGE

NGEDANGETADI

WATAGAMUDA



villages which did not participate in the organisation of the feast took possession of the feast house to entertain themselves. The singing and dancing was done almost exclusively by the younger people, while the older men and women joined in once in a while.

The feast day itself was somewhat delayed. First, towards the end of 1956, it was postponed as a consequence of disputes between some Ekagi groups and the Government; then it was postponed because of a war that had developed between certain Kugapa groups and people of the Zando area. These postponements seem to suggest that the holding of a feast is meant as an expression of social euphoria. When the Zando war had ended, a final date for the feast was fixed. Later developments in the dispute endangered the holding of the feast again on the fixed day, but then the expected departure of the writer seemed to carry some weight and the organizers decided to adhere to the fixed date. It is not possible to say how much the dilemma caused by the war dispute diminished the glory of the feast. About twelve pigs were killed and offered for sale at Ngedangetadi, most of them from this village and from Watagamuda, and a few from Bobiapa and some other villages. At the same day the Jatipai-Ekagi and the Sinipa-Zongonau staged smaller taro and pig feasts at their own villages. In the case of the Sinipa-Zongonau it can be assumed that they did not join in at Ngedangetadi because they were involved in the Zando war.

On the day before the feast each participating family brought its taro in procession to the feast house and put it on a scaffold which was erected in front of the house. On the day itself each family killed its own pigs and sold the meat adding one or two pieces of taro as an extra inducement for each buyer. During the killing of the pigs and the distribution of the meat the crowd gradually grew to a total number of between 600 and 800 people. At different places speeches were made on all kinds of matters; old disputes were publicly brought up in the presence of people who had no concern with them whatsoever; transactions were made and acquaintances renewed.



No communal meal is held on such occasions. The family heads take the purchased pork home where it is privately consumed by the family and possibly by guests. Visitors from remote areas stay on for a few more days with their hosts and use the occasion to settle affairs with people in the district. The feast house is left standing but gradually sags after each of the organizing families has taken away the usable planks and other materials they had contributed.

On occasions like these positive communication within the community reaches its most spectacular level. Yet, it should be evident from the above account that although there exists a general binding force making for unity it is not particularly evident. The independence of smaller social units is most marked.

In concluding this chapter, it might be pointed out that the Moni villages of Kugapa closely resemble the "clans" as described by Murdock.<sup>18</sup> Without adopting this term for these units (we have reserved it for use elsewhere) we can agree that the groups as described by Murdock have special characteristics which make them deserve special attention. The Moni villages meet two requirements of Murdock's "clans" viz. unilinear descent and residential unity, if we take the descent group to be of a restricted character of lineage or sublineage. The unilateral descent group as a whole reveals trends towards expansion on the one hand and fractionalization on the other. As to the third criterion of Murdock, namely that of actual social integration, one can notice that from time to time group sentiment wells up in public affairs and that the in-marrying spouse (the wife) is recognized as an integral part of the membership to the extent that the ties with her family of origin co-determines the attitude of the village. Quoting another author on the subject, one might regard the Moni villages as corresponding to Schlesier's notion of "Splitterklans," though Schlesier himself seems to have been misled by confusing statements in his source material to classify them as Lokalklans.<sup>19</sup>

### The Consequence of Clan Affiliation

Our conception of "clan" differs from the above mentioned in that it refers to a larger group. In accordance with the usage of most English anthropologists, we take the term "clan" to refer to the comprehensive unilateral (in this case, patrilineal) exogamous descent group in evidence among the Moni by the occurrence of traditional genealogical names. Clans reach further than lineages and sublineages. Actual genealogical connections for the descent group as a whole generally cannot be established, while regular social interaction between all the subgroups of the clan is often hardly discernable. Yet the affiliation to a particular clan does have some meaning to the individual and does in certain ways determine his behaviour.

It has been stated earlier that the native term au is sometimes used for the clan group. It does not, however, imply an organised unity of all the bearers of the same clan name. Similarly, the more often heard term tuma which is not specific for human aggregates, does not imply an organisational unit. A third term which is sometimes used in this connection is dadi which seems to be more specifically applied to the lineages and refers to the bond of common descent rather than to imply actual unity.

Although there is little organised unity on the clan level and the esprit de corps is confined to the subgroups and their localisations in restricted areas (without being extended to the clan as a whole), the implications of membership of a particular clan are by no means a trivial matter. In the first place the exogamous character of the clan is taken very seriously. It precludes all sexual relations between individuals who bear the same clan name. People were adamant about the consequences of infringing this taboo. Culprits should be killed and cut open so that their entrails would be displayed. Two cases from the past were recorded, which were still in the memory of the adult. They concerned persons of a high social status who nonetheless were executed.

The precept of exogamy forbids sexual relations not only with people of the same clan name but also with members of certain other clans which we have earlier said to stand in phratry relationship with the clans represented in Kugapa. Whether or not this holds true for the Zongonau and Kobogau clans as a whole, we cannot say, but the Kugapa factions of these clans named certain clans which were mbai (forbidden) to them. For the Zongonau these are the Sinipa and the Nabedau people,<sup>20</sup> for the Kobogau, the members of the Dimbau and Tipigau clans. The restriction with regard to those phratry clans seems to be less stringent than with their own clans, as nobody took offence to the fact that two generations ago a Kobogau man had married a Dimbau woman. People at that time raised no objection, they said, because the couple liked one another so much.

In other ways the alliances between clans have proved to be of great significance. A second consequence is that of the alleged blood relationship between clan members as it relates to the war practices of the Moni, which is primarily vendetta in nature. When a member of one clan has unjustly killed an individual of some other clan, the relatives of the latter may take revenge upon any member of the killer's clan. War (mbode) is ended only after a balance (uga-uga) is reached by the shedding of equal blood. The blood of any clan member restores the balance. In deciding who the victim will be, many factors are taken into consideration, e.g., the status of the intended victim, the possibility of retaliation and so on. It is important to note that on these occasions the phratry clans are put on a par with their own clans as may be shown by the following events.

A year or two before the writer's arrival in the area, Emodage Kobogau of Kugapa killed a man from the Zando area of the Dibitau clan. Emodage desired this man's wife. The Dibitau man had married a Zongonau woman from Kugapa and had come with his wife to visit her relatives. When the relatives of the murdered man heard about it they thought of retaliating, but because Kugapa was about five days walking (and perhaps also because they



feared Government interference), it was decided that they should take revenge upon the Dimbau clan, the nearest relatives of the Kobogau people who could be approached in their still uncontrolled area. After a Dimbau man had been killed, this clan applied for help from the Zongonau of Kugapa (with whom they have many marriage ties) and from the Kobogau. Retaliation resulted in the killing of a Hanau man, as Dibitau and Hanau are held to stand in a phratry relationship to one another. This of course complicated the matter even more but at this stage things were quiet for a year or so while negotiations took place and a solution was sought. Then somewhat unexpectedly in April, 1957, another Dimbau man, a boy of about seventeen years, was surreptitiously killed shortly after he had paid a visit to Kugapa. Since this was the second victim of their clan, the Dimbau people would no longer accept that they should bear such misfortunes on account of their fictitious alliance with the Kobogau people. They wanted to retaliate against the Kobogau clan.

A short while before this last killing, Emodage had asked my advice since he foresaw an endless war and also interference from the Government. He proposed that he should kill his own half-brother, whom he regarded as not quite in his senses. He also had an affair with this half-brother's wife. My advice could be little else than to try and find some other solution. Other people agreed, and when a government officer happened to hear about the case, he too suggested that a solution should be sought in the payment of shells and pigs to the Dimbau people of Zando. After several months of negotiations retribution of this kind was made and apparently peace was restored.<sup>21</sup> At the peace-making ceremonies not only the lineages and sub-lineages, but also the more extensive clan group became involved. Emodage's own lineage (that of Wisinago) as well as the Abumangeda lineages of the Kobogau had to make heavy contributions towards the payment. It was noted that one of the latter's headman took the lead in the final peace ceremonies on behalf of all the Kobogau people.

Such observations do suggest that the clans regard themselves as social units. On the other hand, outside such extraordinary cases, there is little evidence of positive interaction between clan members, or of cooperative effort which relates to the clan as a whole. There are no totemic or other ceremonies which for other parts of the world are reported to have high value in uniting the clan periodically. Perhaps one must look to the lack of positive functioning of the clan group for an explanation of its lack of coherence and its tendency to split up. There are indications that not only individuals but also larger groups of people may separate from the clan as they become weary of the troubles that other factions of the clan cause them. Such separatists apparently adopt a new clan name and start out on their own.

Such action, however, is not taken lightly. The clan name is too much bound up with the personality ideal of the individual. The clan name, as it were, embodies the Miga ideals and gives concrete expression to the totality of moral and cultural norms for the individual. Clan affiliation seems to relate to those personal ideals as they are handed down by tradition, more than to the feeling of solidarity with those people who also share in this tradition.

#### Implications of Marriage Regulations

Marriage with the Moni is a matter which concerns not only the intending spouses, but has repercussions on the community at large.

The independence and self sufficiency of the family was strongly emphasized in an earlier chapter as if there were no limitation to the degree of self reliance. However, as the procreative function of the family and the satisfaction of sexual needs is restricted to the husband-wife level, the family has to go outside itself in order to continue its existence and must bring the offspring into contact with a larger group of people. The incest prohibition is thought to refer to a far greater number of people than only

the closest relatives and is also applied to the whole clan as well as to some maternal and affinal relatives. In this way the range of social interests is much enlarged.

The Moni cling to the traditional incest prohibition and to the exogamy of the clan with great tenacity. They rigorously apply the sanction of death upon the infringement of the taboo. Even youths at the age of eight already know the distinction between so-pane and me-pane, so-zu and me-zu, that is, between those with whom they may marry and have sexual relations (the "so-"group) and those with whom such relations are precluded (the "me-"group). That the distinction places the "in-group" (of descent and kinship) in a position of dependence with relation to the "out-group" is often explicitly recognized by the people, saying: "We, Zongonau have to stay good friends with the Kobogau, because we marry their women." In other words, exogamy and incest prohibition create functional interdependence between groups in the community. And, as already has been said this is of great significance for the maintenance of balance within the community.

The prospective marriage partners feel the impact of society more personally in the regulation of the bride price which implies consent on the part of the woman's relatives, and also cooperation by the relatives of the man, since no individual can afford all the cowries for marriage. Without suggesting that marriage is outside the control of the partners to be, it is necessary to note that bride price functions as a control mechanism, a premium set by the relatives upon a man's good conduct. In Moni society bride price also regulates relations between various groups.

Negotiations about the bride price must be initiated and, for the greater part, conducted by the boy's father or his elder brother who try to reach an agreement with the girl's relatives. It sometimes happens that the father takes the initiative and selects a bride for his son. After having contacted the relatives of the girl, he suggests his choice to the boy; if he agrees, the marriage is easily arranged. More often, however, it happens that



a boy and a girl have taken a fancy towards one another; they reveal their wish to their relatives to get married, thereby in an indirect way suggesting that bride price negotiations should be opened. Sometimes a boy has discovered a girl on a far away trading expedition and taken her with the consent of her parents to his own village to introduce her to his relatives as a prospective bride. Disappointment often follows and may lead the boy to accuse his kinsmen of meanness; he runs away looking for more generous helpers. But mostly he has to acquiesce lest he loses the chance altogether of obtaining help in the bride price. In many of these cases the denial of help is not motivated by objections to the boy or girl, but because that particular marriage would disrupt the cowrie situation within the community. Since the bride prices are seldom paid in (cowrie) cash, contracts and promises are made, which bind the group and make the marriage interlocking affairs.

A normal marriage payment nowadays (1957) consists of the following cowries: two lots of 180 cowries of the saekigi kind; about twelve or fifteen kubawi and two or three munga shells.<sup>23</sup> Saekigi and kubawi are cowries which are used in ordinary trade transactions. They can be acquired by selling pork, sweet potatoes, carrying nets and so on, or by offering services. This part of the bride price causes the least trouble; a man could earn it by his personal wit and zeal, if need be. The circulation of the munga cowries, however, is well nigh restricted to marriages. These shells are distinguished in indo, hondo, nono, somea, someamo, ranged from higher to lower value. For a marriage payment at least one indo or hondo is required. The number of these shells within the community is so restricted that they are known by individual names.<sup>24</sup>

The Moni of Kugapa set great store by the fact that they contract marriages with an indo, in contrast, they said, with the Ekagi who do not know this particular shell. The writer is not certain about its symbolic significance but he attended a discussion at which people related the history of certain indo to one another. The crucial point seemed to be how many children

were born from the marriages which were contracted with the particular indo. From the discussion it seemed clear enough that a symbolic fertility value was attached to these precious shells. A more important aspect, however, is that the munga link generation to generation and family to family. For the munga paid upon a marriage can be regained when daughters are born and marry later on; their marriage enables the brothers to marry. The number of cowries paid at the marriage of the mother can be claimed at the marriage of the daughters. The following case is illustrative for the different points.

One day Agimokigi had received an indo as payment for the marriage of his daughter. He thought of keeping it to pay the future bride price of his son who at the time was only seven years old. People protested and Agimokigi had to give in to their arguments. It was said that Agimokigi's father had paid two indo for his son's marriage. The first one to be recovered should now go to his half-brother who had not yet paid his shell. Agimokigi could claim a second indo from his daughter's prospective husband. He was told that this second shell could be kept for his son.

This example illustrates how an individual can be bound by arrangements which are made by an earlier generation. A similar complication results from the false assumption that an equal number of boys and girls is born of every marriage. When there are no girls at all, or a lesser number of girls than boys, it is difficult for the men to lay hands upon the indispensable indo; the only way out is to make oral agreements either with their own relatives from whom they can borrow an indo, or with the relatives of the bride that they will pay as soon as the female progeny of the marriage "generate" an indo. Finally, the claims themselves are sometimes also negotiated; marriages are arranged on the basis of claims which one has from some other marriage. It happens that by one marriage transaction, four or five other marriage payments are straightened out. It is not surprising that disputes about the circulation of the munga shells are the most heard of affairs in the district.

The complications in marriage payment are generally a result of the limited supply of munga shells. People informed the writer that there were only ten indo in the Kugapa district, by means of which all the marriages had to be arranged. Theoretically, this is not impossible, since as soon as an indo comes within the reach of a family, it can be used to effect the marriage of one of its members with a woman of another group. This second group can immediately do the same again, and so on. In practice, however, too many other commitments hold up the quick circulation of these shells.

How the limited number of munga shells and the regulation of marriage can have far reaching consequences in the relations between various groups may be illustrated by the peace negotiations referred to in the preceding chapter (p.71). After the government officer had urged the Dimbau people to accept pigs and cowries from the Kobogau as atonement, the Dimbau reluctantly agreed but on condition that at least one indo should be included in the price for peace. It happened that at that moment the Kobogau lineages could not dispose of an indo; possibly the Dimbau people knew this when they made their proposal. The only way out for the Kobogau was the marriage of one of their girls with a Zongonau man. The Zongonau people held all the available indo, but they thought themselves already too much involved in the dispute through their help in avenging the first Dimbau victim. They did not want to be compromised any further. Even though matches could be made, they refused to cooperate. For several months no marriages between Zongonau and Kobogau could be arranged. Negotiations dragged on, until finally a Sinipa-Zongonau man put the only available indo of his group at the disposal of Emodage Kobogau by accepting the latter's half-sister as his wife. The sinipa-Zongonau could act in this way because they have fewer kinship ties with the Dimbau people than the other Zongonau lineages, but also because they had more or less collaborated with Emodage's first action, which had started all the trouble.

To finish off the story, as far as the Government was concerned, everything was straightened out. Much later, however, the writer heard that



the Dimbau people had returned the indo to the Sinipa-Zongonau leaving word that they would settle the war in their own uncontrolled area, where no government interference was possible. Apparently they had noticed that the Kebogau girl had refused to go and live with the Sinipa-Zongonau man and probably they used this as a motive to appease the people of the other Zongonau lineages who objected to the fact that a Kugapa indo had been removed.

In conclusion it should be clear that the exchange of bride price is not a straightout economic transaction. This is neither the case for the individual nor the group which either pays or receives the bride price. The individual cannot just "buy" himself a wife with shells obtained by whatever means he sees fit. For him the bride price is more a testimony of good behaviour--a guarantee for the woman's relatives that the man's relatives stay behind him. Neither is the system a financial arrangement between groups; rather it serves to keep the various groups in a state of dependence upon one another for the sake of order in the community.

#### The Leadership of the sonowi

A distinction between community members which has far-reaching implications for settling of affairs in the community is that between sonowi and deba mene. In disputes such as those that have been discussed, an important role is played by the sonowi. One of his functions is to guard over the sublineage's munga shells. He is the man who has received from his father a more intimate knowledge of the debts and claims in the family; he knows what cowries are true hondo or indo, is acquainted with their names and with the particular details of each one of them, and he knows their history, taking pains to trace where they go. Because the sonowi is a rich man in the lineage, having more shells than he personally needs, he is also the person to whom less lucky individuals may turn for help. Hoarding is not a virtue with the Moni and the sonowi may at times offer superfluous munga and other cowries to non-

relatives who are in need as a kind of investment with an interest of a non-material character.

The terms sonowi and deba mene convey the relationship of an eminent man to an ordinary person. At the same time they convey the idea of a leader or guide in relation to his followers. Etymologically, the term sonowi is probably derived from sono which means 'good,' 'beautiful,' 'attractive,' and a phoneme wi, the meaning of which in this connection is still obscure. The noun wi occurs either for 'flame,' or for 'husband.' It may refer to the polygamous state of (most) of the sonowi. The word sonowi was also used in connection with a woman who had given birth to an unusually high number of children and who had reached an older age than any other known woman. Even a pig that was renowned for the large and many litters that it had produced, was called a sonowi(-wogo) and after its death an i zoa (mummy house) was built for the animal in the fashion customary for me sonowi of the different lineages. The use of the term sonowi in both cases of the woman and of the pig was not merely metaphorical.

The personal qualities which form the basis for leadership include such traits as generosity, courage, eloquence, morality and so on. Primarily, however, a person must be capable of making a success of his own life. Certain people are sonowi even though they never assume the role of a leader. A sonowi is the man who is rich and who can enrich himself even more since normally he has two or more wives thus enabling him to have larger gardens. He can feed more pigs than the ordinary person, and has more cowries. His garden produce is remarkably abundant. His health is sound and he has numerous children. He has succeeded in all his enterprises. One man who was the only remaining member of the second generation of Moni in the area, was a sonowi just because he had survived all the others. In general, the sonowi is the embodiment of the Moni ideals. Hence the term hoa-me, i.e. the "man, in its fullest sense," the "fully matured man," is often applied to the sonowi.

Sonowi-ship is partly an inherited status, and partly acquired.

A sonowi father will watch his sons' development with equal attention. The boy who shows signs of more proficiency will receive special care. He is entrusted with extra knowledge, is told time after time of the family relations, about the land and the cowries. In every way the father stimulates the more promising sons, bestows little favours upon them, but also expects them to participate in public disputes and to express approval or disapproval at the discussions at an age of little over fifteen or sixteen years.

Sonowi-ship is not based upon automatic succession by primogeniture, but requires a good deal of personal exertion and success. How a sonowi can emerge from most adverse circumstances is perhaps best illustrated by the case of Mekudigame Kobogau. This man was born somewhere in Zando, but his father died early and his mother returned to her village of origin, Bobiapa. Here she and her son were entirely dependent upon the help of her relatives. At the time of his marriage, Mekudigame had almost no cowries of his own and he needed the assistance of the Songonau people of Bobiapa. Quietly but steadily he worked his garden and raised his pigs, concentrating primarily upon the welfare of his own family. His wife bore him three daughters and afterwards two sons. Later on he could even afford to support a second wife, a widow, who was attracted by this industrious man. Gradually he began to experience the envious resistance of his host village. People permitted their pigs to enter his garden and in other ways displayed their displeasure. Without making much fuss about it, he moved over to the other side of the valley where some other independent, but poor Kobogau people lived. When his first daughter married, he paid off his debt to the Bobiapa people. Having made himself independent in this respect, and still adding to his achievements, he has now gained esteem with everyone in the community and is recognised as a real sonowi who also plays the role of a leader.

Needless to say not all efforts are honoured by success. The Moni themselves recognize the influence of some unknown, supernatural power, when



they say: "Tinawi sonowi-mene nawa dia," i.e. "The moon(-father) looks after the sonowi (in a special way)."

Although an individual is called a sonowi in the first place due to his success in personal affairs, the assignment of a social role is almost unavoidable in a society without institutionalized leadership. Their eminence makes the sonowi the most obvious people to turn to when advice is needed. The ordinary men try to share in the abundance of the sonowi, imitate them, follow them in their moral standards, request their help and ask them to be the mbai dia (the supernatural contact) for them. A real sonowi should not be a mean person. He accepts the honour without priding himself on his superiority.

It is difficult to set absolute norms for wealth or for other forms of success. In almost every restricted group, in this case the sublineage or village community, one man will be found who excels in that particular group and he is recognized as the representative of the village. About a dozen men in the Kugapa area are presented as sonowi. Such men act as advisers for internal matters of the village, but they are also the spokesmen of the group in public affairs. In some villages the struggle for life bears so little fruit that an outstanding man is hardly to be found. Although these groups continue to live as independent and separate units, they have no outspoken leader. When there is need for it, people accept the leadership of different sonowis on different occasions. About four men are recognized as superior in the entire Kugapa community, but except for their village group, they have no stable following.

In their relations with ordinary people, the sonowi exercise a democratic leadership. They are superior, but not rulers who can set subordinates at their hands. No decisions are taken without the ordinary persons having been heard. If they do not want to accept the advice of the sonowi, they cannot be forced. The sonowi's opinion carries much weight but it is always judged upon its own merits. Moni personality ideals have no place for

an unthinking following. A sonowi should be able to adapt himself to the opinions of his followers. If he lacks this flexibility, others will leave him alone but become intransigent in demanding their share of lineage cowries and land. Soon the sonowi loses not only his prestige, but also his material profit. The ease of interaction between the sonowi and his dependents is a conditio sine qua no for the welfare of both.

### Summary

Moni society is characterized primarily by the social bonds which link the individual in greater or lesser strength to other people. These bonds originate from rather restricted social units which maintain a large measure of independence, in which the family is the most important.

There are some principles which dominate the interaction system. Of great significance is the influence of the kinship system with its bilateral trend. Yet kinship in the patrilineal descent group reaches further than that in other lines. It finds expression in the local community of the village. At the same time there is a progressive splitting up of the unilateral descent group into smaller units which have few connecting links.

Membership of such larger units as tribe and clan refers to the participation in a common cultural heritage more than to a community of interests for the welfare of the group as a whole.

Dependences are created by the system of interlocking marriages which provides a balancing force between the various groups. This is most clearly materialized in the bride price exchange.

Authority is not formalized but depends upon personal success of a leader in his application of traditional standards to everyday circumstances.

## FOOTNOTES

Introduction

<sup>1</sup>Audrey I. Richards in Bartlett (ed.), The Study of Society, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup>S.F. Nadel, "The interview in social anthropology," in Bartlett (ed.), The Study of Society, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup>The final work of Father Drabbe (which is not published) does not entirely agree with his preliminary notes that appear in Bijdragen voor Land-, Taal- en Volkenkunde, DL. CLV (1949), pp. 423-444.

Part I

<sup>1</sup>The suffix -ndoga indicates the valley, whereas the river is denoted by the suffix -bu: Kemandoga-Kemabu, Weandoga-Weabu, Dugindoga-Dogabu, Zandoga-Zabu and so on.

<sup>2</sup>Le Roux, De Bergpapoea's van Nieuw Guinea en hun Woongebied, Vol. II, p. 656.

<sup>3</sup>Estimate by missionaries of the Christian and Missionary Alliance who have a station in Kemandoga. See, "Social Research in the Pacific Islands, S.P.C Technical Paper No. 98, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup>Contrary to the opinion of many others, I am convinced that the term Ekagi is the proper one to designate the group which is often spoken of as Kapauku. The latter is a coastal term. Confusion has perhaps been caused through ignorance as to the native rules of etiquette. Ekagi is certainly not the term which the Moni use for their neighbours. They call them Isani.

<sup>5</sup>The suffix -ndo means "in the direction of, the region of." The word Zanduni is then to be understood as "those of the Za-region."

<sup>6</sup>A legendary background of the westward trek is provided in the tradition that the woman named Situgimina, unjustly treated by her brothers, disappeared in that direction. Upon her disappearance adversities fell upon the descendants of her brother, Wagahodo, the mythical ancestor of the Zongonau.



7. H. Bijlmer, "Tapiro Pygmies and Paniai Mountain Papuans," pp. 137, 140.

8. A. Roushdy, "Penetratie der Djongoenoe's in het Wisselmerengebied," Tijdschrift Koninkl. Aardrijksk. Genootschap, 1940, p. 60.

9. This is important for an understanding of the splintering of clans. See, E. Schlesier, Die Grundlagen der Klanbildung, p. 84.

10. Kugapini = Kugapa people. The suffix -ni was discussed on p. 7.

11. Refers to the Netherlands New Guinea guilder which was in use at the time of fieldwork in 1957.

12. I use the term "pig-feast" in the stricter sense as proposed by J.V. de Brugn in Tijdschrift Nieuw Guinea, 1939, p. 204.

13. I could not discover any symbolized transfer of the child from the mother's to the father's clan. Often many persons other than the mother's relatives are present, all of whom give a cowrie if they receive saleable meat. This is contrary to Le Roux's suggestion in De Bergpapoea's van Nieuw Guinea en hun Woongebied, Vol. II, p. 722.

14. Zie het Register van de afgedane delictzaken, berecht door de Grote Alleensprekende Rechter te Enarotali No. 19/C.R. en 20/C.R. 1954.

15. Bijlmer speaks about the Moni he met as Manekoe, using a coastal term (-ku, as in Kapau-ku, = men). Does "Manekoe" mean "serf" (see Tijdschrift Nieuw Guinea, 1938, p. 329), or is "Mane-" a corruption of "Moni" as pronounced by coastal interpreters?

## Part II

1. "Isani" is the Moni term for the Ekagi.

2. The origin of the word "Ugunduni" is still obscure. It is most probably a Moni word used to designate the people who live south of the Carstenz and east of it in the Ilaga valley. People of the former area call themselves "Amungme." Sometimes it is suggested that "Ugunduni" is derived from ugu, i.e., "fence." I venture the suggestion that it is derived from ugi, i.e., "red earth." Thus: "people from the red earth region." For suffixes -ndo and -ni, see pages 82 and 7.

<sup>3</sup>Probably also a Moni word related to ndac, i.e., "stranger." It is used for more eastern tribes, including those who live in the Baliem valley.

<sup>4</sup>Le Roux, De Bergpapoea's van Nieuw Guinea en hun woongebied, Vol. III, p. 654.

<sup>5</sup>By this remark, I wish not to minimize the importance of "cultural foci" referred to by the writer of the Bangkok Paper 1957, "Anthropological Research in Netherlands New Guinea," p. 14. Allegedly, for the Ekagi the cultural focus consists in the exchange complex of pigs-cowries-wives; for the Ndani, it is warfare.

<sup>6</sup>Note that the Kobogau is a Moni clan, the Jatipai an Ekagi clan.

<sup>7</sup>Whether or not the eating of shrimp is taboo for Moni outside the Kugapa area and thus further away from the Ekagi, I have not been able to ascertain. The Kugapa people acted as if they were the authoritative interpreters of the Moni tradition. In the doubt about this authority lies the point of the discussion.

<sup>8</sup>One should not conclude that the sanction supporting the transgression of the two taboos is the same. The sanction against the eating of shrimp is a supernatural one; intertribal sexual relations are punished by the physical sanction of death.

<sup>9</sup>See, Roushdy, "Penetratie der Djongoenoe's in het Wisselmerengebied," cited earlier. Also J.V. de Bruyn, "Verslag naar Kemandoga en Beura;" L. Rhys, Jungle Pimpernel, and F.C. Kamma, Messiaanse Koreri-bewegingen. The legend may contain the germ of a cargo cult, but my informants never suggested that Situgumina was a white woman, not even when an indirect allusion to this possibility was made.

<sup>10</sup>Another legend about the first settlement of the Moni in the Doma valley does not quite coincide with the idea of a temporary establishment, which is suggested in the Situgumina legend.

<sup>11</sup>See Roushdy's article and Le Roux, De Bergpapoea's, Vol. II, p. 706.

<sup>12</sup>On one occasion Soadekigi suggested that I should not be so critical as long as he could name seven generations!

<sup>13</sup>According to J.V. de Bruyn (Tijdschrift Nieuw Guinea, IV, 1939, p. 195), Soadekigi had stated that Sinipa people are not real Moni, but a mixture of Ekagi-Moni, perhaps the so-called "Wodani," who socially are regarded as Moni, but who speak an Ekagi tongue.

<sup>14</sup>G.P. Murdock, Social Structure, p. 91.

<sup>15</sup>The difference between ambau and membau could not be determined. It was thought that the prefix a- and me- refer to the possessive and impersonal relation respectively (a- = my; me- = man), and that the same could be said about nita-mita and auma-meuma. However, the inconsistency with which the terms are used did not substantiate the assumption.

<sup>16</sup>There is a possibility that the terms tata, auma, and panema are used reciprocally. The writer cannot be certain about this as what appeared to be contradictory statements were made which could not be reconciled. A further study of the basic principles which underlie the classification would perhaps clear up this matter. Confusion may be the result of loose handling of kinship terminology by the Moni themselves.

<sup>17</sup>Although different in many details, in its general organization, the Moni pig feast resembles that of the Muju area as described by R. den Haan, Bijdragen Land-, taal- en volkenkunde, 1955, Vol. III.

<sup>18</sup>G.P. Murdock, Social Structure, pp. 65-78, esp. p. 68.

<sup>19</sup>E. Schlesier, Die Grundlagen der Klanbildung, p. 69. The confusing statements were found in Le Roux, Bergpapoea's, Vol. II p. 646.

<sup>20</sup>According to Soadekigi, also the Wandagau and Bagau clans are mbai to the Zongonau people, at least to those of Ngedangetadi. Perhaps they have become so after a Zongonau man from Ngedangetadi has gone to live with Wandagau people in Kemandoga and adopted their clan name.

<sup>21</sup>Other aspects of this case are dealt with on page

<sup>22</sup>Pane and zu mean "girl" and "boy" respectively. Me is the member of the human species, so the animal species of rats, marsupials, etc. mentioned earlier. The speaker always calls himself (herself) me and refers to the partner as so. A me-zu can marry a so-pane only, and vice versa.

<sup>23</sup>About the names for the cowries, see also p.

<sup>24</sup>It may be mentioned at this juncture that exchange marriages do occur. A man exchanges his sister against the sister of another man. Two or three cases were recorded. The practice was not liked, and in one case at least, the marriage was afterwards confirmed by the payment of shells.



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## ICHTISAR

Dalam edisi khusus majalah "Irian" ini untuk pertama kalinya berisi hasil penyelidikan antropologis yang dilangsungkan mulai bulan Januari 1957 sampai bulan Maret 1958 di daerah Kugapa, Kabupaten Paniai. Karangan ini dalam tahun 1966 telah dimasukkan sebagai disertasi untuk memperoleh gelar M.A. di Universitas Sydney.

Daerah Kugapa diduduki oleh kurang lebih 500 orang dari suku Moni. Kelompok kecil orang Moni itu hidup di ujung daerah kedudukan suku Ekagi (yang juga disebut Kapauku), terpencil dari kelompok besar suku Moni yang menduduki lembah2 sungai Kema (Kemandoga) dan sungai Doga (Dugindoga) jurusan Utara-timur daerah Kugapa.

Pada mulanya maksud utama penyelidikan penulis ialah untuk mempelajari proses2 sosial didalam suatu masyarakat kecil dan terbatas, khususnya berhubungan dengan teori kontrol sosial. Karena satu dan lain hal, terutama karena kurangnya waktu untuk mengumpulkan bahan yang cukup mengenai masalah kontrol sosial maka bahagian teoretis tidak dapat diuraikan.

Dalam karangan ini hasil penyelidikan penulis telah disusun dalam dua bagian. Bagian pertama akan memberikan garis2 besar kebudayaan dan hidup sosial suku Moni di daerah Kugapa. Dalam bagian kedua akan diberikan analisa lebih lanjut tentang struktur sosial dan beberapa pranata sosial di daerah tersebut.

Patut ditekankan bahwa karangan ini tidak dapat dipandang sebagai suatu uraian lengkap tentang adat istiadat suku Moni seluruhnya. Maksud penyelidikan penulis ialah untuk memperoleh pengertian lebih dalam tentang hidup sosial di dalam masyarakat kecil dan terpencil. Tidak mustahillah bahwa keadaan budaya dan hidup sosial di daerah2 kedudukan kelompok2 besar suku Moni banyak berbeda dari Kugapa, meskipun bahasa dan unsur2 umum kebudayaannya tetap membedakan mereka itu dari suku2 lain, umpamanya suku Ekagi, Ugundhuni dan Ndani.

### Bagian I. Ikhtisar mengenai kebudayaan orang-orang Moni.

Kata Moni itu berasal dari bahasa Ekagi untuk menamakan orang2 suatu suku yang sendirilah menamakan diri "Migani", artinya "orang2 betul" ("Miga" =



betul; "-ni = orang2). Untuk orang2 Moni yang mendiami daerah Kugapa dapat dipakai nama "Kugapa-ni". Kugapa adalah nama suatu tempat diatas bukit di-pinggir sungai Wea k.l. 15 kilometer jurusan timur dari Enarotali. Letaknya k.l. 1800 meter diatas permukaan laut. Di tempat Kugapa itu pada saat penye-lidikan dilakukan tidak ada orang yang mendudukinya. Akan tetapi menurut tradisi itulah tempat dimana orang2 Moni pertama yang merupakan beberapa generasi yang lampau tiba di daerah itu dari jurusan tenggara, dan kemudian mendirikan rumah disitu dan mulai membuka hutan untuk membuat ladang. Keduduk-an pertama itu dilakukan oleh dua rumah tangga dari klan Zonggonau yang menu-rut taksiran kami berlangsung antara k.l. 75 hingga 90 tahun yang lalu. Karena penambahan penduduk yang lahir disitu dan karena imigrasi2 baru di daerah yang diduduki orang2 Moni itu, lama kelamaan menjadi luas hingga men-jadi daerah kedudukan Kugapani sekarang k.l. 6 x 3 kilometer luasnya. Jumlah orang pada saat penyelidikan dilakukan 522 jiwa.

Dari sudut antropologi fisik dikatakan bahwa penduduk2 daerah Kugapa ber-beda dari tetangga mereka suku Ekagi karena perawakan lebih tinggi. Selain dari itu bahasa Moni berbeda dari bahasa Ekagi, lagipula terdapat pelbagai unsur kebudayaan dan peraturan2 sosial yang membedakan orang2 Moni dari te-tangga mereka suku2 lain di Pegunungan Tengah Irian Jaya, meskipun cara hidup mereka itu kelihatannya hampir sama. Mereka membuat ladang dimana mereka me-nanam ubi-rambat, pelbagai macam sayuran, tebu, pisang dll. Ladang2 dipagari untuk mencegah masuknya babi2 yang dipelihara mereka sebagai mata pencaharian yang kedua. Untuk menambah jumlah makanan se-hari2 mereka mencari buah2-an dan binatang2 kecil kedalam hutan rimba. Bahan2 seperti kayu, rotan, kulit kayu, daun pandan dsb untuk membuat rumah dan pagar kebun juga diambil dari hutan yang mengelilingi tempat kediaman mereka. Perkakas yang mereka pakai pada umumnya masih sangat sederhana. Baru sejak beberapa tahun sebelum perang Jepang perkakas besi mulai muncul di Pegunungan Tengah, terutama kampak, pisau dan parang. Sebelumnya pohon2 ditebang dengan kampak batu. Sebagai pisau dipakai alat2 dari batu, kulit kerang atau bambu. Untuk mengerjakan tanah dipergunakan alat penggali dari kayu.

Rumah2 ada dua macam, yaitu rumah untuk laki2 yang disebut "nduni" dan

rumah2 yang didiami wanita2 dengan anak2 kecil ("mina i"). Rumah2 itu dilihat dari luar hampir sama rupanya. Dibuat dari kayu bulat dan papan2 kasar sedangkan atap ditutup dengan kulit kayu, daun pandan atau rumput. Dibawah rumah2 wanita terdapat kandang untuk babi. Dipusat setiap rumah ada tempat api untuk orang berdiang dan masak makanan. Tidak ada alat untuk masak seperti panci, barang pecah-belah dsb.

Pada waktu penyelidikan hanya sedikit saja orang2 Kugapa berpakaian. Kebanyakan priya memakai sebuah labu untuk menutupi kemaluan. Wanita2 memakai rok yang dibuat dari daun pandan atau dari kulit sejenis pohon yang tergaruk. Semua orang biasa membawa kantung jala dibuat dari tali yang bergantung pada kepala. Didalamnya disimpan benda2 pribadi dan makanan se-hari. Perhiasan badan sangat sederhana pada umumnya tidak dipakai pada hari2 biasa kecuali pada kesempatan pesta atau pada kesempatan luar biasa. Gadis2 biasanya menutupi susu dengan manik-manik, ekor binatang tertentu dll.

Kenyataannya, ukiran atau kesenian lain hampir tidak ada. Selain dari sistem tukar-menukar secara langsung juga terdapat perdagangan tak-langsung dalam mana digunakan kulit kerang sebagai uang. Kulit kerang itu disebut "kigi" dengan nama umum, tetapi digolongkan dalam beberapa jenis menurut bentuk dan ukurannya, umpamanya "saekigi", "kubawi" dan "munga". Diantara "munga" itu terdapat beberapa "kigi" dengan nama sendiri yang dapat dipakai sebagai bagian mutlak untuk mas-kawin. Untuk perkawinan seorang priya membutuhkan sekurangnya satu dari sepuluh biji "kigi", golongan "indo" (jenis "munga") yang beredar antara Moni didaerah Kugapa.

Kulit kerang yang lain seperti "saekigi" dan "kubawi" dipergunakan untuk memperdagangkan makanan, kayu, kantung dsb. Terutama pada kesempatan pesta2 babi banyak "kigi" diperdagangkan. Pesta babi itu kadang2 diadakan justru dengan maksud mengumpulkan "kigi" untuk mengurus perkawinan2.

Mengenai gagasan magi-religius dapat dikatakan bahwa orang2 Moni hidup dalam taraf animisme. Alam yang kelihatan dianggap mereka hanya sebahagian saja dari realitet. Terdapat juga hal2 yang tak-kelihatan yang dapat dihubungi manusia melalui "mbai dia". "Mbai dia" itu dapat diadakan dengan (doa) atau dengan perbuatan2. Kata "mbai" itu juga dipakai untuk hal2 yang dilarang

(tabu) atau yang sebaiknya dielakkan sedapat mungkin, karena mengandung bahaya atau kekuatan yang tidak dapat dikuasai manusia. "Mbai dia" orang Moni terarah kepada beberapa jenis roh<sup>2</sup>, yang dibicarakan dibawah ini.

- 1) "Onga-dega-me" dapat diterjemahkan dengan kata "Pencipta", akan tetapi tidak jelas "Pencipta" dianggap sebagai "Pembuat segala sesuatu" (creatio ex nihilo) atau "Pengatur", yang beri bentuk dan rupa kepada alam, manusia dsb.
- 2) "Manita" adalah roh pelindung (bagi keluarga, klan, lineage dsb.). Mungkin<sup>kinlah</sup> bahwa dalam hubungan<sup>2</sup> dengan "manita" terdapat unsur<sup>2</sup> totemisme.
- 3) "Tau" adalah roh<sup>2</sup> jahat yang harus didamaikan. Manusia sebaiknya<sup>senantiasa</sup> waspada terhadap "tau" itu.
- 4) "Tone" adalah jiwa<sup>2</sup> dari orang<sup>2</sup> yang telah meninggal dunia. Pikiran<sup>2</sup> mengenai alam tak-kelihatan itu tidak dapat diterangkan secara jelas dan saksama, namun sangat mempengaruhi hidup manusia baik individu maupun sosial.

Terdapat ucapan<sup>2</sup> berupa doa untuk meminta bantuan dari roh<sup>2</sup> yang baik, lainnya untuk mencegah pengaruh roh<sup>2</sup> jahat. Dalam hal manusia sakit roh<sup>2</sup> jahat dapat dirintangi mengganggu manusia dengan upacara<sup>2</sup> lebih luas. Dibat pagar di depan rumah orang sakit dan seekor babi disembelih. Darah babi dilumurkan pada kayu pagar sedangkan si ahli sihir menyuruh roh jahat meninggalkan orang sakit. Usus dan aurat babi dilontarkan kepada roh jahat untuk dimakannya.

Diberikan lagi uraian mengenai upacara membuat hujan.

Upacara<sup>2</sup> bersifat religius yang berkala yang dapat mendukung teori Durkheim mengenai "collective conscience" tidak ditemui. Tentang adanya atau tidak ada nya inisiasi atau rite<sup>2</sup> kesuburan tidak ada bukti.

Lingkaran hidup seorang Moni mulai pada waktu ia dilahirkan didalam rumah ibunya dengan tidak hadirnya orang<sup>2</sup> selain dari satu atau dua wanita penolong. Beberapa hari menjelang kelahiran, ayahnya telah mengosongkan rumah dari semua barang berharga. Beberapa hari sesudah kelahiran anak kecil, dilangsungkan pesta dengan pemotongan seekor babi ("sogo wogo"). Selama masih dibawah umur lima sampai enam tahun, semua anak, baik laki<sup>2</sup> maupun perempuan, diasuh ibunya. Mereka itu dianggap belum dikuasai akal budi. Orang<sup>2</sup> menunjukkan toleransi



terhadap anak2 kecil. Sesudah umur k.l. 6 tahun anak2 diharapkan mulai menolong dalam pekerjaan rumah tangga, pertama dengan tugas ringan (mengambil air, mengumpulkan kayu bakar), kemudian dengan pekerjaan lebih berat. Pada waktu itu dimulai juga pembagian "kerja" (division labour) antara kelamin. Anak laki menolong ayahnya menebang kayu, mendirikan pagar kebun, menggali parit di kebun, sedangkan anak perempuan diajar menanam ubi-rambat, membatat rumput di kebun dsb. Anak laki2 tidak tinggal dirumah ibunya lagi, akan tetapi berdiam di "nduni" (rumah laki2). Anak laki2 diajak berinisiatip membuat ladang sendiri disekitar rumah. Selama tahun2 berkembang hubungan saling menolong dan rasa persaudaraan antara kakak2 dan adik2 senantiasa ditekankan. Dalam masa remaja si pemuda akan mencari hubungan dengan gadis dari klan yang lain. Kesempatan untuk menyatakan rasa cinta diberikan pada waktu para pemuda dan pemudi bertemu untuk bersama2 menyanyi ("zamo tegaia"), ketika si laki dapat memberikan hadiah kecil kepada calon cintanya. Untuk perkawinan baik laki2 maupun perempuan membutuhkan persetujuan dan pertolongan dari orang tuanya dan sanak saudaranya yang lain. Persetujuan tidak diberikan apabila calon2 mempelai tidak memenuhi syarat2 atau norma2 yang berlaku didalam masyarakat untuk hidup sosial.

Dalam usia tua orang2 Moni bergantung dari pertolongan anak2nya. Orang yang tidak menolong ibu-bapanya yang sudah tua, akan dipandang amoral. Segera sesudah seseorang meninggal dunia, diadakan upacara berkabung pertama. Seekor babi dipotong dan dibagi antara saudara2 keluarganya. Adat-istiadat memerintahkan ketika orang poligam, isterinya yang sangat dicintainya harus mengikutinya dalam kematian dan dibunuh. Kebiasaan yang lebih umum adalah bagi perempuan memotong jari tangan pada waktu ayah, ibu, suami atau anaknya meninggal. Pemakaman orang2 yang meninggal dunia biasa ditunda selama beberapa hari sampai dua atau tiga minggu, bahkan waktu lebih lama yang diperlukan untuk mengurus upacara berkabung terakhir ("wangu wogo"). Terdapat beberapa cara menguburkan mayat, umpamanya diletakkan didalam pohon tertentu atau diturunkan kedalam lubang. Mayat orang yang dipandang orang luhur diletakkan dalam pondok kecil dekat rumah ("i zoa mindia").

Hubungan orang2 Kugapa dengan dunia luar modern, dimulai pada waktu ke-

datangan orang2 Belanda didaerah Paniai pada beberapa tahun sebelum pecah perang Jepang. Kurang lebih 10 orang Moni asal Kugapa bertemu dengan rombongan Dr. Bijlmer dalam ekspedisinya ke lembah Mapia pada akhir tahun 1935. Ketika Dr. Cator membuat ekspedisi pertama ke Lembah Kamu, ditemui dengan sejumlah orang2 Moni dari Kugapa yang pada waktu itu berdiam di Itouda. Tatkala pos pemerintah pertama dibuka, Kugapa mendapat perhatian khusus dari beberapa pejabat pemerintah. Sebuah sekolah desa telah dibuka oleh Misi Katolik di Kugapa sebelum perang. Pada waktu tentara Jepang menyerang Irian Jaya seluruh daerah Paniai ditinggalkan oleh pendatang2 pemerintah Belanda. Orang2 Moni di Kugapa mengalami banyak penderitaan dari tentara Jepang. Baru pada tahun 1948 seorang misionaris datang dan tinggal di Kugapa lagi. Hubungan dengan dunia luar makin lama makin lebih mempengaruhi kehidupan orang2 Kugapa.

## Bagian II. Melukiskan hidup sosial didaerah Kugapa.

Seperti telah dikatakan lebih dahulu, orang2 Kugapa merupakan sebagian dari kelompok manusia lebih besar, yang dinamai orang2 Moni atau orang2 Migani. Kelompok besar itu dapat disebut merupakan satu "suku" dengan pengertian bahwa mereka merupakan kesatuan dalam bahasa dan kebudayaan. Tidak ada kesatuan organisatoris atau politik. Didalam suku Moni itu terdapat golongan2 exogam yang dapat disebut "klan". Kebanyakan penduduk Kugapa masuk golongan klan Zonggonau atau Kobogau. Seorang Moni menjadi anggota klan tertentu karena kelahirannya didalam golongan keturunan patrilineal (patrilineal descent). Seperti halnya "suku", juga "klan" itu tidak mewujudkan kesatuan organisatoris yang tetap. Arti klan itu akan diuraikan lebih lanjut dibawah ini.

Untuk hidup bermasyarakat sehari2, kelompok kekerabatan adalah terpenting bagi orang2 Moni, yaitu keluarga2 luas virilokal (virilocal extended families) dan patrilineages (keturunan seorang laki2), yang hidup berdekatan dalam lingkungan perkampungan. Dalam kelompok2 keluarga luas itu biasanya terdapat seorang yang mempunyai pengaruh lebih besar. Ia disebut "sonowi", seorang kaya, yang dipatuhi oleh orang2 biasa.

Arti penggolongan2 tersebut diuraikan lebih luas dibawah ini.

Suku bangsa Moni atau (Migani) berbeda dari suku2 bangsa lain yang menduduki daerah Pegunungan Tengah Irian Jaya, seperti Ekagi (Kapauku), Ugundhuni, Ndani dsb. Pembedaan itu didasarkan atas kelainan bahasa dan tradisi kebudayaan. Tradisi orang2 Moni mempunyai sejumlah kekhususan yang mungkin tidak berarti banyak bagi orang2 keturunan lain, akan tetapi dipandang penting sekali oleh orang2 Moni sendiri. Mengambil bagian dalam tradisi, memberi jaminan hidup kepada individu, karena hidupnya diterima didalam tradisi itu, dan sebaiknya tradisi itu jangan dilanggarnya. Meskipun orang2 Moni Kugapa dapat memelihara hubungan2 sosial dengan orang2 tetangganya dari suku Ekagi lebih erat daripada umpamanya dengan orang2 sesuku sendiri didaerah2 jauh, namun campuran kedua tradisi tak dapat diizinkan, sehingga terdapat larangan keras diadakannya perkawinan antara orang Moni dan orang Ekagi. Pelanggaran larangan itu akan mengakibatkan si pelanggar dibunuh oleh kaum kerabatnya. Untuk membedakan diri dari suku Ekagi, orang2 Moni pantang dari makan udang. Larangan perkawinan campuran dititikberatkan hanya sehubungan dengan orang2 Ekagi. Anggapan2 mengenai hubungan seksuil dengan suku2 lain tidak jelas.

Beberapa angka demografis diberikan dalam fasal berikut. Jumlah penduduk daerah Kugapa pada tahun 1957 adalah 522 orang, yaitu 107 orang dewasa laki2 dan 149 orang wanita dewasa. Anak laki2 dan anak2 perempuan dibawah umur perkawinan berjumlah sama besar, yaitu masing2 133 orang. Anggauta2 klan Zonggonau dihitung 291 orang, sedangkan 171 orang masuk golongan Kobogau. Hanya sedikitlah orang2 dari klan2 lain, hampir semua perempuan dari daerah2 lain yang karena perkawinan dengan laki2 Kugapa mengikuti suami.

Kelebihan jumlah orang2 Zonggonau dapat dimengerti karena perkembangan orang Moni didaerah Kugapa, dimulai dengan kedatangan dua keluarga Zonggonau sebagai pelopor2. Klan Kobogau datang kemudian. Kedua keluarga pelopor Zonggonau menduduki tempat yang disebut Kugapa. Keturunan kedua keluarga pertama itu meluaskan tanah yang dipakai mereka untuk berladang, yang lain sebelah kiri, yang lain sebelah kanan. Demikianlah sekali lagi terjadi dalam generasi kedua dsb. Prinsip pembahagian tanah warisan menyebabkan keturunan, lama kelamaan tersebar dan terpisah satu dari yang lain. Hal itu menjadi penting untuk mengetahui susunan perkampungan2. Keluarga2 klan Zonggonau dan Kobogau yang



datang dibelakangan didaerah Kugapa menduduki tempat2 lebih jauh yang masih kosong. Proses pembahagian tanah dan perpisahan antara keluarga keturunan berlangsung seperti terjadi pada orang2 Zonggonau yang pertama.

Hubungan2 kekerabatan merupakan dasar untuk hidup bermasyarakat bagi orang2 Moni. Meskipun golongan kekerabatan tidak mewujudkan ciri2 kesatuan struktural, namun hubungan2 antara kaum kerabat mempunyai peranan yang penting bagi orang2 Moni didalam kehidupan masyarakat setempat serta hak2nya dan kewajiban2nya dsb.nya. Hubungan2 kekerabatan sebahagian berasal dari kelahiran didalam suatu keluarga batih dan separuh dari perkawinan didalam kelompok lain. Hak2 dan kewajiban2 yang bersangkutan dengan kekerabatan telah ditentukan oleh tradisi. Istilah2 yang dipakai sehubungan dengan kaum kerabat menjurus kepada pola kelakuan dan sikap terhadap orang, atau kepada apa yang diharapkan daripadanya. Dalam hal itu seharusnya diberikan perhatian khusus kepada prinsip penggolongan ("classifying principle") yang berlaku bagi kaum kerabat. "Aita" artinya ayah, tetapi dapat juga berarti saudara2 ayah, lagi pula dapat dipergunakan untuk isteri kakak perempuan dll. Seorang "aita" harus dihormati, akan tetapi sebaliknya juga dapat diharapkan bimbingan dan bantuan jikalau si anak mengalami kesulitan. "Zamege" dipakai untuk semua putera/puteri dari kakak perempuan ayah, kakak laki2 ibu dan kakak perempuan ibu. Penggunaan istilah itu mengandung pengertian bahwa hubungan2 seksuil dengan orang2 tersebut dilarang, karena berasal dari keturunan yang sama.

Didalam "rumah tangga" terdapat tiga jenis hubungan struktural, yaitu antara suami dan isteri, antara orang tua dan anak2nya, dan antara saudara/saudari sekandung. Mereka itu merupakan suatu kesatuan inti didalam masyarakat sebagai kesatuan ekonomis, pendidikan dan keamanan. Didalam lingkungan rumah tangga setiap individu memperoleh kemungkinan untuk berkembang sepenuhnya. Hubungan2 antara angga2 keluarga batih adalah sangat erat dan tidak diputuskan jikalau anak2nya meninggalkan rumah tangga asalnya oleh karena perkawinan. Keluarga batih itu selalu bertindak terhadap orang2 luar secara bersepakat. Kurang lebih 75% dari keluarga2 didaerah Kugapa pada saat penyelidikan dilangsungkan adalah monogam. 25% merupakan rumah tangga yang berasal dari perkawin-

nan poligami. Terdapat kenyataan bahwa kesatuan keluarga monogam dapat bertahan lebih lama daripada keluarga yang didasarkan atas perkawinan poligami. Karena rumah tangga dianggap sanggup memenuhi hampir seluruh kebutuhan angga-  
ta2nya, maka otonomi kelompok rumah tangga itu sangat menarik perhatian. Otonomi itu tergantung dari kesadaran dan kesediaan angga2nya yang harus saling menolong. Semangat kerukunan menjadi pokok utama pendidikan yang dilaksanakan didalam lingkungan rumah tangga. Saudara2 didalam suatu unit rumah tangga tergantung satu sama lain secara khusus, misalnya dalam hal pembahagian tanah ladang, ataupun dalam hal urusan perkawinan. Setiap rumah tangga mempunyai rumah dan kebun sendiri. Dalam keluarga poligam terdapat rumah2, masing2 untuk tiap isteri sedangkan lelaki mendapat rumah sendiri dengan anak2 laki2. Kerap kali juga saudara2 laki2nya mendiami rumah itu. Sering dua saudara laki2 mempunyai satu rumah sedangkan untuk isteri masing2 disediakan rumah sendiri. Ladang rumah tangga dipalangi dengan pagar untuk menghindari masuknya babi2 yang merusak tanaman. Untuk mengerjakan kebun terdapat pembagian kerja antara angga2ta2 sekeluarga sehingga tiap2 orang mengetahui tugasnya. Si suami dengan anak2 laki2 menanggung pekerjaan berat, seperti menebang pohon2, mendirikan pagar dan menggali parit. Isteri dan anak2 perempuan menanam ubi dan sayur sayuran dan membersihkan kebun serta mengolah hasil kebun. Jikalau keluarga poligam, setiap isteri mendapat bahagian kebun dan bertanggung jawab sendiri. Si suami menanam pisang, tebu dan tembakau.

Seorang anak laki2 mulai pada umur k.l. 7 tahun akan mendapat dorongan untuk membuat kebun sendiri didalam kebun keluarga. Hasil kebun itu boleh dipakainya menurut kemauannya sendiri. Lama kelamaan ia akan mulai membuka ladang sendiri sehingga pada saat kedewasaan ia dapat berdiri sendiri.

Setiap keluarga juga mempunyai se-kurang2nya satu ekor babi yang dipelihara oleh isteri.

Kerukunan hidup keluarga sangat dialami pada petang hari apabila semua angga2ta2 telah pulang dari pekerjaan mereka diladang atau dihutan dan berkumpul dalam kampung, dimana pengalaman2 tadi dibicarakan, sedangkan anak2 bermain di keliling rumah. Makanan disiapkan oleh wanita2, yang membagikannya diantara suami dan anak2nya.

Setelah perkawinan orang laki2 dewasa meninggalkan rumah tangga asalnya, akan tetapi tidak sekaligus. Ia akan mendirikan rumah untuk dirinya sendiri dan bagi isterinya tidak jauh dari rumah asalnya. Bagi wanita perkawinan berarti perceraian dari tanah dan lingkungan keluarga asal. Namun hubungan dengan saudara2nya kebanyakan kali tidak diputuskan sama sekali, khususnya pada permulaan perkawinan. Tetapi dapat dikatakan bahwa akibat dari perkawinan anak2 rumah tangga inti mulai dicerai-beraikan.

Perceraian antara suami dan isteri jarang terjadi. Seringkali diakibatkan karena ketidak cocokan tabiat, lagipula dipermudah jikalau mas kawin belum dipenuhi secara lengkap.

Kelenyapan rumah tangga sebagai kesatuan tersendiri juga diakibatkan oleh kematian suami atau isteri. Jika suami meninggal dunia kebanyakan kali isteri dengan anak2nya akan masuk rumah tangga saudara laki2 suami pertama (levirat).

Kelompok2 tetangga atau perkampungan terdiri dari rumah2 orang2 yang terikat satu sama lain karena hubungan kekerabatan sampai generasi kedua atau ketiga melalui garis keturunan ayah. Kerabat laki2 sampai generasi ke-2 atau ke-3 tinggal berdekatan, sehingga hubungan fisik maupun sosial dipertahankan. Generasi yang lebih jauh telah tercerai-berai satu dari yang lain dalam perkampungan sendiri.

Jumlah rumah yang merupakan kampung tersendiri sangat berbeda dan meliputi 4 sampai 12 rumah dengan penghuni antara k.l. 10 sampai 50 atau 70 orang. Kepentingan bersama dalam hal ladang2 yang diwariskan, menyebabkan kelompok kerabat laki2 berdiam berdekatan. Karena hubungan2 antara kaum kerabat merupakan dasar untuk pembentukan kampung, lagipula kaum kerabat itu mempunyai peranan penting dalam urusan perkawinan, yangmana perkawinan2 itu juga berpengaruh bagi anggauta2 sekampung. Didalam kebanyakan kampung terdapat seorang laki2 yang disebut "sonowi". Ia dipandang sebagai pemimpin kampung meskipun kuasanya hanya terbatas saja pada kepentingan umum.

Pengurusan pesta babi dan pesta keladi ("wogo-zamo" dan "wa-zamo") juga diatur didalam lingkungan kampung dibawah pimpinan seseorang yang mengambil inisiatip. Pada waktu pesta sedemikian itu diadakan disalah satu kampung,



maka orang2 dari kampung2 lain datang untuk membeli daging babi atau keladi, sedangkan banyak barang lain juga ditukarkan. Pada kesempatan2 semacam itu dipergunakan orang untuk mengurus perkara2 atau hal2 yang terjadi dalam masyarakat khususnya untuk mengatur perkawinan2.

Persiapan untuk pesta babi dapat berlangsung satu tahun atau lebih. Sebuah rumah pesta didirikan dalammana setiap keluarga yang mensponsori pesta itu, mempunyai ruangan tersendiri. Disamping ruangan2 keluarga terdapat juga ruangan yang lebih besar dimana para pemuda dan pemudi sebentar2 berkumpul pada malam hari selama waktu persiapan untuk tari-tarian.

Keanggotaan klan. Setiap orang Moni digolongkan dalam salah satu klan karena keturunannya didalam kelompok keturunan ayahnya (patri-klan). Kebanyakan orang2 Moni di Kugapa tergolong dalam klan Zonggonau atau klan Kobogau. Klan2 tersebut juga ditemui didaerah2 lain yang didiami orang Moni. Klan2 itu adalah golongan2 exogam. Meskipun klan itu tidak merupakan kesatuan organisatoris, namun keanggotaan dalam salah satu klan membawa yang mengikat. Pertama2 semua hubungan kelamin dengan seorang anggota seklan dilarang keras, baik hubungan perkawinan maupun hubungan seksuil diluar perkawinan. Pelanggaran larangan itu akan dihukum dengan pembunuhan terhadap kedua pelanggar2nya oleh saudara2 mereka. Untuk anggota2 suatu klan juga terdapat larangan membunuh atau memakan binatang tertentu atau merusak tumbuhan tertentu, yang dapat dipandang seperti totem klan mereka. Terdapat juga beberapa klan meskipun namanya berlainan, yangmana mereka harus tunduk pada larangan yang sama. Klan2 semacam itu dapat dipandang merupakan suatu fratri.

Selain dari sifat exogam yang menandai klan2, juga ada hubungan positif diantara anggota2 seklan, yaitu kewajiban saling menolong terutama dalam keadaan perang antara dua kelompok klan.

Peraturan perkawinan adalah hal yang amat mempengaruhi hubungan2 sosial diantara orang Moni. Penggolongan orang2 dalam klan2 exogam mempunyai fungsi pengintegrasian terutama dalam keadaan seperti yang ditemui di Kugapa, dimana terdapat hanya dua klan. Karena orang2 harus memilih jodoh dari luar kelompok

(klan) sendiri, telah menjadi jelas bahwa akan lahir hubungan timbal balik yang erat diantara kedua golongan yang merupakan masyarakat seluruhnya. Demi kepentingan bersama tidak dapat diizinkan orang2 dari klan yang satu bersaing atau bermusuhan dengan anggota2 klan yang lain. Keseimbangan masyarakat menjadi terjamin.

Untuk perkawinan mereka individu2 Moni tergantung pada masyarakat umum, karena perkawinan diatur melalui mas kawin. Mas kawin itu terdiri dari sejumlah kulit kerang ("kigi") diantaranya ada yang tidak dapat diperoleh individu melalui usaha2nya sendiri. Kulit kerang yang lebih berharga didaerah Kugapa terbatas jumlahnya dan hanya diberikan oleh saudara2 si calon suami jikalau mereka itu menyetujui perkawinannya, sebaliknya juga saudara2 calon isteri harus bersedia menerima kulit kerang yang dimaksudkan, sebagai tanda persetujuan mereka atas perkawinan. Kulit kerang berharga itu terutama jenis2 yang bernama "indo" dan "hondo" hanya dipakai sebagai alat mas kawin saja. Barang2 itu beredar didalam masyarakat Kugapa sebagai unsur2 pengikat antara golongan golongan, lagipula ada hubungannya dengan waktu kuno yaitu ketika nenek moyang mereka sering mengadakan perjanjian2 tentang "indo" dan "hondo" yangmana harus ditepati oleh keturunan mereka dikemudian hari.

Peranan "sonowi" ialah sebagai pemimpin2 masyarakat. Didaerah Kugapa terdapat sejumlah orang2 yang dinamakan "sonowi" untuk membedakan mereka itu dari orang2 biasa ("deba mene"). Sonowi2 itu dapat dipandang sebagai pembimbing kelompok perkampungan atau kelompok garis keturunan (lineage-group). Gelar sonowi itu diberikan kepada mereka itu berhubung dengan jasa dan sifat pribadi masing2 dan tidak diwariskan begitu saja, meskipun bagi putra sulung seorang sonowi ada kemungkinan besar menggantikan ayahnya dalam status sonowi. Sonowi dianggap seorang kaya yang memiliki kulit kerang yang berharga, mempunyai kebun besar, banyak babi dan sebagainya. Biasanya ia seorang poligam, harus bijaksana, murah hati, berani, sehat dan cakap berbicara. Ia seorang yang berhasil baik dalam segala usaha dan karena suksesnya mencerminkan cita2 orang2 Moni. Hal itu menyebabkan orang2 lain memandang kelakuan sonowi sebagai pedoman untuk mengatur hidup mereka sendiri serta minta pertolongan dari

padanya dan mengikuti nasehat yang diberikannya. Sonowi tidak mengeluarkan perintah2 langsung kepada orang2 lain daripada keluarganya sendiri. Peranan sonowi itu sewajarnya dilaksanakan dengan mengindahkan unsur2 demokrasi. Se orang sonowi selalu mendengarkan tanggapan dan pendapat pengikut2nya dan kemudian diambilnya keputusan. Tugas utamanya dilakukannya sebagai perantara dalam hal2 perselisihan yang timbul umpamanya yang berhubungan dengan pembagian tanah atau dalam mengadili perkara2 zinah, pelanggaran hak orang lain (umpamanya babi merusak kebun keluarga lain) dsb.nya. Pentinglah juga peranannya sebagai pelindung kulit kerang yang dipakai untuk mengurus perkawinan2 orang2 segaris keturunan.

#### Kata penutup.

Dengan apa yang ditulis diatas ini penulis yakin bahwa ia telah menyajikan suatu gambaran umum tentang pengertian kehidupan bermasyarakat diantara orang2 Moni didaerah Kugapa. Banyak soal seharusnya diselidiki lebih teliti. Harapan penulis bahwa tulisannya ini dapat menarik perhatian seorang antropolog lain untuk melanjutkan penyelidikan tersebut.



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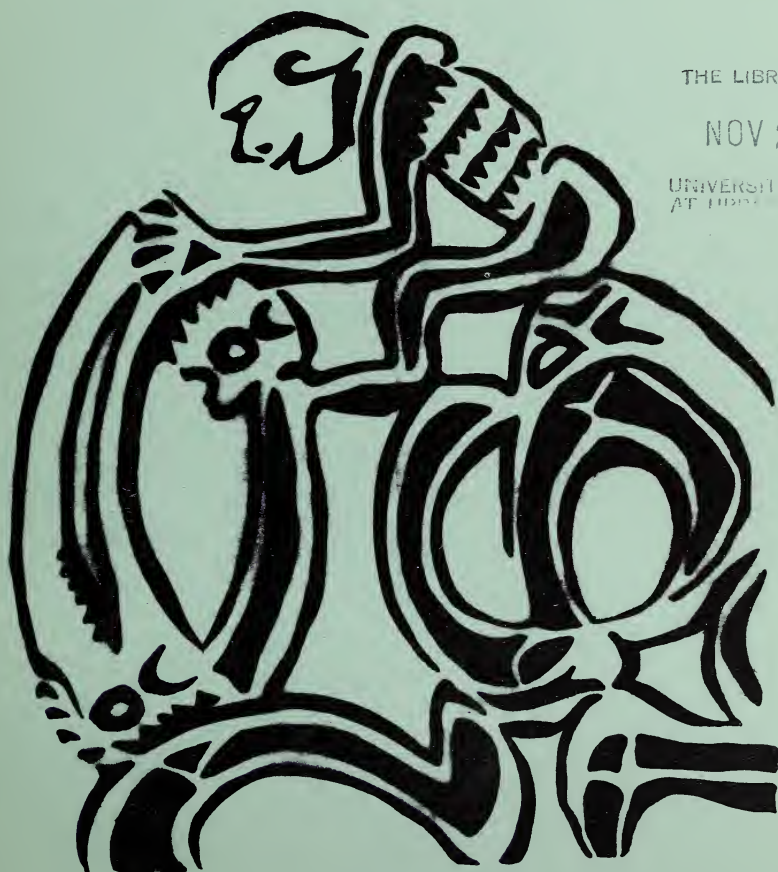
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The map on page 7 was drawn by R.D. Mitton,  
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## ETHNIC GROUPS IN IRIAN JAYA

Myron Bromley

IKHTISAR :

Dari suatu penyelidikan kelompok ethnic di daerah Dani Pegunungan Jayawijaya, maka perhatian kami tertuju kepada kelompok2 bahasa dibagian lainnya dari propinsi ini serta hubungan2nya kearah timur didalam wilayah Papua New Guinea dan kearah barat ke pulau2 Indonesia lainnya, khususnya Timor dan Halmahera utara dengan Morotai.

Terdapat juga daerah2 penting di Irian Jaya yang belum disinggung dalam pembicaraan, khususnya dataran2 rendah antara Pegunungan Tengah dan daerah2 pedalaman pesisir pantai utara. Kebanyakan daerah2 itu amat tipis penduduknya dan tidak dikenal dalam hubungan bahasa, tetapi kemajuan2 pesat dari pemerintah, misi dan gereja2 akan segera memberikan data2 yang berguna. Data2 bahasa telah dilaporkan dari beberapa sumber sekitar Mamberamo, tetapi tidak tersedia untuk keperluan studi ini, pun mereka rupanya tidak layak diterima dalam prosedur2 penggolongan dari ahli2 bahasa yang telah merintis jalan kearah itu. Daerah sebelah timur Kepala Burung juga merupakan daerah yang tidak dikenal terkecuali Waropen, Wandamen dan sedikit mengenai daerah Iirutu dan beberapa bahasa2 disemenanjung Bomberai (Anceaux 1958, 1961). Meskipun peta bahasa dari Irian Jaya sekarang memuat sejumlah kelompok2 bahasa non-Austronesia yang berarti. Sekitar tahun 1962 Capell melaporkan sbb: "Gambaran umum tidak dapat diberikan mengenai bahasa2 di Irian Jaya didalam arti familie atau kelompok2 lainnya" (1962a:4). Sebetulnya itu adalah suatu keterangan yang sangat pesimis dari apa yang diketahui pada waktu itu. Satu kesulitan utama dewasa ini yaitu penggolongan mengenai kelompok2 induk. Banyak karya/tulisan2 masih dibutuhkan bagi lebih banyak bahasa2 daerah ini dan prosedur statistik masih mempunyai suatu bidang luas yang diperlukan untuk memberikan suatu gambaran tentang hubungan bahasa. Walaupun saatnya telah tiba untuk memulai suatu karya yang teliti dalam mengadakan hubungan dan menetapkan proto-forms, kemudian membandingkan rekonstruksi usul-asal bahasa2. Karya ini telah dimulai di Irian Jaya tetapi sangat sedikit.

Dapatkah ditetapkan daerah2 kebudayaan dengan sukses sebagai kelompok2 bahasa ? Tentu sekali ada kejadian2 yang tersebar luas yang dapat dijadikan contoh2; nama kesatuan2 politik, nama aseli tentang hubungan kekerabatan; pagutan ular yang dianggap sebagai akibat kematian-- dan lain2 sebagainya. Ahli2 ethnography yang baik sangat terbatas di daerah ini, lagipula jumlahnya tidak bertambah seperti di Papua New Guinea. Apabila lebih banyak karya/tulisan2 telah diadakan, maka perbandingan ethnography yang hanya dangkal itu akan menjadi jelas.

Ever since the time of Friedrich Müller, at least, the term "Papuan" has covered a multitude of unclassified languages and cultures in the New

Guinea area (cf Grace 1959:4). Except for the pioneering work of Father W. Schmidt, S. H. Ray and more lately Capell, this classificatory wilderness remained largely unpenetrated.<sup>1</sup> In the past ten years, however the picture has been rapidly changing, thanks in large measure to the work of S. Wurm (e.g. 1960, 1964) and very recently C. L. Voorhoeve (1968). Since progress in the western half of the island is less well known and has been documented primarily in scattered work by Cowan (e.g. 1953, 1957, 1958, 1960, 1963, 1965) and Anceaux (e.g. 1958, 1961, 1965) and unpublished work by Larson (ms), a survey of our present knowledge is perhaps of value. Unfortunately not all of the surveys and publications that are available are helpful. Boelaars summarized Father Drabbe's pioneering contributions to our knowledge of the languages of the south coast of Irian Jaya, but the work is mainly typological in its classificatory procedures (1950). Even some very recent work is mistaken and misleading. One of the otherwise very valuable ethnological descriptions of Grand Valley Dani culture contains a map of the Dani area which includes the Goliath mountain "pygmies" within the area and excludes from it well known Western Dani centres like Ilaga and Sinak valleys (Broekhuijse 1967: 14). The Goliath area was included on the basis of photographs published by the Saulnier "mud-beneath-sky-above" expedition, which Broekhuijse somehow thought showed "strong conformity" to the Dani culture (1967: 16), but no reason for the omissions is given. Wurm's only published classification of highlands languages in Irian Jaya is based on inadequate data (1960: 131), and some of the most exciting indications of large groups of genetically related Papuan languages are only now appearing, with little yet published. The purpose of this paper is to present a picture of ethnic groups in one part of highlands Irian Jaya where the writer has some first-hand experience, to indicate the sorts of problems encountered in classifying these groups, and then to survey ethnic and/or linguistic groups in the remainder of Irian Jaya and their ties with groups in adjacent areas in other islands of eastern Indonesia and in Australian New Guinea.

#### THE DANI AREA.

The writer's first-hand experience has been largely in the Grand

Valley of the Balim (Indonesian spelling), in what is now commonly referred to as the Dani area. On October 29, 1909, the first reported contact by Europeans with mountain people of New Guinea was with people along the upper Lorentz River who identified themselves as Pesegem and Morip (Lorentz 1913). In the early twenties the Kremer expeditions reported the names Timorini and Oeringoep for the population of the Swart valley (Le Roux 1948: 7). People who live there now can make no sense of either name (O'Brien 1969)! Apparently the name Ndani, in that form, came into the literature at the time of the Stirling expedition of 1926 (Le Roux 1948: 7). Recent additions to the gazetteer include Dugum and Wiligiman-Walaloe (Heider n.d.); Wiligiman (Broekhuijse 1967); Jalé (Koch 1968); and Wanggulam (Ploeg 1969). Who are these people, and what do these names mean?

All of the groups referred to in the last paragraph speak languages of a single family which may be called the greater Dani language family (Bromley 1967). However none of the speakers of these languages would refer to himself with this label used in this sense. Some Grand Valley people identify themselves, in some contexts, as members of the Lani or Dani clan, a rather small clan among many. Perhaps most of the speakers of the Western Dani language would call their language Laany and themselves Laany men; the term is probably cognate with the Grand Valley clan name, which perhaps derives from it. Their Damal and Moni neighbors refer to them as Dani. Sometimes people of other ethnic groups include the Western Dani and the people of the Grand Valley in a single class. Often that class excludes speakers of some related languages, particularly Ndugwa and Wano, which are typically spoken in small valleys north and south of the larger, central valleys. In the eastern part of this area people from the outer valleys are often labeled contrastively with reference to the central group. Many speakers from the lower Grand Valley label the populations outside the ranges rimming the Balim with the term Ngalik 'outside the ranges', and the latter people label the populations in the central valleys as Kupla 'in the valley'. Each of these labels classifies a group of people who, in contrast to members of the oppositely labeled group, share many cultural traits and patterns, speak languages



of a single sub-family and occupy areas similar in terrain.

These people themselves identify their ethnicity more frequently in terms of smaller groups, depending on the context. A traveler meeting new people frequently reveals his moiety and/or clan in order to identify himself with his hosts along a dimension useful in establishing trade or possibly marriage ties. He identifies his home area, when away from it, in geographical terms, usually valley names. Some geographical labels are conventional in such contexts. Kynyageima, for example, is the name for a single valley, the valley of the Kynyage, when it is used in that area. Outside the area it refers to that valley and two others in the same watershed which are inhabited by members of a single political confederacy.

On his home ground a person most often identifies himself and is identified by his political group, made up, as locals see it, of members of named clans who live in a defined area. The category name for these groups ambiguously refers to clan (Murdock's sib), or the smaller local political group, which is usually named for two clans of opposite moiety represented in its membership, or the larger political group named for one of the constituent smaller groups. When asked, "What is the name of your vkyl?" or "What (sort of) man are you?" a Grand Valley Dani may reply with any of these three conceptually distinct sorts of names, although the latter question more often prompts an answer in terms of clan membership. Pesegem and Morip, the first ethnic labels reported from this area, are names for widely distributed clans of opposite moieties. Wiligiman is in fact a double label for a smaller political group named for the Wilil and Heiman clans, and Wiligiman-Walaloea is a doubling of doubled labels for two such political groups closely knit together. The larger political group, which may conveniently be called a larger confederacy, includes from one to perhaps ten thousand members, and there are a few more than twenty of these large units in the Grand Valley and Balim gorge area (cf Peters 1965: 59). The larger confederacies are related to some others as allies, to still others as enemies on a shorter or longer term basis. In the North Balim and other Western Dani areas, alliances appear to be for shorter periods related to specific wars. In most of Grand Valley and the

gorge, they are for longer periods, extending in some cases over several generations of traditional enemy relationships.

These political units are not always congruent with linguistic or cultural groups. In the Ilaga valley, some units with paired names are comprised of Western Dani clan segments linked with Damal clan segments and so named, although Damals speak a language related only very distantly to Dani. The Pasema confederacy of the southwest side of the lower Balim gorge includes speakers of two languages of one major sub-family and one language of the other main sub-family of the greater Dani family, but the confederacy is commonly referred to as one political unit, Pasema or Hugusema.

The most inclusive classification used in these areas is the label "people", but this is not limited to speakers of a Dani language. Speakers of Ekagi/Kapauku (both outsiders' names for the people of the Paniai-Tage-Tigi-Kamu-Mapija area) do indeed refer to themselves as me 'people' in contrast to those of other languages and cultures. But in the Dani area, "people" is a term contrasting with "ghosts", and clearly all highlands people known to the Dani were included in the "people" class. Coastal people and Europeans, both unknown until recent years, were sometimes excluded, sometimes included as marginal "people" in contrast to the "real people", or sometimes, usually after some period of acquaintance, fully included in the class "people".

Dani ethnic identifications thus involve factors of prestige and ecology in the 'inner' and 'outer' valley labels; linguistic and other cultural factors are also operative in those classifications. These large, high level groupings are made and used largely by persons who travel extensively themselves, meet many travelers or live in a poly-cultural or poly-lingual valley. In mid-Grand Valley, where trade is carried on often by small colonies or groups of bilinguals, the majority of the population is linguistically and culturally homogeneous and is untraveled. High level language or culture labels are much more rarely heard there than in Western Dani areas, where a relatively large percentage of the population has traveled to some other valley and encountered speakers of other languages.

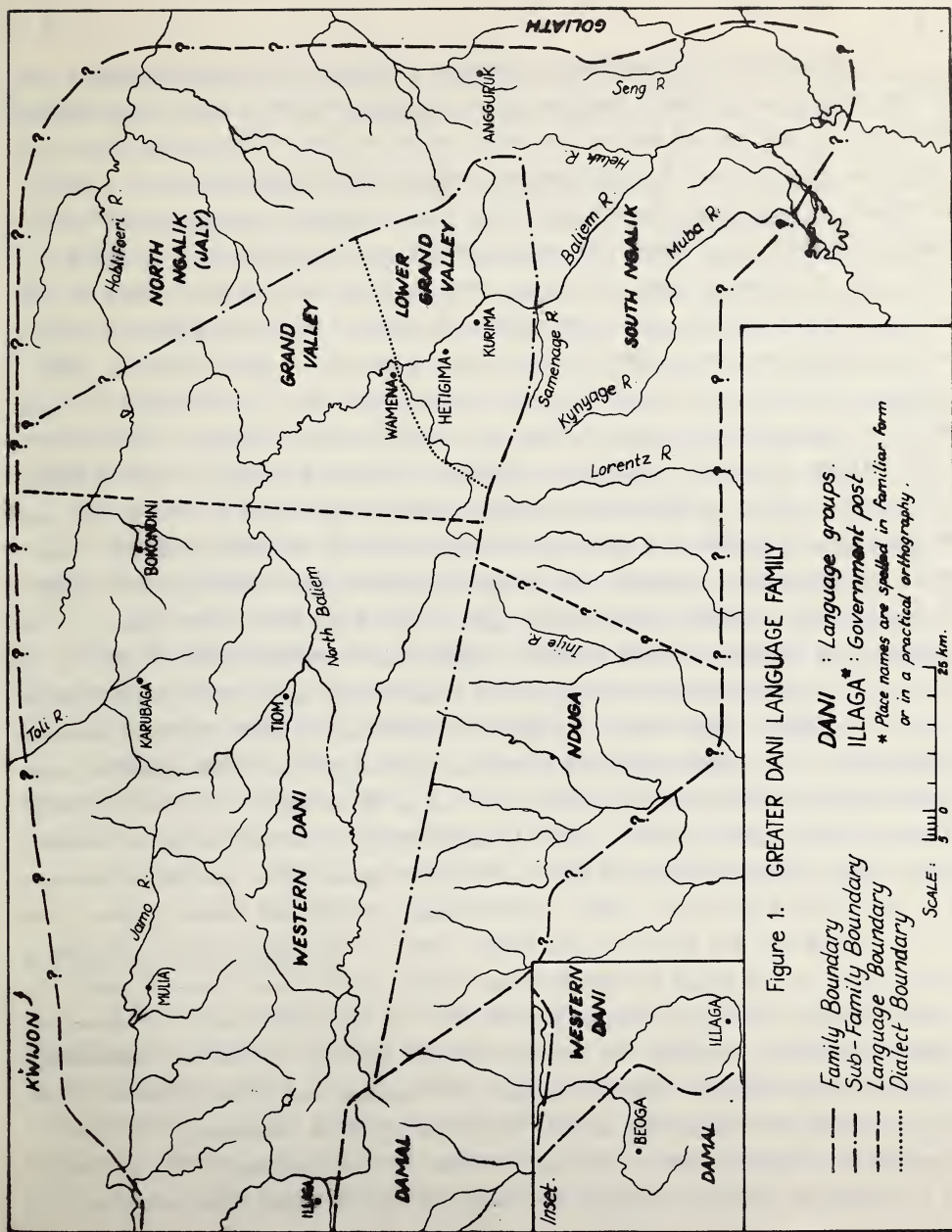
Identification in terms of political confederacy membership is the most common kind of ethnic labeling in the Grand Valley area, as we have noted, and is a very common kind of classification throughout the Dani area. The first contact in the upper Lorentz valley was with people at home, who referred to themselves with clan names, perhaps as names for their political units. Many of the later contacts with people of this area were with travelers away from home or with people in the western, poly-lingual valleys, so that the name Ndani or Dani for speakers of the Laany language and others grouped with them was frequently recorded.

We may now survey what we know of linguistic relationships in the greater Dani family, as they are indicated on Map 1 (cf Bromley 1967). Western Dani is the fairly homogeneous group of mutually intelligible dialects labeled by many of the speakers as the Laany language. It is spoken in all the North Balim, the Swart valley system, most of the Sinak and upper Jamo or Nogolo, most of the Ilaga, in enclaves in the Beoga, Dugindoga and upper Kemandoga valleys, in the extreme upper Hablifoerie watershed around Bokondini, the top of Grand Valley and in enclaves in the upper Kimbin and Bele or Ibele valleys.

Grand Valley Dani is a chain of dialects each intelligible with the next from the Pyramid mountain area in upper Grand Valley to the Samenage river on the southwest side of the gorge and a little below the Wet river on the northeast side of the gorge; dialects of this chain are also spoken in enclaves between Grand Valley and Archbold Lake and between Grand Valley and some North Ngalik or Jaly populations. There is no local term used by people in this area for this whole dialect chain; the opposite ends of the chain are mutually unintelligible dialects. Grand Valley Dani and Western Dani constitute a sub-family within the greater Dani family.

Wano is spoken on the north side of the Jamo valley, a fringe area of low population density and much poly-lingualism. The name Wano is used both by speakers of the language and others to identify them. It probably constitutes a separate sub-family within the greater Dani family, but further study may put it within the central Dani sub-family.





The other main sub-family includes all the other known languages of the family and covers a U-shaped area to the north and south of the central Balim valley system and across the Balim gorge at the southern edge of highlands population. The northeastern arm of this U stretches from a point northeast of Bokondini through the outer pass or Landik valley, through the Abagapsili area, on through the western three and west side of the fourth valley of the five valleys of Jalymo, then south across the main range to the Seng and Heluk valleys, along the northeast side of the Balim gorge up a bit past the Kwik and the southwest side of the gorge up to about the Elu. The dialects spoken in all these areas are structurally and in vocabulary very similar, and apparently most of them are mutually intelligible. People from Grand Valley call most of this area Jalymo, but do not normally include the Balim gorge, Heluk or Seng valleys; the language and people of Jalymo are called Jaly. However, the people of these areas use the term Jaly not to refer to themselves, usually, but to people farther east, particularly those of the Goliath language family area. The latter also employ what is apparently a variant of this term for people in the eastern part of their territory, in contrast with those in the western part; the usage is apparently relative to where the speaker is (Sadlier 1969ms). The term seems in all these areas to be translatable by 'east', not as a point of the compass contrasted with three other points, but as a point oriented toward the source of some kinds of shell goods. This is contrasted, for people in the 'Jalymo' area, with a term cognate with Kupla, which may be glossed 'in the valley', i.e. the Grand Valley, the other conceptualized end of the trade route.

From the Elu creek in the Pasema area on the southwest side of the Balim gorge up the gorge to the Samenage river, up the south side of that river and over the range through all the Mvba or Moba watershed, the Wusak or upper Lorentz and probably the Hela and Wylygy valleys, a chain of languages or dialects are spoken. These languages or dialects and their inter-relationships are not yet adequately known. Speakers of these languages or dialects apparently recognize most if not all of them as 'our language', and all may be dialects of a single language for which no single label is widely used.

The term south Ngalik is simply a specification and application of the Lower Grand Valley term for the languages and cultures outside the ranges along the Balim valley.

Probably between the Wylgy and Inije valleys is a language break beyond which Ndugwa is spoken. This is a chain of dialects spoken in the Inije, Mbuwa, Jigi-Mugi and Mapnduma areas and in a few valleys farther west to the Halama and Bela valleys, small valleys of slight population, where there is reported to be considerable bilingualism between Ndugwa and Damal. Ndugwa is also spoken by enclaves in the Sinak, Dugindoga and Uwe valleys, and the speakers refer to themselves and are referred to by others as Ndugwa. They and the speakers of what is here called south Ngalik are grouped together by many lower Grand Valley speakers as Ngalik 'outside the rim', and, as we have noted, some speakers include the Jaly area as well in this term. All the languages in this long U-shaped area comprise a single sub-family of the greater Dani language family; each language in the chain is more closely related to the next language in the chain than to any language of the central sub-family. The kinship terminologies in these languages group a woman's children with a man's children; the terminologies in the Western Dani and Grand Valley areas distinguish them. Many culture similarities, which are contrastive with the central valleys, are reported from this whole U-shaped outer area. A single basic pattern of women's skirt occurs throughout the area, house types are similar and, probably because of similar ecological situations, some minor crops uncommon in the central valleys are planted in all this area.

#### PROBLEMS OF CLASSIFICATION.

In this language and culture area, what ethnic identifications and groupings are most useful for the ethnographer? Clearly the answer depends on the focus and purpose of his study, but certain general principles appear to be relevant. First, groups are most helpfully established on locally relevant criteria, criteria that are contrastive in some contexts for the people being classified. The wooden application of analytical criteria



defined in terms extrinsic to the data is not very illuminating and is sometimes impossible. Naroll suggests, for example, criteria of distance measured in kilometers or visits per year counted as a basis for establishing contact links in defining groups (1964: 287). In the precipitous highlands of Irian Jaya where travel for local people is on foot and where long-standing enemy boundaries could not normally be crossed peacefully, such criteria are meaningless. The writer lived for more than two years in an area separated by less than thirty miles of quite flat terrain from the site of the spectacular American parachute and glider rescue operation of 1945. Careful and repeated inquiry failed to uncover any knowledge of that operation, although some people had heard that a plane had crashed. The rescue was conducted in a well populated corner of Grand Valley, but one separated from the area of my inquiry by two major fighting boundaries. On the other hand, people in that same area of study had heard of penetrations by white men into valleys south of the range, areas at least as far away as the crow flies and actually separated by a very high pass, over 13,000' above sea level. Distance must be measured in terms of effective interaction, and in the context of the periodic major pig feasts characteristic of highlands New Guinea, such interaction may be maintained by contact much less frequent than once a year.

Extrinsically defined criteria of language relationship are also confusing. Naroll (1967: 77) suggests that two basic vocabulary lists with 80 % of the contained words occurring with 80 % of their phonemes in the same order represent two dialects of a single language. Laycock and Wurm tried similarly to define the dialect/language break in terms of a fixed percentage of cognate basic vocabulary. Such criteria are operationally convenient when viewed from a distance, but do not work on the ground. As Hymes has carefully pointed out (1967) and the writer has argued (1967:297), the difference between dialect and language involves not only percentage of cognate basic vocabulary items but also congruity of phonological, grammatical and semantic patterns. Two different pairs of isolects or language varieties, each sharing nearly identical percentages of cognate basic vocabulary, have been

observed to permit ready communication by monolinguals after a very brief contact in the one case and to fail to permit effective communication after a month of continuous contact in the other. Sankoff reports similar phenomena from the Morobe district of Australian New Guinea (1969). The point is not that measurement of cognate basic vocabulary is irrelevant. On the contrary, much of the recent advance in the classification of New Guinea languages has been in lexico-statistical studies. However, the subgrouping of dialects into languages, languages into families and families into larger groups needs to arise from the data rather than be woodenly imposed on the data.

It is to be noted, however, that the ethnographer may often wish to utilize locally relevant criteria to label a group left unlabeled by its members. We have noted that speakers of Dani languages do exactly this themselves. Grand Valley speakers label as Ngalik 'those outside the rim' people who do not themselves use this or any other label for this higher level grouping, or even recognize the group. Those labeled Ngalik in this way in turn use identical kinds of criteria to classify Grand Valley people in a category not recognized by the latter. It is no accident that many New Guinea ethnic group names are outsiders' names for groups the members of which do not recognize or label this larger unit, e.g. Sentani (Cowan 1965 : 1).

The crucial issues in ethnic classification are those connected with defining the groups under study in relationship to other related groups. What smaller groups are included in the group? In what larger groups is the proposed taxon included? In short, what is the position of this group in a reasonable taxonomy of ethnic groups in the area? In much of the available literature, names are given in a list, or on a map, and they comprise no set other than the trivial set 'names on this list' or 'names on this map'. At the present, rigorous taxonomic classification of ethnic groups in Irian Jaya is only possible in terms of linguistic relationships. Much careful comparative work in defined domains of culture needs to be done before any very meaningful classification of New Guinea groups on other than linguistic

criteria will be possible.

#### OTHER LANGUAGE GROUPS IN IRIAN JAYA

Austronesian. In Irian Jaya as well as the eastern half of New Guinea there are exciting indications of significant progress in language classification. Not many years ago the linguistic map of Irian Jaya had only two contrastive categories, Austronesian and non-Austronesian (see Esser 1938). Even that dichotomy is not without complexities. Müller, who introduced the term 'Papuan' for classifying languages, himself applied it to Numfur, which has now long been recognized as Austronesian (cf Grace 1959: 4). And so recent a study as the survey of Papuan languages by Cestmir Loukotka maps Wandamen, Bentuni and Tobati as Papuan (1957: map opposite 32), although all these are generally considered to be Austronesian. He also maps Moi as Austronesian, but this is less surprising, for it is one of several Bird's Head languages which include some Austronesian cognates in their basic vocabularies but structurally conform to a non-Austronesian pattern. After a period of indecision (1953: 49), Cowan classified these languages as non-Austronesian, arguing that there were as many correspondences with the non-Austronesian languages of North Halmahera as with Austronesian and that the former involved longer sequences of comparable phonemes which are thus statistically more significant. He further argued that borrowing from Austronesian was a common feature in these areas, but borrowing from North Halmahera "is practically excluded because of the geographical situation" (1957a: 82). Here he neglects to note the very sweeping influence of the sultanates of Ternate and Tidore through this very area. However, the correspondences with North Halmaheran languages are no more significantly with Ternate and Tidore than with other languages of the area. This problem is only illustrative of the problems involved in this area where Melanesian languages have apparently borrowed non-Melanesian vocabulary and even structural features, and non-Melanesian languages have borrowed in the reverse direction. If Cowan's solution for the western Bird's-Head languages is sound, as it seems to be, there is little indeterminacy remaining in the



classification of languages of Irian Jaya either as basically Austronesian or basically non-Austronesian.<sup>2</sup>

Dyen's sweeping classification of Austronesian languages by means of lexico-statistical comparisons has provided the most significant grouping of the Austronesian languages of Irian Jaya. He groups most of these into four higher level taxa but leaves five languages as isolated taxa. The higher level taxa are the Bigic Cluster, including a subgroup consisting of Buli of southern Halmahera and Minyafuin of Waigeo island, and the As language (location in Irian Jaya not specified) and the Biga language located on Wakde. The second higher level group is the Sarmic hesion, including a Sobeic subfamily consisting of Sobei and Moar, both located in Dyen's finder list on Wakde, and Tarpia and Bonggo from farther east along the coast. The third group is the Geelvink Hesion, including the Biakic subfamily of Biak and Numfor and the Wandamic subfamily of Wandamen and Japen. The fourth group is the Hollandia subfamily, including the Tobatic subfamily of Tobati and Kajupulau and the language of Ormu. In this list perhaps some geographic locations are in error. It is at least rather remarkable that the tiny island of Wakde, about a mile in diameter, is listed as the home of speakers of three languages of two major taxa. This is possible, of course, and all the samples bear the initials GG in the finder list, indicating that Grace provided them from his trip through the area. However Dutch authors refer Sobeic to the Sarmi area and speak of 'the language of Wakde' (cf Cowan 1953: 4; 1952b: 173).

The five languages left ungrouped are located on the Bomberai peninsula and the Waropen coast, and include Sekar, Kuiwai (also called Kuiu, Kowiai and Namatota), Arguni, Kasira (also called Irahutu, Irarutu, Irutu) and Waropen. Anceaux had earlier reported much closer relationships between Waropen and Wandamen, with 50 % shared basic vocabulary, and between Kasira or Irarutu and Biak, with 29 %, Irarutu and Wandamen, with 28 %, and Irarutu and Waropen, with 27 %, than Dyen's figures of 18.9 % as the highest percentage for Kasira and 13.6 % as the highest percentage for Waropen (Anceaux 1961: 145ff, Dyen 1965: 28). After Grace commented on the figures for Jautefa and Tobati, languages of the Jayapura (formerly Hollandia) area, Dyen rechecked

them and revised the percentage of shared vocabulary from 36.9% to 65.4%. This and Anceaux's figures indicate that careful recheck of probable cognates among these languages might yield significantly different results. However, even the radical revision noted (Dyen 1965: 59), did not alter the major classification, and the remarkable result of Dyen's work is the documentation of many taxa of Austronesian languages in Melanesia, including several in Irian Jaya, which are of equal taxonomic rank with the whole Malayopolynesian group. Whatever the source of this divergence,<sup>2</sup> the classification is highly important both for its results and for its method, by which subgroupings are determined lexicostatistically not by fixed percentage limits but by clustering phenomena in the data.

Non-Austronesian: highlands phylum. The more interesting developments in language classification are in the non-Austronesian areas. Moving out from the greater Dani language family surveyed earlier in this paper, we may note relationships with neighboring languages. Dem, a language spoken by a relatively small number of people living mainly on the north side of the Jamo branch of the upper Rouffaer, constitutes a separate language family. Dani shares about 10 % basic vocabulary with Dem. Dem in turn has as its closest relative Damal or Uhunduni, a group of largely mutually intelligible dialects including Amung, the southern dialects labeled Enggipiloe and Ingki-poeloe in early reports (Le Roux 1950: 953). Dem shares a little less than 15 % basic vocabulary with Damal according to a recent recheck (Ellenberger, personal communication). Moving west we come to the family consisting of Kapauku or Ekagi (including dialects also called Tapiro, Simori, and Auwje or Jabi), Moni (also reported as Djonggunu, a clan name, and Migani) and Woda (or Wolani); these share 40 % or more cognates with each other. Damal shares about 10 % cognates with Kapauku and Woda, perhaps as much as 17 % with Moni, according to an early reckoning by Larson (ms). He also calculated that Western Dani shares about 13 % cognates with Moni and Woda and 11 % with Kapauku. Dani shares less than 5 % cognates with Damal. Thus these languages comprise four separate language families; within each family languages share a minimum of 40 % basic vocabulary. Together they may be described as a

phylum, each family in which is tied to more than one other family by 10 % or more shared vocabulary. If one wishes to make an intermediate level grouping, the figures would indicate the legitimacy of grouping the Ekagi-Moni-Woda family with the Dem family and the Damal family in one sub-phylum, leaving the greater Dani family in another sub-phylum.<sup>3</sup> The phylum may conveniently be labeled the Irian Jaya highlands phylum (cf Bromley 1967: 300).

The Central and South New Guinea phylum: 1) the Goliath or Kim-Jal

family. East of the Irian Jaya highlands phylum, specifically east of the Dani family, is the Goliath family (Bromley 1967:), for which one of the workers in the area has recently suggested the name Kim-Jal (Sadlier 1969). On the north side of the range the boundary between Dani and this family follows the Obagak river in the Jalymo area of the Hablifoerie headwaters, then runs northward to include the Usageek 'valley of the seventy' (S. Zöllner, personal communication). South of the range, this boundary is between the Seng valley and the Erok valley. From these boundaries with Dani, this language family stretches eastward and includes all the valleys of the Marijke or A river system on the north side of the range, including Ok Bi, the easternmost valley in this system, where Kupel is spoken. Kupel is also spoken in a few villages south of the range on the upper Ok Tjop, just north of Ok Sibil (Brongersma and Venema 1963: 258, Pouwer 1964: 135). From there westward languages of this family, including that early reported for Goliath mountain 'pygmies' (de Kock 1912, reported in Le Roux 1950: 902-913), are spoken as far as the boundary with Dani. In contrast with Dani languages, so far as is known, these languages are reported to be spoken both north and south of the range down to very low altitudes where sago is commonly eaten and canoes are used (Sadlier 1969). Only the language spoken at Naltja has been studied in any detail; it is clearly tonal, with two contrastive levels demonstrated (Bromley ms). Sadlier has prepared a very useful introduction to this language and corrects the misimpression hesitantly reported by Healey (1964a: 43) that Kupel is a dialect of Ngalum, and the misimpression left by my article (1967: 299) that the Goliath languages are about equally unrelated



to Dani and to the Ok languages. He says that a rough count gives Kupel 24 % possible cognate basic vocabulary with Ngalum, the Ok language spoken at Ok Sibil, but 70 to 75 % shared basic vocabulary with the Naltja language. Healey had scored a count of de Kock's list to yield 10 % cognates with Ok (1964: 116), and C. L. Voorhoeve claims 25 % possible cognates from a recheck of the lists (1968: 10). My own recheck of an improved list for Naltja against Healey's lists shows eight clear cognates out of 81 comparable items, plus several doubtful, possible cognates. Thus the Goliath family is clearly a group of closely related languages, sharing 50 % or more basic vocabulary with each other (cf Bromley 1967: 299), but this family is also clearly related at a higher level to the Ok family of languages with perhaps 10 to 25 % shared basic vocabulary. In contrast, there are still, on better lists carefully rechecked, only three or four possible cognates with Dani on the Swadesh hundred word list.

2) The Ok family. The Ok family has been very carefully documented and proto-Ok reconstructed by Alan Healey (1964); his work is the most extensive piece of comparative linguistic study yet carried out or reported in New Guinea. The family includes two sub-families, Mountain Ok, to which Teléfol and several other languages spoken in Australian New Guinea belong, and Lowland Ok, including languages spoken along the western bend of the Fly river. In Irian Jaya, Ngalum, the language spoken at Ok Sibil and northward across the range at Kiwirok, belongs to the Mountain Ok sub-family. Just south of the Ngalum area in the valley of the Iwur river another language is spoken which is apparently intelligible to speakers of Kati or Muju, and these languages belong to the lowland Ok sub-family (Healey 1964: 43-4). Healey divides Kati into two languages, northern Kati and southern Kati, and notes that Iwur and Jonggom may be dialects of the former. He also lists Ninggirum, spoken along the international boundary east of the Kati area, in the lowland Ok sub-family.

3) The Awju family. Healey in 1964 (116) noted the relationship of the Ok family to the Awju family, best known from the descriptions published by

Father Drabbe (1957, 1959). These have been reassessed lexico-statistically by C. L. Voorhoeve, who suggests that what Father Drabbe called six dialects are probably six different languages: Syiagha and Yenimu, sharing 78 % basic vocabulary; Pisa and Aghu, sharing 66 %, and Kaeti and Wambon, sharing 64 %. Syiagha shares 54 % basic vocabulary with Pisa, which shares 38 % with Kaeti, and this in turn shares only 31 % with Syiagha (Voorhoeve 1968: 4). These languages are located over a wide area of the inland lowlands in southeastern Irian Jaya. Wambon and Kaeti, commonly grouped together and called Dumut or Mandobo, are spoken along the Mandobo river west of the Kati area; Wambon is spoken upstream, Kaeti downstream. Aghu, often referred to as Djair, is spoken between the Digul and Mapi rivers west of Tanahmerah, and Pisa is spoken farther on to the west along the upper Kampong river. Syiagha and Yenimu or Jenimu are spoken north of the lower Digul. Besides these languages Sawi, spoken in the hinterlands along the first river north of the Cook river, is being studied by missionary D. Richardson, who notes its affiliation with Awju (personal communication). Whether the relationship is at the language family level or more remote is unreported. For the Awju family as a whole, Voorhoeve calculates a close relationship to the Ok family as indicated by 28 % shared basic vocabulary between Aghu and both Kati and Telefol (1968: 5).

4) Kamoro-Sempan-Asmat family. Along the south coast from a point a ways southeast of Cook's Bay west to Etna Bay are spoken closely related languages. The easternmost of these, Asmat, has been studied by Drabbe (1963), Voorhoeve (1965) and Roesler (ms). Varying dialects are spoken along the coast from a point between Cook's Bay and the mouth of the Digul westward to a bit beyond the mouth of the Momac or Le Cocq d'Armandville, and in one separated area east of the confluence of the Eilanden and the Wildeman. West of the Momac is an uninhabited strip, then from the Otakwa to the Mukamuga a language Drabbe calls Sempan (1963: 2) is spoken; from there west to Etna Bay the language commonly referred to as Mimika or Kamoro is spoken. Others view Sempan and Kamoro as dialects of a single language. Inland from the Sempan area a language called Nafaripi is spoken; this is reported by a

missionary working in the area to be a dialect of Komoro (C. Rasher, personal communication), but no figures or final determination of the relationship are available. Figures for the relationship of these languages are cited by Voorhoeve to indicate 70 % shared basic vocabulary for Kamoro and Asmat, and 72 % for Sempan and Asmat. This language family as represented by Asmat shows a very close relationship with Ok, indicated by 42 % common basic vocabulary with Telefol and 30 % with Kati; and also a close relationship with Awju, indicated by 34 % shared basic vocabulary with Aghu.

5) Mombum. The language spoken on Komolom island, south of Kolepom or Prince Frederik-Hendrik island, is commonly called Mombum, and has, according to Voorhoeve, its closest relationship with the Asmat-Kamoro family, indicated by 28 % shared basic vocabulary with Asmat. Voorhoeve is the first to assess the relationships of this language meaningfully.

6) Sentani. Perhaps the most exciting development in the area is the documentation of a definite and rather close relationship between Asmat and Sentani; in a paper by Voorhoeve soon to appear in Bijdragen, he indicates that this relationship is perhaps at what he calls the stock level, following Swadesh, thus indicating from 12 % to 21 % shared basic vocabulary. The common vocabulary includes terms appropriate to watery environment where canoes are used (Voorhoeve, personal communication). As last writing Voorhoeve indicated that the relationship extends on to Nimboran, earlier shown to be related to Sentani (Cowan 1957b: 113). However, that relationship must be considerably less close, if Cowan's figures for the Sentani-Nimboran relationship (six shared items out of 73) are accurate, as they should be in view of Cowan's own important work on Sentani. Voorhoeve was not at last writing sure about the Tami river group of languages along the international boundary east of Jayapura, and indicated that the Tor languages, which Cowan related to these, apparently showed no measurable relationship to the new group. This question will be discussed again below.

7) The Marind stock. The southeastern corner of Irian Jaya includes the important and widespread Marind languages, including Bian, along the Bian



river, and southeast Marind, near Merauke; these are best known from the extensive work of Father Drabbe (1955). Voorhoeve reports 67 % shared basic vocabulary between these languages, and he now (personal communication) considers these languages to comprise a family (Voorhoeve 1968: 5, and personal communication).

A second family in the Marind stock consists of the Jaqai or Yaqai language, spoken just north of the mouth of the Digul; it shares 30 % common basic vocabulary with the Marind languages (Voorhoeve 1968: 5). Jaqai is also referred to as Sohur.

A third family in the Marind stock, as Voorhoeve now outlines the relationships, is Boazi-Zimakani. Boazi is spoken just south of the easternmost bend of the Fly, and Zimakani is spoken just below the junction of the Fly and Strickland rivers. Boazi is apparently a dialect of Kuni. Other languages in Australian New Guinea or Papua belonging to this family are Baegwa and Dea, although the latter may be another name for Zimakani-Baegwa. This family was first established by Murray and Ray as the Marind-Kuni family (1918; see also Healey 1964: 108). Voorhoeve finds that Boazi shares 26 to 27 % basic vocabulary with the Marind languages and 21 % with Jaqai. This stock, represented by Bian Marind shares 12 % basic vocabulary with Asmat and also with both Kati and Telefol of the Ok family, and 15 % basic vocabulary with Awju as represented by Aghu (Voorhoeve 1968: 7). Thus this large family, in Voorhoeve's 1968 terms, or stock, as he now describes it, is very significantly related to the Ok family, the Awju family and the Kamoro-Asmat family.

8) Kiwai-Miriam stock and Tirio. The establishment of the Kiwai family was the firstfruits of the large linguistic harvest still being reaped by Wurm in New Guinea (1951). Using island Kiwai of the southern Kiwai language as representative of the family, Voorhoeve cites Wurm to the effect that Kiwai shares 27 % basic vocabulary with Miriam, spoken in the islands south of the Fly delta. Using Kiwai again as representative of this stock, he further lists 22 % shared basic vocabulary with Telefol of the Ok family,

21 % with Gogodala and 12 % with Bian Marind (1968: 7-8). Tirio is treated separately by Voorhoeve, but cited, again using Wurm's data, to have 22 % shared basic vocabulary with Kiwai. It is questionable whether the difference in degree of relatedness of Tirio with Kiwai ~~as~~ compared to the relatedness of Miriam with Kiwai is sufficient to exclude Tirio from this stock, except on a rather wooden application of Swadesh's arbitrary cut-off points.

9) Gogidala-Suki. Although he did not group these languages in his 1968 paper, Voorhoeve now groups them (personal communication) and notes that Gogodala and Kiwai share 21 % basic vocabulary. In the absence of figures for Suki, the separate listing of this group can only be assumed to be well founded.

10) The Oriomo River family and Ag8b. Three languages, Bine or Kunini, Gidra and Gizra comprise the Oriomo river family, located just south of the Fly delta; these languages share about 32 % basic vocabulary with each other (Voorhoeve 1968:7). According to data taken by Voorhoeve from Wurm, Bine shares 20 % basic vocabulary with Kiwai, 23 % with Miriam (1968:8). The Ag8b language, also called Dabu, is spoken just to the west of the Oriomo family, and shares 16 % basic vocabulary with Bine (Voorhoeve 1968:8).

11) Middle Strickland stock. Voorhoeve now recognizes two families, Awin-Pare and Bedamini, as comprising a single stock (personal communication). Healey (1964: 116) had already established the Awin-Pare family and noted a relationship with the Ok family. Voorhoeve's fieldwork in the Nomad river area between the Strickland and the highlands has now furnished the basis for establishing the Bedamini family including the Samo, Kubo, Bibo, Bedamini or Beami and Bosavi languages. The first three are very closely related, Samo sharing 80 % basic vocabulary with Kubo and also with Bibo. Bibo shares 37 % basic vocabulary with Beami, which in turn shares 29 % with Bosavi. Beami of this family shares 18 % with Ba of Awin-Pare, and Samo shares 32 % with the same language (1968: 6). From the data presented in his 1968 paper, where these languages were classified as one Pare-Samo-Beami-Bosavi family, it is not clear why Voorhoeve now wants to classify them as a stock including two

families unless he is arbitrarily applying Swadesh's 21 % cut-off point for family level relationships, thus excluding the Ba-Beami relationship, or has new data. Since this is an area of his recent interest and specialization, one may perhaps assume the latter to be the case.

12) Fasu. This language spoken just west of Lake Kutubu had previously been noted by Wurm as not a member of his East New Guinea Highlands Stock or Phylum (1964: 80). Voorhoeve notes that it shares 12 % basic vocabulary with Beami, 19 % with Bosavi, and includes it here. The lists used for Fasu were shorter than most used in Voorhoeve's paper, including only 64 items comparable with Bosavi, and it may prove that Fasu will group more clearly with the middle Strickland stock.

13) Kolepom or Frederik-Hendrik Island family. Moving back to Irian Jaya, Voorhoeve proceeds to bring into the discussion a number of definitely but more distantly related taxa. From Drabbe's data (1949) he is able to establish Kimaghama, Riantana and Ndom, the major languages of Kolepom (formerly Frederik-Hendrik Island), as one family, with basic vocabulary shared at levels from 32 % to 43 %. This family, represented by Kimaghama, shares 11 % basic vocabulary with neighboring Mombum (which is clearly related to Asmat, as we have noted) and 7 % with Gawir Marind.

14) Yelmek and Maklew. These two languages, which share 58 % basic vocabulary and thus comprise a family, are spoken just east of Kolepom. Van Baal, referring to a comment of Father ver Scheuren, mistakenly takes these languages to be dialects of Jaqai (1966: 14-15); that comment would be appropriate for Oser, a Jaqai pocket on the south bank of the Digul, but is wrong for these languages, already grouped by Boelaars (1950: 200). Voorhoeve showing their relationship to each other, notes that this family as represented by Yelmek shares 8 % basic vocabulary with Jaqai or Yaqay, and 9 % with Gawir Marind, 10 % with Kimaghama of Kolepom (1968:9).

15) Yey, Kanum and Moraori. These three languages (the last with only forty speakers twenty years ago) are spoken in the extreme southeast corner



of Irian Jaya, crowded against the international boundary. According to Voorhoeve's figures, they are only rather distantly related to each other by percentages of shared vocabulary at the 18 % level, and this, he notes, may be inflated by shared borrowing from Marind. Maraori apparently shares 24 % basic vocabulary with Gawir Marind, but is a tiny pocket surrounded by the latter. Yey shares 10 % basic vocabulary with Gawir Marind Anim, Kanum 8 % with the same language.

16) Morehead River group. Just across the international boundary from Yey and Kanum is a group of languages earlier studied by Ray and Williams, but for which Voorhoeve could only obtain lists for three languages, Peremka, Dorro and Parb. These may well comprise a single family on the basis of the relationships among them, with from 23 % to 47 % shared basic vocabulary (Voorhoeve 1968: 9). The closest relationships with other languages, as documented by Voorhoeve, are with Agöb, the next language east, with which Dorro shares 10 % basic vocabulary. Strangely, Voorhoeve cites no figures for the relationship between the Moorehead River languages and the Yey-Kanum-Moraori group. Van Baal notes a cultural affinity between the Kanum and the Papuans of the trans-Fly (1966: 263).

17) Duna. Duna, spoken in western central highlands of Australian New Guinea, has been included by Wurm in his Eastern Highlands Stock and Phylum on the basis of between 14 % and 25 % basic vocabulary shared with other stock members, even though it is structurally aberrant (1964: 87). Voorhoeve now reports that Duna also shows on lexico-statistical grounds a "stock-level relationship" (personal communication) with mountain Ok and with languages of the Middle Strickland stock. This would mean between 12 and 21 % shared basic vocabulary. Voorhoeve concludes, "I presume that eventually it will be possible to incorporate Wurm's group into the CSNG Phylum" (personal communication). This possibility is exciting and calls for careful work. The present data might only indicate a language with genetic relationship in one direction, heavy borrowing in another, like Atjeh in Sumatra or Cham in Viet Nam (Cowan 1957a: 73ff).

18) Huon-Finisterre. In collaboration with K. McElhanon, of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Voorhoeve is preparing an article listing 53 probable cognates (presumably not restricted to basic vocabulary) between languages of the group we have been examining and the languages of the Huon peninsula phylum established by McElhanon (1967:9), along with the neighboring related Finisterre languages. Systematic establishment of sound correspondences and reconstruction of proto-forms has not yet been reported, but Voorhoeve indicates (personal communication) that these are evident in a number of cases. This is indeed dramatic progress.

The Central and South New Guinea Phylum reviewed. The discussion has rightly drawn heavily on Voorhoeve's extremely important paper (1968) and more recent comments. It should be remembered, however, that Healey in 1964 had already anticipated the possibility of demonstrating stock or phylum relationship between the Ok, Awin-Pare and Awju families, and noted further the lexical correspondences between Awju and Asmat-Kamoro and between Goliath and Ok (1964: 116). What Healey introduced by saying, "It may eventually prove possible," Voorhoeve has shown to be almost indisputably the case. The evidence used is lexical, the method is up until now lexico-statistical, but the links Voorhoeve documents among the languages of this phylum are seldom more distant than indicated by 10 % shared basic vocabulary. On such convincing ground a phylum has been established stretching from Etna Bay to the Papuan Gulf and northward to a broad central stretch of the highlands, from just east of the Balim to the headwaters of the Strickland, and on north, across a gap, to at least Sentani and very probably Nimboran in Irian Jaya and the Huon-Finisterre area far to the east in Australian New Guinea. The writer knows of only two languages in the southern lowlands of Irian Jaya which Voorhoeve has not included. One is Sawi, and as we have noted, this very probably is to be related to Awju; the other is Kajagar or Tamagario on the upper Queen Juliana River, of which Drabbe writes: "Tamagario... has no relationship at all with Kamoro, Sempan, Asmat, Awju and Jaqai, but stands completely by itself" (my translation of Drabbe 1963:2). As data become

available from the missionaries working there, this may prove an interesting test case. Meanwhile, as increasingly widespread evidence is adduced for inclusion in the Central and South New Guinea Phylum, the name becomes ever less appropriate. Perhaps it would be easier to follow the precedent of several other sciences and just call the group Voorhoeve's Phylum, as the East New Guinea Highlands Phylum is already often referred to as 'Wurm's group.'

The north coast from Sarmi to the border. At least two other major phyla of non-Austronesian languages have been proposed for Irian Jaya, and these two both are the product of H.K. J. Cowan's work. Besides his own detailed study of Sentani (1965), Cowan utilized questionnaires filled in by government officers and school teachers with word lists from many languages of the territory. In some cases particularly the Hollandia area, he was able to supplement the admittedly inadequate information obtainable on such questionnaires. In 1952 he published the first results of this work, according to which the non-Austronesian languages of the north coast east of the Mamberamo appeared to be included in three groups plus an isolated language. Just along the international boundary is a group Cowan hesitantly established and called the Tami group; it consists, he said of Sekou (or Sko) on the coast, paired with Sangke, inland, and between them the following languages along the Tami River: Arso and Njao, Wembi and Skofro, and Ampas and Waris, with the members of each pair more closely related to each other than to members of other pairs. Of the Sentani group he was much more confident; it includes the language of Sentani Lake, Nafri at the southern end of Jautefa Bay and Tanah Merah on the coast fifteen miles northwest of Sentani; these are all very closely related, "not much more than dialects ..." (1953:3). More distantly related, and still left as a separate taxon in 1953, is Denta, spoken just west of Tanah Merah. Farther inland and west of Sentani is the Nimboran group, including, according to Anceaux's monograph, Nimboran, Kwansu-Bonggrang, Gresi, Kantuk and Mekwei as a "close-knit linguistic subgroup", with Gresi and Kantuk the most closely related to each other and



Kwansu-Bonggrang "half way between these and Nimboran" (1965:2).

Between 1953 and 1957 Cowan began to apply lexico-statistical methods and his own phono-statistical method by which the length of probable cognates is weighed in eliminating chance resemblances. Using these methods Cowan in 1957 documented ten to twelve agreements (out of 75 words) between Demta and Sentani (1957a: 78-81), then went on to document seven agreements between the upper Tor languages, inland from a point opposite Wakde, and the Tami river languages far to the east. He also noted that Sko (or Sekou) together with Sangke do not share enough cognates with the Tami river languages to demonstrate genetic relationship (1957b). Noting, on his 73 word lists, ten agreements between the Tami languages and Nimboran, six between Nimboran and Sentani and six or seven between Tami and Sentani, and six between upper Tor and Nimboran, he finds only one probable agreement between Upper Tor and Sentani and between Upper Tor and Demta. On the basis of these data, Cowan proposed that Tor, Demta, Nimboran, Sentani and the Tami languages constitute a North Papuan phylum (1957b: 117). Uhlenbeck and Anceaux have added Uria and Kwesten, east of the Tor (1965:222).

In comparison with the proposed Central and South New Guinea Phylum, several points need to be noted. Cowan's group has, by his figures, its closest ties at a level indicated by less than 15 % shared basic vocabulary, and most are weaker. The major ties in Voorhoeve's phylum are much closer. Cowan could use only lists of 73 words often prepared by laymen; Voorhoeve used longer lists prepared by linguists. Also there is assymetry in the relationships in this phylum; Nimboran shows clear ties with Sentani and with upper Tor, but the latter does not evidence ties with Sentani. One suspects the possibility of borrowing. Cowan's phono-statistical method demonstrates only that resemblances are greater than can be reasonably accounted for by chance. It cannot determine the source of the resemblances. Cowan himself cites 10 resemblances out of 73 items shared by the Austronesian Jautefa Bay languages and surrounding non-Austronesian languages (1965: 217-219). He uses this evidence, exactly as strong as that used to establish the North Papuan Phylum, to argue for a non-Austronesian substratum. However one reacts to

that contention, it is clear that Cowan does not think these resemblances affect the genetic classification of the Jautefa Bay languages as Austronesian.

The most disturbing thing about the proposed phylum is that two other linguists reviewing the data come up with different conclusions. We have already noted that Voorhoeve clearly includes Sentani in his Central and South New Guinea Phylum and thinks Nimboran, may be Tami but not Tor belong there. Laycock, specialist in the Sepik area, has established a phylum including Arapesh and published a guess that Sko-Sangke also belong in that phylum, which he labels Torricelli (1968:4). In personal communication he has indicated that he thinks the Tami River languages also have closer ties eastward than westward. Is this a matter of competing linguists, of keeping up with the Wurms? That cannot be considered impossible, but what seems more likely is that there are levels of relatedness among these non-Austronesian languages. Cowan brought something new on the scene by demonstrating some kind of relationship; if closer relationships can be demonstrated to intersect these, the latter must take precedence. The answer to these problems of distinguishing borrowing from genetic relationship and of determining degrees of inclusiveness of subgroups must lie with careful comparative work, methodically setting up not just a few correspondences but all that can be set up, reconstructing proto-forms and comparing these. The lexico-statistical method has not been and never can be decisive, only indicative in linguistic sub-grouping. For the moment we can only note that some resemblances which may be due to genetic relationship have been documented for north coast groups including the upper Tor languages, Kwesten and Uria (Uhlenbeck and Anceaux 1965:222), Demta, the Nimboran languages, Sentani, Sangke-Sko and the Tami River languages. Stronger evidence for closer ties of at least Sentani with languages of the Central and South New Guinea Phylum, and conflicting classifications for the Sangke-Sko and Tami river group demonstrate the need for further work in this area using the finer toothed comb of the comparative method.

The Bird's Head. Actually Cowan's earlier proposal of a phylum was for the Vogelkop or Bird's Head area; from his first article on the

subject he included the non-Austronesian languages of north Halmahera in this phylum (1957a: 86-91), and in a series of later articles has included more Bird's Head languages (1958), the non-Austronesian languages of the Bomberai peninsula and Mantembu (Yava) of central Japen island (1960), Buna' of Timor (1963) and Makasai of Timor with related Oirata of Kisar, just off Timor (1965). His method for this area has been the same lexico-statistical and phono-statistical method already discussed. A few very close relationships among Bird's Head languages are indicated by Cowan's data. Karon and Madik, on the north coast just east of the tip of the island, share 74 % basic vocabulary, and Kalabra and Moraid, at the southeastern tip and inland from there, respectively, share 56 % basic vocabulary, and Moi, spoken at the western tip of the island and on the facing eastern side of Salawati, shares 35 % basic vocabulary with this last group (1957a: 83-84). Karon-Madik share only seven out of 73 items with Kalabra-Moraid, however. Ajamaru, in the west central Bird's Head, shares seven (again out of 73) items with Karon-Madik. Jahadian and Konda on the mid south coast of the Bird's Head share 63 % agreements, and Kampong Baru shares 31 % agreements with Puragi; these last are spoken on the north side of Bintuni Bay. Jahadian-Konda together show 12 % agreements with Kampong Baru-Puragi, forming a southern group, which shows seven agreements out of 81 words with the western group of Kalabra-Moraid-Moi and Karon-Madik. Amberbaken, on the eastern north coast of the Bird's Head, shows five or six agreements with languages of the western group, but only three with the southern group. In the eastern Bird's Head, Mansibaber (Mejah) shares only six out of seventy items with Mantion (Manikion), but these two share no more than two to four items with any of the other Bird's Head languages or groups tested (Cowan 1958: 161-166).

Comparing three Bomberai languages, Kapaur (Iha), Patimuni (Baham) and Karas with Bird's Head languages, Cowan finds a total of fifteen shared items, nine of these with languages of his western group, five only with the much closer languages of the southern group, and one with Ajamaru. In these comparisons he uses Waipu of Salawati as a new member of his western group, noting that it differs from Moi little more than dialectically. By including these



Bomberai languages with the western and southern groups, Cowan is able to find now a total of fourteen likely resemblances between the eastern languages Mansibaber (Mejah)-Mantion (Manikion) and the western-southern-Bomberai group. Between Mantembu (Anceaux's Yava, 1961) of central Japen and these Bird's Head-Bomberai languages, Cowan finds eight agreements.

The interesting thing is that ties of these languages with some non-Austronesian languages of Halmahera and Timor are as close as those used to establish the Bird's Head relationships apart from the relationships among the western group languages and among the southern group languages. Cowan finds at least six agreements between one or another North Halmaheran language and Kalabra-Moraid-Moi (1957a: 87). He finds at least nine, and possibly as many as fifteen, resemblances between Buna' of Timor and one or another Bird's Head language of his west and south groups, and this out of a comparable list of only 41 words (1963: 396-7). Most recently, taking Oirata of Kisar island and Makasai of Timor, which are closely related to each other as Capell had long ago indicated (1944: 329). Cowan presents an impressive display of some 24 or 25 possible cognates with one or another Bird's Head language, particularly those of his southern group (1965b: 363-365).

In assessing this phylum several points need to be made. First, Cowan has displayed his data for inspection, as for his proposed North Papuan Phylum, by listing only what he sees as possible cognates. Full lists give a better chance for rechecking the hypotheses. Second, the percentages quoted in most cases do not represent probable cognation with any one language, but with forms selected wherever they may be found among several languages; thus they are not comparable with the percentages used by Voorhoeve in establishing his phylum. Third, it appears that relationships noted here may spread much further, although perhaps at a different level of relationship, as we shall note. Cowan has clearly established relationship between the North Halmaheran languages and the western Bird's Head languages, a prospect hypothesized by Schmidt at the turn of the century (1900-1901). He has also clearly tied Oirata, Makasai and Buna' of the Timor area to non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea, especially the southern Bird's Head.

Capell had called these Timorese languages Papuan only in a typological sense (1944:311).

The question as to whether to close this phylum is provoked by a superficial comparison of some Makasai forms with some Irian Jaya highlands forms:

<u>English</u>	<u>Makasai</u>	<u>Kapauku</u>	<u>LGV Dani</u>
eat	nawa	nai	nan (stem na-)
I	ani	ani	an
thou	ai	aki	hat (W Dani: kat)
we	ini (we excl.)	ini	nit

This is certainly a much less impressive display than Cowan's, and would indicate a more distant relationship than some of the relationships he documents. But it represents as close a relationship as several which he wants to include in the West Papuan Phylum. These particular items seem to be particularly widespread; e.g. Asmat has no 'I' and an n-initial stem meaning 'to eat' (Voorhoeve 1965: 143, 339), and Tairora of the eastern highlands has na- as the stem of 'eat', and related Awa has ni- as a first person prefix (Mc Kaughan 1964: 114-117).

Greenberg in 1960 mimeographed a list of etymologies or possible cognates in languages from the Andamans to Australia, and has in press a paper presenting his further findings (Voorhoeve, personal communication). There seems clearly to be substantive evidence for genetic relationship over a very wide area, if at a very distant degree. If this is so, then demonstration of any genetic relationship is not sufficient for inclusion of a particular language in a particular sub-grouping. Cowan's method convincingly demonstrates resemblances which cannot be chance, and many of his displays show regular correspondences that indicate clear genetic relationship. Further, a number of these relationships are definitely significantly close enough to establish meaningful groups. However the relationships included in the phyla he has proposed are of different degrees. As Voorhoeve's work extends his phylum ever more widely, the problem of intersecting and included phyla is apparent

there, too. And the data cited from Kapauku, Makasai and Dani indicate that the Irian Jaya Highlands Phylum, established first by Larson (ms 1958?), is also included in larger groupings. It would appear wise to reserve the term phylum for one level of relationship, and to note that a considerable part of Cowan's West Papuan Phylum evidences inter-relationships as close as those now posited for the Central and South New Guinea Phylum, the Eastern Highlands Phylum, or the Irian Jaya Highlands Phylum. Some of the fringe ties in Cowan's western phylum, particularly those with the eastern Bird's Head languages and Mantembu, and some of the ties in his northern phylum may well prove to be relationships at a level which spreads very much further in its coverage, perhaps as far as Greenberg's Indo-Pacific group of non-Austronesian languages, or perhaps at an intermediate level for which some label like Swadesh's macro-phylum may be useful.

#### CONCLUSION

From an examination of ethnic groups in the Dani area of highlands Irian Jaya, our attention has turned to language groups in the rest of the province and their ties eastward into Australian New Guinea and westward to other islands of Indonesia, specifically Timor and northern Halmahera with Morotai. There are significant areas of Irian Jaya not touched upon in the discussion, particularly the lowlands between the central mountains and the hinterlands behind the north coast. Much of this very thinly populated territory is linguistically unknown, but rapid advances by government, missions and churches should soon provide useful data. Language data have been reported from a number of pockets along the Mamberamo, but have not been available for this study, nor have they been obviously amenable to grouping procedures by linguists who have had access to them (Wurm map: n.d.). The neck of the island east of the Bird's Head also represents an area quite inadequately known except for Waropen, Wandamen and, to a lesser extent, Iirarutu and some Bomberai peninsula languages (Anceaux 1958, 1961). However, the linguistic map of Irian Jaya now includes numbers of meaningfully established groups of non-Austronesian languages. As recently as 1962 Capell said: "No general picture can be given of the languages of DNG (Irian Jaya)



in terms of families or other groupings" (1962a:4). Actually, that was an unduly pessimistic evaluation of what was known then. Now one major problem is intersecting and included high-level groups! Solid descriptive work is needed for many more languages of the territory, and lexico-statistical procedures still have a wide field for application to give an overview of linguistic relationships. However, the time has come for the careful, painstaking work of exhaustively establishing correspondences and setting up proto-forms, then comparing reconstructed proto-languages. This task has been scarcely begun in Irian Jaya.

Will rigorously defined culture areas be established as successfully as linguistic groups? Certainly there are widespread occurrences of comparable patterns; paired names for political units, pairing as an idiom for talking about exchange relationships; snakes shedding their skins as an idiom for talking about immortality--these and many others might be cited. Good ethnographies are few for the area, nor is the number increasing at anything like the rate for Australian New Guinea. When much more good descriptive work has been done, the promise of comparative ethnography that is more than superficial will be bright.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Significant work was done in the lower Fly area by Murray and Ray (1917) and later by Wurm (1951). Capell's dissertation on the whole south-east Papuan area is also of importance (1943). For the western half of the island and neighboring islands, Father W. Schmidt made important contributions, including proposing at the turn of the century that the North Halmaheran languages were related to languages of New Guinea and could be called Papuan. Van der Veen carefully documented the inter-relationships of the North Halmahera-Morotai languages and decisively showed them to be non-Austronesian (1915). Capell documented the existence of non-Austronesian languages in central Timor and on Kisar, off the northeast coast of that island (1944).

<sup>2</sup>There has been a long and continuing stream of literature concerning the relationships of Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages in New

Guinea, and the position of Melanesian within Austronesian in relationship to that problem. Ray, Capell and now Cowan attribute the diversity in Melanesian languages to a substratum of diverse Papuan languages which were spoken earlier in the areas of present Melanesian. Others, especially Dyen, deny this and attribute the diversity to normal processes of language change over long time periods. For recent contributions note Dyen (1965:15, 53-55) and Cowan (1965b:217-219) and the discussion following the latter.

<sup>3</sup> Contrast Wurm's earlier report grouping Kapauku-Woda-Moni in one group, Dem-Dani-Uhunduni in another (1961). Larson had already documented the general grouping presented here, but had not published.

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## CARSTENSZ GLACIERS EXPEDITION

R. Champion and members  
of the Carstensz Glacier Expedition.

IKHTISAR :

Ekspedisi Gletsjer Pegunungan Carstensz dalam tahun 1971/72, yang diprakarsai oleh Departemen Meteorologi Universitas Melbourne dengan bekerja sama dengan ahli2 dari tiga universitas2 Australia lainnya dan dengan bantuan P.T. Freeport Indonesia, dapat dianggap sebagai suatu studi pertama yang dilakukan secara teliti dan saksama dari suatu daerah khusus yang menghubungkan suatu jurang pemisah dari mata rantai gletsjer yang terbentang disebagian besar dari bola bumi ini, dilaksanakan sebagai suatu bahagian dari International Hydrological Decade (IHD) oleh the International Association for the Hydrological Sciences (IAHS). Program IHD adalah suatu studi yang mempunyai kelanjutan dan perluasan dari peranan utama gletsjer2 yang mempengaruhi perubahan iklim serta keadaan alam sekitarnya.

Aspek kedua yang nyata adalah bahwa tanpa bantuan aktif dari pihak pemerintah Indonesia dan teristimewa pula dari sarjana2 Indonesia (a.l. Drs. Sulasmoro dan Johannes), maka ekspedisi tersebut tak dapat terlaksana. Meskipun Indonesia tidak ikut serta secara langsung dalam ekspedisi ini, namun hal ini pasti akan terlaksana pada kegiatan2 dimasa mendatang. Daerah itu pernah dijelajahi oleh suatu ekspedisi Indonesia dan telah dikunjungi pula oleh sebuah team pendaki dari Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta; dan Universitas Cenderawasih, Jayapura. Terbukalah jalan mulai sekarang ini dimana rencana2 Ekspedisi dimasa mendatang akan memberikan kesempatan yang lebih luas bagi sarjana2 Indonesia dalam mengadakan studi mengenai daerah ini.

1. Introduction

The first field operation of the Carstensz Glacier Expedition has now been carried out with the help of funds from the Australian Research Grants Commission and from the Melbourne and Australian National Universities, and with massive logistic and other support from Freeport Indonesia Inc. The expedition was led by Randell Champion and included J. Bennett (meteorologist-glaciologist, Melbourne University), G. Hope (botanist, Australian National University), R. Muggleton (photographer, Preston and Northcote Community Hospital) and Dr. J. Peterson (geomorphologist, Monash University). Mr. W. Soerjadi, the Indonesian scientist attached to the expedition, could not achieve acclimatisation to high altitudes and had to withdraw; the same fate

befell Dr. J. Allman, (University of N.S.W.) who advised the expedition on surveying matters and continued helping it in a major way by evaluating and reducing the primary geodetic survey data. The survey measurements were carried out by R. Champion with the help of the other expedition members who in turn took time off their own special work for the purpose.

The field work covered the period from 7 December, 1971 when an advance party arrived at the Ertzberg mine of Freeport Indonesia Inc., until 9 March, when the last two expedition members left the base camp site near the Meren glacier tongue. Follow-up operations included a final photographic survey flight by R. Muggleton in a Freeport Indonesia helicopter, a botanical reconnaissance of the Kemabu Plateau by G. Hope, and the collection of climatic data and other information by J. Bennett and G. Hope in Jayapura, Irian Jaya, and in Papua/New Guinea on Mt. Wilhelm and in Port Moresby.

Only a little more than one third of the time in the field was taken up by logistic operations (shifting stores, equipment and specimens, establishing and striking camps); this low proportion reflects the generous help provided by Freeport's helicopters. Of the remaining time (some sixty days) more than one half was contributed by each expedition member in turn to helping with the surveying programme.

#### Narrative.

After two weeks of reconnaissance by small climbing parties and a helicopter flight for aerial photography the main work of the expedition got off to a flying start when a Freeport helicopter piloted by D. LaFrenice lifted the bulk of its stores and equipment directly to the base camp near the tongue of the Meren glacier, at an altitude of 4200 m, on 20 December 1971. Other material was dropped near the camp from the air. The camp was later visited by Freeport officials and by an Indonesian climbing party; it also attracted the attention of the neighbouring native tribes (Amume-Damal from Tsinga), and there were repeated confrontations, all of which were settled with mutual goodwill. The knowledge of the Indonesian language acquired by J. Bennett and G. Hope before and during the expedition played a vital part



in this diplomatic success.

The most intensive scientific work was done on the Meren and Carstensz glaciers and their surroundings, where the discovery of cairns left by previous expeditions gave direct indications of a large ice front retreat during the past 35 years. Evidence of earlier glaciations was obtained from glacial deposits as low as 1705 m altitude along the East Otomona river. Following the re-discovery of the New Zealand Pass, first used by the Harrer-Temple expedition which visited the area in 1962, the field work was extended to the region north of the icefields during January and February. The expedition came to a close with gravity observations and a first remeasurement of stakes established on the glaciers.

This progress report has been compiled from two field reports and from personal statements. The objectives in the different disciplines, and the main work actually achieved, are given in the following sections. Full reports by individual expedition members are in preparation.

## 2. Surveying

The surveying programme aimed at the preparation of maps showing the general distribution of glaciers and glacial land forms, the contours of the glaciated and recently deglaciated areas, and the detailed outlines of the present glaciers. For the primary survey a Model 3800A Distance Meter with Model 3801A Power Pack had kindly been made available on loan by Hewlett Packard Pty.Ltd. This equipment proved invaluable in the rugged terrain, especially since its speed of operation enabled many measurements to be made during short breaks in the predominantly rainy and cloudy weather. All expedition members took part in the completion of the surveying programme by tachometric means, under the direction of R.Champion.

The reduction of the primary triangulation of reference points was begun by Dr. J.Allman after his return to Australia and is now well on its way to completion. The evaluation of the tachometric data will then have highest priority. The aim is the production of multiple copies of a base map of the entire surveyed area, with the following information:

- i) marginal coordinates (scale, latitudes, longitudes)
- ii) spot heights of all trigonometric survey points
- iii) height contour lines ( including those of the glacier surfaces)  
at intervals commensurate with the accuracy of the survey
- iv) positions of the current ice fronts and of the ice boundaries  
deduced from aerial photos taken in 1942, 1970, and 1972
- v) locations of cairns built by Dozy in 1936 and by Harrer in 1963
- vi) outlines of all moraines and lakes surveyed (including those on  
the glaciers) with indications of nature and location of  
drainage features. Some of these details may require further  
field measurements.

### 3. Glaciology

The broad objectives of the glaciology programme were those laid down in the IHD programme for a world inventory of perennial snow and ice masses. To this end about 100 four metre stakes were established on the Meren and Carstensz glaciers as part of the general topographic survey and were re-surveyed at the end of February to establish ice movement and accumulation/ablation rates.

The precise evaluation of this material remains to be made. First estimates of the mass balance of the Meren glacier indicate values of the order of 1.3 cm/day ablation for the lowest 500 m (120 m elevation difference), decreasing to 0.5 cm/day where the surface levels out to a firm line about 800 m from the ice front. A water level recorder and weir were installed in the meltstream which appears to drain the entire tongue of the Carstensz glacier and were left in operation until the next visit. Together with continuing meteorological records (cf. section 4) these should clarify the annual variation, if any, in the mass exchange and permit firmer conclusions regarding the mass balance of the glaciers and its altitude trend.

A major part of the glaciology programme, coring and internal temperature measurements, could not be executed during this first stage and

form a highest priority item for the next stage. But at any rate the work so far has provided definite evidence of a progressive retreat of the Carstensz glaciers in the past 35 years.

From photographic material the following provisional figures for the retreat of the Meren and Carstensz glaciers have been deduced by R. Champion.

Approximate retreat of termini of

<u>Period</u>	<u>Meren Glacier</u>	<u>Carstensz Glacier</u>
1936-1942	325 m	300 m
1942-1962	665 m	250 m
1962-1972	440 m	120 m
<hr/>		
1936-1972	1430 m	670 m
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The average retreat rates over the past 35 years have been 40 m/yr and 19 m/yr, respectively, the difference being explained mainly by the steeper bed of the Carstensz glacier.

#### 4. Meteorology.

The meteorological programme provided for recording instruments at various points near and on the glaciers, with comparative recording systems for longer-term operation lower down the valley if their maintenance could be arranged. The actual work accomplished has included in addition the installation of a dense system of precipitation gauges extending some distance from the glaciers both along and away from the ranges. These and the visual weather observations have shown the main snowfalls to be associated with disturbances from the east and north, rather than with the daily rain period caused by convection and uplift in the valleys extending southward.

Measurements of meteorological elements involved in the surface heat balance indicate that, owing to the absence of large diurnal temperature variations and of intense glacier winds, radiation is the controlling factor.



The surface albedo of the ice is greatly reduced by dark-coloured algae (cf. section 6) and only raised temporarily to the more usual levels around 60% by snow falls of several centimeters. The climatology of the area will become clearer from the continuing records of temperature, precipitation, and runoff, and also from climatological data obtained during the closing stage of the expedition from the Meteorological Service of Irian Jaya at Jayapura.

##### 5. Geomorphology.

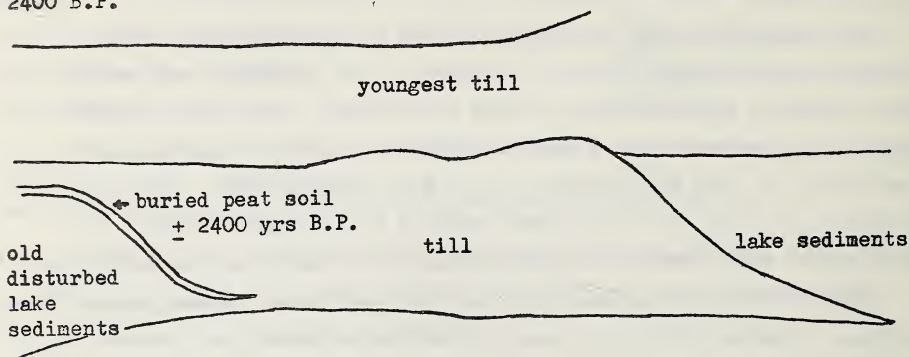
The geomorphological programme centred on the possibility that the pronounced subterranean drainage features of the Carstensz area would have left unusually clear records of past glaciations. The field work has confirmed this expectation and produced evidence of glacial deposits down to an elevation of 1705 m in the bed of the East Otomona river. The interpretation of these and many other deposits will be made by means of some hundreds of soil, sediment, and peat samples brought back to Australia.

Some radiocarbon datings have now been completed. These suggest that the Carstensz glacier system has been involved in at least two advances of 1-2 km in Holocene times. Some of the evidence and its provisional interpretation is given in fig.1 which shows the detailed structure of a section through glacial and lake deposits in the Yellow Valley below the Carstensz Glacier. The buried peat soil noted in the left of the diagram has been  $C^{14}$  dated as  $2470 \pm 80$  years before present (B.P.). In another part of the same section further down the valley (not shown in the diagram) a similar sequence of soil buried by glacial till was found, and in this case the soil was dated  $2930 \pm 100$  years B.P.

An earlier advance took place about 10,000 years B.P. This extended 15 km to the south, crushing vegetation at 3,620 m ( $C^{14}$  date  $11,330 \pm 150$  yrs B.P.) and 1705 m (pooled mean of  $C^{14}$  dates,  $10,320 \pm 100$  years B.P.). The advance was probably very local however, and perhaps related to reflooding of the Arafura sea at the end of the last world wide Pleistocene glaciation. An earlier, lengthy, glacial period is responsible for the most extensive glacial

deposits and landforms on the mountains. These extend 30 km north of the present ice and their mapping is still incomplete. A preliminary date of 14,000 B.P. has been obtained from sediments at the base of a lake formed when the major ice cap retreated, so the time of maximum advance must have been still earlier.

Fig. I. Section in glacial and lake deposits in Yellow Valley below Carstensz Glacier showing evidence of Holocene glacier advances since 2400 B.P.



Related evidence for separate ice advances is provided by the zonation of limestone weathering forms. There are distinct contrasts between weathered limestone areas free of ice since the early Holocene and the areas covered by more recent advances of the ice. These also suggest that the Nordwand firn area may have been completely deglaciated in comparatively recent times. All these indications will gain added meaning when considered in relation to other alpine and sub-alpine areas of New Guinea, and from G. Hope's palynological analysis of peat cores collected from several carefully chosen locations. This closer analysis, defining more closely the timing of the three phases of ice advance and retreat will be of first rate significance for a better understanding of global links in glacier changes.

## 6. Biology.

The programme provided for a thorough study of present vegetation in

relation to the glaciers and other land forms, and of fossil deposits which can be analysed for pollen. This technique produces a history of vegetation changes which can indicate past climates or the effects of human disturbance.

A general survey of plants and fauna occurring above 2,000 m altitude was made with a detailed study of the plant sociology of 30 sites in the sub-alpine and alpine zones. About 250 species of plants were collected which have been lodged for identification and the distribution of duplicates at the CSIRO herbarium, Canberra. A set of duplicates will be sent to the Indonesian herbarium at Bogor, Java. In addition about 50 species of mosses, lichens and algae were collected and will be sent to various specialists. The algae include a species of blue-green (Cyanophyta) which grows on the glacier surfaces and is responsible for the generally low albedo. The plant communities have been found to delineate the limits of the Holocene ice advance so clearly that mapping of its final stages should be feasible on this evidence alone. It is planned to produce a general map of the vegetation and an account of the floristics.

The remains of about 35 species of mammals and birds were recovered, including one, possibly new, species of kangaroo. Most of the birds were found dead on the ice and the mammals occurred as pick up skeletons, in cave deposits or were trapped. Lizards were found as high as 4,100 m, believed to be an altitude record for New Guinea. Two archeological sites were located, the Mapala rock shelter at 4,000 m and the Kemabu rock shelter at 3,450 m. The rock shelters contain shallow ash layers with deposits of bones and presumably reflect hunting parties living there for short periods. Charcoal from the lowest layers found in each deposit give preliminary ages of  $5,000 \pm 200$  yrs B.P. for the Mapala shelter and  $380 \pm 150$  yrs B.P. for the Kemabu shelter, suggesting a long history of intermittent occupation. The bones and archeological material are being studied by the Prehistory Department, A.N.U. and it is hoped that a full report will be published in a future issue of IRIAN.



## 7. Photography.

More than 6000 photographs were taken of every relevant aspect of the expedition's work. These included a large number of aerial photographs and panoramic sequences which will be especially significant in comparison with earlier photographic material obtained by the Colijn expedition (Dozy\*, 1936), during the war by the United States Air Force, and during the preliminary exploration of the mining area. The photos will be catalogued and annotated for an archive collection which will serve both for publications arising from this expedition and for the preparation of further work in the area.

## 8. Plans.

For the immediate future the CGE's tasks now fall under the major headings of Analysis and Supplementary Field work. The analysis of the results will have top priority. By establishing the extent of the knowledge gained, the regions of incomplete knowledge, and the areas left unexplored, this analysis will point the way to more intensive and specific studies in the future. At this time however even the first data set remains essentially incomplete, especially as far as glacio-meteorological variations in the course of a year are concerned; moreover the geomorphological examination to the area has no more than scratched the surface of the available information, and the reduction of the survey data may well reveal gaps in the information needed for a satisfactory base map. These considerations suggest the following work as essential for completing the first stage:

- a) Analysis - Separate reports on the work done, the data and materials collected, and their provisional interpretation will be prepared by individual members of the expedition. In addition to specialised journal articles, a consolidated account of the expedition will be prepared for the Zeitschrift für Gletscherkunde und Glazialgeologie which in 1938 published the first detailed account of the Carstensz glacier system. A brief report has already

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\* J.J.Dozy, Eine Gletscherwelt in Niederländisch-Neuguinea. Bd.XXVI, 45-51.

been submitted to the Permanent Service on the Variations of Glaciers for inclusion in their summary for 1965-70, and a letter with geomorphological results has been sent to Nature Physical Science by J. Peterson and G. Hope.

b) Supplementary field operations - A brief visit to the glaciers was planned for August 1972 for accumulation/ablation/ice movement readings and maintenance work on instruments and stake systems but was prevented by logistical problems. The main supplementary operation will take place at some time during 1973. It will serve primarily for glaciological studies not yet attempted (ice coring, internal isotope sampling and temperature measurements), and will include further geomorphological exploration (narrow-band and infrared (colour as well as black/white) photography), meteorological observations, and remeasurements of accumulation/ablation and displacement stakes.

It is hoped that the work in 1972 and 1973 will provide all the information still needed for a complete first-stage observational cover; special urgency attaches to the glaciological and meteorological projects. A relatively large team is proposed for 1973 mainly to provide greater safety; this was notably lacking in the 1971/2 operation which involved far too many one-man exploration climbs.

## 9. Conclusion.

The 1971/2 Carstensz Glaciers Expedition, mounted by the Meteorology Department of the University of Melbourne with the cooperation of scientists from three other Australian universities and with the help of Freeport Indonesia Inc., can be regarded as the first thorough study of a unique region which closes a significant gap in the worldwide chain of monitored glacier areas set up as part of its International Hydrological Decade (IHD) by the International Association for the Hydrological Sciences (IAHS). The IHD programme seems certain of continuation and extension in view of the central role glaciers have come to play in studies of changes in climate and environment.

A second international aspect derives from the fact that the

expedition could not have been undertaken without the active support of the Indonesian authorities and more specifically of senior Indonesian scientists (notably Drs. Sulasmoro and Johannas). Although no direct Indonesian field participation eventuated this will undoubtedly be a feature of future operations. The area has been explored by a previous Indonesian expedition and was visited by a climbing team from the University of Indonesia, Jakarta, and Cenderawasih University, Jayapura while the CGE was in progress. Hence future plans of the Expedition will allow for an increasing share for Indonesian scientists in the study of the area.



# THE ORIGIN AND INTRODUCTION OF THE BASIC FOOD CROPS OF IRIAN JAYA

Peter Foster

## IKHTISAR :

Mengingat padatnya tumbuh-tumbuhan di Irian Jaya serta masyarakatnya yang terisolir, dimana sebelum kedatangannya orang-orang Eropah, selalu terjadi peperangan antar suku dan desa, orang akan menyangka bahwa sebagian terbesar tanaman bahan makanan yang ada berasal dari daerah itu sendiri. Namun demikian, hanya pisang (Musa sp.) dan tebu (Saccharum sp.) dapat dianggap sebagai tanaman-tanaman asli. Selainnya, betatas (Ipomoea batatas), sagu (Metroxylon sp.), keladi (Alocasia sp. dan Colacasia sp.), kelapa (Cocos sp.) dan kembang (Dioscorea sp.) pada suatu masa telah diperkenalkan oleh manusia. Siapakah dan dimanakah asal mereka ?

Kiranya tidak jelas asal dari orang-orang ini, yang baik bentuk tubuh maupun bahasa sangat berbeda-beda satu dengan lainnya. Alat-alat yang dipergunakan sewaktu mereka ditemukan terbuat dari batu, kayu dan tulang (dibeberapa daerah hingga kini masih digunakan) serta tidak dari logam. Mereka mungkin adalah suku Negrito, seperti terdapat di Kepulauan Andamana dan jazirah Melayu, berperawakan pendek serta tinggal dalam kelompok-kelompok terpencil dibagian tengah pulau ini. Penduduk asli Tasmania, yang walaupun berperawakan lebih tinggi, termasuk pula dalam golongan ini. Datanglah suku "Papua", berperawakan sedang, berkulit hitam, kemudian mengusir suku Negrito ke daerah pedalaman. Menyusul kemudian suku-suku bangsa dari Kepulauan Melanesia, yang berkulit lebih terang warnanya, mendiami daerah sepanjang pesisir, bercampur dengan suku Papua, namun bahasa mereka tetap mereka pegang. Sebagai pelaut-pelaut pertama di Pasifik, mereka juga tersebar ke beberapa penjuru seperti ternyata dari bahasa yang dipakai antara pulau Madagaskar dan kepulauan dekat Melanesia. Suku Negrito adalah pemburu disamping mengumpulkan akar-akar kayu, daun-daunan, biji-bijian dan buah-buahan di hutan. Pertanian adalah sesuatu yang baru saja diusahakan sehingga mereka tidak dapat dianggap sebagai pemasuk tumbuh-tumbuhan bahan makanan ke Irian Jaya. Ini mungkin dilakukan oleh suku-suku Papuan atau Melanesia.

Keladi dan sagu berasal dari Malaysia sedangkan kembang dari India. Sukung (Longocarpus sp.), walaupun bukan bahan makanan penting di Irian seperti halnya di Polinesia, terdapat dimanamana. Kelapa (Cocos nucifera), bukan juga bahan makanan penting terdapat di kepulauan Polinesia, bersumber mungkin dipesisir sepanjang Lautan India serta mempunyai sifat-sifat khusus. Penyebarannya mungkin oleh manusia dari Kepulauan Hawaii sampai ke Madagaskar.

Penyebaran betatas (Ipomoea batatas), bahan makanan penting masyarakat di daerah pegunungan memberikan gambaran yang menarik. Bahan ini rupanya tak dapat dipisahkan dari manusia. Kapan dan bagaimanakah bahan ini diperkenalkan di Irian Jaya ? Sangat menarik perhatian ialah bahwa beberapa jenis alat-alat setiap waktu digali dari dalam tanah, alat-alat mana tidak termasuk

kebudayaan sekarang malahan mereka tidak mengenalnya bahkan tidak memakainya dalam hidup mereka sehari-hari. Nenek moyang masyarakat sekarang mungkin menggunakannya jauh sebelum betatas dikenal. Suatu jenis buah hutan ialah *Pandanus* sp. dimakan sebelum betatas dikenal dan buah tersebut hingga kini masih sangat digemari. Kemungkinan besar ialah bahwa suku Indian Amerika, dalam perjalanan menyeberangi Lautan Pasifik dari arah Timur ke Barat telah memperkenalkan betatas. Nama dari betatas di daerah Polinesia mempunyai persamaan dengan yang terdapat di Peru, Columbia dan Ecuador. Tersebar diseluruh daerah Polinesia dari Kepulauan Hawaii sebelah Utara hingga Selandia Baru disebelah Selatan, bahan ini sudah menjadi bahan makanan pokok suku Maori.

Dua jenis tanaman baru, jagung (*Zea mays*) dan tembakau (*Nicotiana tabacum*) juga tersebar luas di Irian Jaya termasuk di daerah pedalaman sebelum pulau ini digarap dalam abad terakhir ini.

Bila Kepulauan Malaysia dan Ambon merupakan daerah khusus atau sumber penting tanaman bahan makanan untuk daerah Irian Jaya, mengapa padi (*Oryza sativa*) tidak diperkenalkan? Justru karena dapat disimpan lama sudah tentu telah tertarik pada mereka yang bepergian. Hal ini tidak mudah dijawab.

Buah-buahan daerah tropis seperti mangga (*Mangifera indica*), mangustan (*Garcinia mangostana*), rambutan (*Nephelium lappaceum*), durian (*Durio zebethinus*) dan banyak lagi telah diperkenalkan oleh bangsa Eropah. Pepaya, berasal dari Amerika, terdapat dimana-mana.

Adalah sangat mengherankan bahwa rempah-rempah, seperti lada (*Piper nigrum*), pala (*Myristica fragrans*), kayu manis (*Cinamonum zeylanicum*) cengkeh (*Eugenia aromatica*) yang merupakan tujuan utama kedatangan bangsa Eropah sehingga menimbulkan peperangan antara bangsa Portugis, Spanyol dan Belanda di masa lampau tidak pernah dimasukkan ke Irian Jaya. Rempah-rempah tersebut diatas baru akhir-akhir ini diperkenalkan, walaupun jenis-jenis sebangsanya telah tersebar luas sebelumnya.

Buah apel (*Malus sylvestris*) telah diperkenalkan tahun ini untuk yang pertama kali di daerah pegunungan tengah. Anakannya, yang adalah dari jenis Princess Noble dan Rome Beauty, diperoleh dari Jawa, dicangkok pada suatu akar yang tak diketahui, telah dapat menyesuaikan dengan iklim tropis serta menghasilkan buah-buah bermutu tinggi dalam jumlah yang besar. Kemungkinan perluasannya di Irian Jaya akan memberi harapan besar.

Diantara bahan-bahan yang diperkenalkan akhir-akhir ini, maka ketela (*Manihot utilissima*) adalah yang paling utama. Berasal dari daerah tropis Amerika, Meksiko dan Peru. Lainnya, juga berasal dari Amerika ialah keladi Johar (*Xanthosoma spp.*).

Selama 50 tahun terakhir ini, kacang (*Arachis hypogaea*) dan kentang (*Solanum tuberosum*) adalah yang terpenting. Banyak kebun-kebun sekarang telah pula ditanami dengan berbagai jenis kacang, diantaranya : gude (*Cajanus cajan*), kacang ijo (*Phaseolus aureus*), kacang ijo (*Phaseolus mungo*), kacang panjang (*Vigna sinensis*) dan

Kentang telah menjadi lebih penting di daerah pegunungan dimana sebelumnya ditanami dengan betatas yang oleh karena hawa dengan tiba-tiba menjadi sangat dingin dan merusakkan betatas.

Beraspun telah sangat luas penggunaannya, namun usaha-usaha kearah



penanamannya akhir-akhir ini belum berhasil dengan sepenuhnya. Cantel adalah lebih ideal bagi daerah-daerah yang lebih kering. Disamping itu, maka penduduk yang semakin bertambah padat mengharuskan dihentikannya cara bertani sambilan dan beralih kesistim yang lebih intensip.

Hal ini dapat lebih cepat terlaksana bila beberapa jenis bibit maupun anak dari sana-sini dapat diperkenalkan dengan lebih berhasil. Peranan dari memperkenalkan tanaman-tanaman dimasa depan, terletak pada menyediakan koleksi koleksi untuk para ahli yang bekerja dibidang perbaikan hasil. Memperkenalkan tanaman-tanaman bukan lagi merupakan pekerjaan sampingan seorang naturalis, tetapi suatu bidang yang secara terus-menerus mengadakan penyelidikan untuk menemukan jenis-jenis yang tepat dan cocok pada suatu daerah atau proyek-proyek penyelidikan yang diperlukan.

Considering the high degree of endemism of the flora of Irian Jaya and the supposed isolation of its people, who, prior to the arrival of Europeans, lived in a state of constant warfare with each other, one would expect that the majority of the basic subsistence food plants would be indigenous to the area. However, of the major basic food-crops, only the Musa spp. (banana) and Saccharum spp. (sugar) can be regarded as originating here. All the others - sweet potato (Ipomea batatus), sago (Metroxylon sp.), taro (Aloccasia sp.) and Colocasia sp., coconuts (Cocos sp.) and yam (Dioscorea sp.) must have been introduced at one stage or another. Human agency is the most likely means by which they were distributed. Who are the people and where did they come from ?

There is no certainty of the origin of the peoples of New Guinea, who are extremely diverse in their physical types and languages. At the time of first contacts, they were using only stone, wood or bone implements (and in many areas still do) but no metal of any kind. It is thought that the original inhabitants called Negritos - allied to the Negritos of the Andamones Islands and the Malay Peninsula - are short or dwarfish and live in isolated communities towards the centre of the island. Although taller, the aboriginal population of Tasmania is supposed to have been related to the Negritos. After the Negrito, came a race spoken of as "Papuan". They are a medium tall, fairly dark race. Allied races can be found in some of the Malayan Islands. In some far-off pre-historic time, the primitive "Papuan"



drove the still more primitive Negrito to the central highlands. The "Papuan" were followed by at least one major invasion - the Melanesians. They have settled along the coast and are now so mixed with the "Papuan" that it would be difficult to distinguish them, but for the fact that they have retained their own type of language. They tend to be lighter in colour. The original Melanesian was probably straight-haired and relatively light-coloured, more comparable with the present day Malay or Polynesian. The original home of the Melanesians is placed somewhere in Southern Asia. From there, they have spread both East and West, and their descendants can be traced in the languages from Madagascar to the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago right to Polynesia. They were probably the first seaman of the Pacific, travelling in outrigger canoes, which are typical of the area of their influence and unknown elsewhere. The Negritos are still mainly hunters and gatherers of roots, leaves, nuts and berries of the forest. Until recently, agriculture played only a small part in their economy, so it is unlikely that they were responsible for the introduction of food plants into New Guinea. That, probably, fell to the "Papuan" and Melanesians.

India is the type habitat of Dioscorea sp. while Alocasia, Colocasia and Metroxylon originate, probably, from Malaysia. The breadfruit (Longocarpus sp.) is not as important as a food-crop in Irian Jaya as it is in Polynesia, but it is to be found everywhere. Similarly, the coconut (Cocos nucifera) is seldom the principal item of the diet as it is in so many atolls in Polynesia, but it is one of the most characteristic plants of the coastal areas. It is a Pan-Pacific species with its origin probably along the shores of the Indian Ocean. Man is considered the agent of its distribution, reaching Madagascar on the one hand and Hawaii on the other.

The distribution of the sweet potato (Ipomea batatas) which is the basic food-crop of the people of the highlands, presents an interesting problem in plant geography. There appears to be a symbiotic relationship between man and the sweet potato. It is a species of the new world. When and how was it introduced into the New Guinea highlands? It is interesting that throughout New Guinea and particularly in the highlands, stone pestles

and mortars are unearthed from time to time. These stone implements are not part of the culture of the present population, and they know nothing of them, neither do they utilize them in their everyday life. They must be a relic of a previous population or perhaps the ancestors of the present people used them before the introduction of the sweet potato, following which their use was no longer necessary and was forgotten. A possible pre-sweet potato "staple" is the mountain Pandanus sp. whose nuts are still highly favoured. It is likely that American Indians travelled across the Pacific from the East towards the West and introduced sweet potatoes. The name of the sweet potato in Polynesia suggests contact with Peru, Columbia or Ecuador, where similar names are used. The sweet potato has spread throughout Polynesia reaching Hawaii in the north and New Zealand in the south, becoming the staple food of the Maories.

Two other new-world plants, maize (Zea mays) and tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum), were also widely distributed in Irian Jaya, including the highlands, prior to the first exploration of the island during the last century.

If the Malayan Archipelago and Ambon in particular, played such an important part as the source of plant material for Irian Jaya, why were some crops introduced and not others, the most important exception being rice (Oryza sativa)? Surely, rice seeds, being easily storable, would have appealed to travellers. This question is not easy to answer.

Tropical fruits have only recently been introduced by Europeans - mangoes (Mangifera indica), mangosteen (Garcinia mangostana), rambutan (Nephelium lappaceum), durian (Durio zebethinus), and others. Pawpaw (Carica papaya), which is of American origin, is ubiquitous.

This year, apples (Malus sylvestris) were introduced into the highlands for the first time. The seedlings have come from East Java where Princess Noble and Rome Beauty varieties have been grafted on an unidentified rootstock and have become adapted to a tropical climate, with good production of high quality fruits. Their possible development in Irian Jaya is of considerable interest.

It seems remarkable that the main objective and interest of the

presence of Europeans in the early days, namely the spices, were not imported into New Guinea. None of these species sought after by the European traders and the subject of wars between the Portuguese, Spaniards, and Dutch - pepper (Piper nigrum), nutmeg (Myristica fragrans), cinnamon (Cinnamomum zeylanicum), cloves (Eugenia aromatica), were introduced into Irian Jaya until very recent years, even though other members of the genera have a wide-spread occurrence.

Of the most recent introductions, cassava or tapioca (Manihot utilissima) is of major importance. It is a native of tropical America, Mexico and Peru. Another more recent introduction originating in America is Chinese taro (Xanthosoma spp.).

Of the introductions made during the last 50 years, peanuts (Arachis hypogaea) and potatoes (Solanum tuberosum) are of the greatest importance. Also many food gardens now contain a wide variety of pulse crops including red gram (Cajanus cajan), green gram (Phaseolus aureus), black gram (Phaseolus mungo), cowpea (Vigna sinensis), Bengal gram (Cicer arictinum).

The potato is gaining importance in high altitude areas where sweet potatoes are killed by periodic frosts.

Rice is already widely consumed, but efforts in recent years to encourage its culture have not been too successful. Eventually, population pressures will demand more intensive system of food production to replace shifting agriculture. Sorghum might prove to be the ideal crop for the drier regions.

The stage is being rapidly passed when much success could be expected from introducing a few seeds or plants from here and there. The future role of plant introduction will be more to provide the basic collections for specialists working on crop improvement. Plant introduction is no longer the part-time of the naturalist, but is the field of systematic research to find the types of material most suited for the new environment or required research projects.



# BEBERAPA PEMIKIRAN TENTANG KEBIJAKSANAAN PEMBANGUNAN

## DI IRIAN JAYA \*

Chris Manning and Ross Garnaut

### SUMMARY :

This article gives a general background to economic policy choices in Irian Jaya, describes some of the policy achievements in relation to national goals, and suggests some possibilities for economic co-operation with Papua, New Guinea. The background section deals with some structural problems arising out of economic and social dualism between the urban, commercial areas and the large majority of subsistence villages, and between the migrants that dominate the modern sector and the indigenous population. The section on policy discusses briefly success in economic integration with Indonesia, inefficiencies and inequalities arising out of the subsidised price of rice, some shortcomings of the highlands development program, possibilities of Sorong becoming a major economic centre, and the importance of greater co-ordination of public programs. It is suggested that in the areas of shipping (especially in the south), fishing and forestry, trade and telecommunications, and in highlands development programmes there are considerable mutual economic gains to be made through economic co-operation between Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea.

These are some of the conclusions that are presented in the authors' forthcoming book on The Economy of Irian Jaya to be published by ANU press. Some of the data included in the book has already been published in the Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies, November 1972 and March 1973.

### Pokok2 Pengarahan.

Irian Jaya adalah suatu propinsi di Indonesia yang patut dinamakan dual economy, walaupun dualisme di Irian Jaya berlainan sekali dari suatu dual ekonomi yang biasa.

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\* Tulisan ini merupakan beberapa kesimpulan yang timbul dari tulisan kami dengan Dr. Ross Garnaut yang berjudul "The Economy of Irian Jaya" yang akan diterbitkan di Canberra oleh ANU Press. Sebagian dari data-data yang kami cantumkan di buku tersebut telah diterbitkan dalam Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies, Nopember 1972, dan Maret 1973. Karangan ini pertama2 dibuat untuk suatu background paper di Konperensi Nasional Ekonomi Pertanian di Ujung Pandang 1973.

Sebagian besar penduduk Irian Jaya tinggal didaerah perkampungan yang sama sekali tidak dipengaruhi oleh perkembangan ekonomi modern. Walaupun ada jaringan perdagangan tradisional yang menghubungkan satu daerah kedaerah lainnya, pada umumnya perdagangan diantara penduduk perkampungan terbatas sekali, division of labour, masih sedikit dan teknologi sangat sederhana. Sebagian besar penduduk hanya mengenal pengambilan dan penumbukan sagu dan penangkapan ikan (dipantai), dan penanaman ubi rambat dengan kayu (dibble stick) dan pemeliharaan babi (didaerah pedalaman).

Beberapa kota di Irian Jaya berkembang dengan pesat sejak Perang dunia II sebagai akibat dari pengeluaran untuk administrasi pemerintah, dan untuk perkembangan fasilitas ekonomi dan sosial, yang sangat besar dibandingkan dengan propinsi lainnya di Indonesia. Tapi pengaruh dari perkembangan kota2 di Irian Jaya terhadap sebagian besar penduduk sangat terbatas. Hampir seluruh kebutuhan konsumsi di kota2 dipenuhi dari import dan, akhir2 ini, dari hasil industri dilain daerah di Indonesia. Hanya kampung2 yang dekat ke kota dan dapat dihubungi dengan mudah melalui jalan atau laut menjual hasil pertaniannya ke kota. Beberapa kampung yang terletak di dekat pantai sudah lama mengexport beberapa produk- terutama kopra, biji pala dan bunga pala, dan kulit buaya- tetapi volumenya sangat kecil (nilai seluruhnya kurang dari 1 juta dollar) dan menunjukkan gejala2 menurun. Beberapa perusahaan Asing sudah mulai mengexport hasil pertambangan - minyak dan tembaga- dan perikanan (udang) tapi sebagian besar dari kebutuhan perusahaan2 ini dipenuhi dari Import, dan efeknya terhadap kesempatan kerja di Irian Jaya sangat terbatas.

Dualisme tidak hanya di dapat antara perekonomian kota dan desa tetapi juga antara kegiatan2 ekonomi dari pada berbagai suku bangsa. Imigrasi orang2 dari luar Irian Jaya, terutama dari Sulawesi Selatan memegang peranan pokok dalam perkembangan kegiatan ekonomi di kota dan juga dalam penyediaan bahan makanan penduduk kota. Putra daerah masih belum mau menerima pekerjaan di kota selama tingkat upah tidak melebihi pendapatan yang mereka peroleh dari usaha2 subsisten di kampung. Di Malaysia dan Fiji migrasi dari negara2 yang relatif miskin (terutama dari India dan Tiongkok) mengakibatkan orang asing menguasai

pekerjaan kasar, dan akhirnya pekerjaan skilled, di sektor modern. Di negara2 tersebut peranan pokok yang dipegang oleh orang asing di daerah kota sudah menimbulkan konflik2 sosial yang serius. Demikian di Irian Jaya pengaruh2 ekonomi inidapat juga menimbulkan konflik2 sosial. Putra daerah tetap menjadi petani subsisten dan pekerjaan2 di kota dikuasai pendatang baru.

Suatu pengertian tentang kenyataan2 ekonomi ini sangat diperlukan untuk merencanakan kebijaksanaan2 yang bertujuan menaikkan taraf hidup putra daerah Irian Jaya. Pengeluaran Pemerintah yang diarahkan keperbaikan fasilitas2 kota tidak akan terasa oleh sebagian besar penduduk setempat, dan hanya akan memperbesar perbedaan antara kota dan kampung dan antara putra daerah dan pendatang baru. Dilain pihak pengeluaran didaerah pedalaman janganlah hanya ditinjau berdasarkan perhitungan ekonomi saja. Keuntungan ekonomi dari investasi Pemerintah di daerah pedalaman akan jauh dibawah keuntungan ekonomi yang dapat diperoleh dari pengeluaran dilain daerah di Indonesia. Usaha2 untuk menaikkan tingkat ekonomi dan sosial dari pada putra daerah memerlukan suatu program khusus berdasarkan penilaian sosial ekonomi dengan tujuan kesejahteraan dan perkembangan taraf ekonomi jangka panjang.

#### Kebijaksanaan Pemerintah.

Tujuan2 pemerintah dalam program pembangunan ekonomi di Irian Jaya telah digariskan diberbagai tulisan dan dapat disimpulkan dalam tiga tujuan pokok yaitu (1) Mengintegrasikan Irian Jaya kedalam perekonomian nasional, (2) "menaikkan" cara2 dan tingkat hidup putra daerah dan (3) memperlancar kegiatan2 ekonomi propinsi Irian Jaya dan memperbesar sumbangannya kepada pembangunan nasional.

Integrasi ekonomi Irian Jaya dengan ekonomi nasional (terutama sejak tahun 1968 dan 1969) telah berjalan dengan pesat. Peraturan2 baru dalam bidang ekonomi - penghapusan subsidi2 yang diberikan kepada perusahaan negara, dan kepada harga pengangkutan dan bahan2 konsumsi- sudah mempertinggi efisiensi alokasi sumber2 produksi. Dewasa ini hanyalah subsidi terhadap harga beras yang masih tetap menjadi satu beban besar (kurang lebih Rp.1½ milyar setahun)



dalam RAPBN propinsi dan negara. <sup>1)</sup> Subsidi beras ini menyebabkan alokasi sumber<sup>2</sup> produksi yang tidak efisien : beras yang secara riil sangat mahal telah menggantikan makanan<sup>2</sup> yang jauh lebih murah dalam pola konsumsi rakyat pantai; dan produksi padi tidak dapat dikembangkan (walaupun daerah<sup>2</sup> dimana penanaman padi adalah ekonomis masih terbatas jumlahnya). Lagi pula subsidi beras ini lebih menguntungkan pendatang<sup>2</sup> baru dari putra daerah yang belum biasa makan beras.

Penghapusan subsidi ini dapat mempunyai keuntungan ekonomis yang besar (walaupun gaji pegawai mungkin perlu dinaikkan untuk menjaga pendapatan riil dari para pegawai).

Dengan dihapusnya subsidi terhadap beras di Irian Jaya migrasi dari lain daerah akan menjadi kurang menarik. Tetapi bantuan kepada orang<sup>2</sup> dari luar Irian Jaya sangat tidak efisien kalau diberi melalui subsidi harga beras.

Task Force adalah suatu program khusus yang bertujuan menaikkan kesejahteraan masyarakat putra daerah di pedalaman. Tapi sampai sekarang Task Force belum mempunyai suatu efek yang nyata terhadap kesejahteraan putra daerah. Anggarannya terlalu kecil (hanya sekitar 5% dari semua pengeluaran pemerintah di Irian Jaya). Pengarahan programnya ditentukan oleh unsur<sup>2</sup> di-luar daerah pelaksanaan, dan penduduk setempat jarang diikuti sertakan dalam penciptaan dan pelaksanaan programnya. Personil pelaksana tidak mendapatkan latihan dan pengalaman yang layak untuk melakukan tugasnya yang sangat berat. Dan pembagian tugas antara dinas<sup>2</sup> pemerintah setempat dan program khusus Task Force masih belum jelas. Rakyat pedalaman semestinya memegang peranan yang lebih penting dalam menentukan tujuannya kalau program ini akan menaikkan kesejahteraan secara riil.

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1) Perbandingan dengan beberapa pengeluaran lain di Irian Jaya menunjukkan betapa besarnya subsidi ini. Nilai subsidi beras adalah kira<sup>2</sup> 40% dari seluruh anggaran pembangunan di Irian Jaya (Rp.3,5 milyar) dan hampir dua kali lipat seluruh anggaran Task Forces (Rp. 750 juta) untuk pembangunan daerah pedalaman.

Disektor moneter penanaman modal dibidang komunikasi dan pengangkutan diutamakan dalam program pemerintah dan telah memberi hasil yang baik. Perbaikan komunikasi adalah syarat mutlak untuk mendapatkan informasi yang diperlukan untuk perencanaan dan juga untuk menunjang pembangunan di daerah pedalaman. Tapi ada kecenderungan untuk semata-mata memperbaiki atau menggantikan fasilitas perhubungan yang dimulai pada zaman Belanda. Jaringan lama ini tidak sesuai dengan pola perekonomian yang sekarang sedang tumbuh di Irian Jaya. Terutama pengeluaran disektor moneter dapat menguntungkan negara kalau diutamakan fasilitas infrastruktur yang dapat menunjang kegiatan2 perusahaan2 asing disektor pertambangan, perikanan dan kehutanan. Khususnya Sorong dapat direncanakan sebagai suatu pusat untuk pengolahan hasil perikanan dan perikanan, dan juga sebagai pusat penyediaan perusahaan2 pertambangan dan sebagai pusat perhubungan laut.

Tetapi pada umumnya pengeluaran disektor moneter tidak dapat dibenerkan secara ekonomis (atau sosial) kalau proyek2 tersebut tidak memberi hasil yang lebih besar dari pada investasi di daerah Indonesia lainnya. Keuntungan2 dari pengeluaran tersebut akan dinikmati oleh penduduk dari luar Irian Jaya dan ini merupakan suatu cara yang kurang efisien untuk menaikkan pendapatan orang Indonesia lainnya.

Kordinasi dari kegiatan pemerintah dan swasta diberbagai sektor ekonomi sangat diperlukan di Irian Jaya. "Economies to scale" yang timbul baik disektor produksi maupun perhubungan sebagai akibat dari fragmentasi kegiatan2 ekonomi menyebabkan perlu adanya koordinasi yang mantap. Suatu contoh yang menggambarkan akibat dari kurangnya koordinasi tersebut terlihat dalam usaha2 untuk memperlancar perhubungan laut. Tanpa perbaikan pemasaran dan peningkatan produksi, penyediaan fasilitas perhubungan laut kurang bermanfaat.

Dengan demikian koordinasi antara beberapa program pemerintah juga mutlak diadakan. Di Irian Jaya banyaknya program pemerintah (terdapat 4 program khusus dan 5 anggaran tersendiri) dan kurangnya koordinasi dari program2 tersebut telah menyebabkan alokasi modal dan tenaga ahli yang tidak efisien. Belum ada suatu Badan yang sanggup mengkordinir kegiatan2 diberbagai

program. LAKBANGDA (Pelaksana Pembangunan Daerah) semestinya dapat melakukan tugas koordinasi, tetapi stafnya terlalu kecil. Lakbangda memerlukan bantuan khusus untuk meningkatkan kemampuannya untuk melaksanakan tugas kordinasi yang sangat penting ini.

Diberbagai bidang Irian Jaya sedang menghadapi banyak persoalan dalam pembangunan yang hampir serupa dengan masalah2 yang dihadapi tetangganya Papua New Guinea (PNG). Irian Jaya akan beruntung jika dapat memetik keuntungan dari pengalaman PNG dalam beberapa bidang. Kerjasama dalam berbagai hal juga akan sangat menguntungkan kedua belah pihak. Disini kami cantumkan beberapa kemungkinan kerjasama yang dapat diadakan.

1. Untuk mengatasi kesulitan2 pengangkutan dan pemasaran yang timbul karena jenis perkayuan yang banyak, Irian Jaya dan PNG dapat bekerja sama dalam pemasaran jenis2 tertentu dan juga dalam pengangkutannya.
2. Untuk menghubungi daerah Merauke kembali dengan pasaran Internasional perlu diadakan hubungan pengangkutan laut antara Merauke dan Port Moresby.
3. Kalau perhubungan laut antara Irian Jaya dan PNG telah di kembangkan seperti dianjurkan dalam 1 dan 2 diatas perdagangan antara dua daerah ini dalam beberapa komoditi mempunyai kemungkinan yang baik. Bahan2 jadi yang murah dari Jawa (misalnya: barang klontong dan textil) akan mendapatkan pasaran yang baik di Irian Jaya. Dilain pihak hasil industri dari PNG (misalnya gelas, makanan2 kaleng, dan metal manufactures) dapat dikembangkan di Irian Jaya dan Indonesia Timur. Tapi kemungkinan2 perdagangan ini tidak dapat dikembangkan kalau tarif bea masuk di Irian Jaya disamakan dengan keadaan di daerah Indonesia lainnya.
4. Sumber perikanan cakalang (skipjack) tuna dan udang di dua daerah ini yang mempunyai pola yang agak sama. Baik dalam hal-hal konservasi maupun dalam menghadapi perusahaan2 asing (terutama perusahaan Jepang) penukaran informasi dan kerjasama dalam bidang ini akan sangat menguntungkan.
5. Irian Jaya dan PNG mempunyai suatu masalah yang pokok yaitu sebagian besar dari penduduk tinggal di daerah2 terpencil yang sulit dihubungi. Beberapa



inovasi Indonesia terutama yang sederhana dan bersifat padat karya (misalnya teknologi Indonesia dibidang buah2an, gerobak2 yang sekarang dipakai di daerah Merauke) dapat menguntungkan PNG. Dan pengalaman PNG dalam perkembangan tanaman2 export di daerah pedalaman (highlands) - terutama kopi, teh dan sutra-dapat sangat bermanfaat untuk program pembangunan didaerah pedalaman Irian Jaya.

6. Kerjasama dalam bidang telekomunikasi dapat meringankan biaya dan mempertinggi efisiensi untuk kedua belah pihak.
7. Yang terakhir, industri2 jasa padat karya dan pasar2 "Melaju" yang sudah menjadi umum di kota2 pantai di Irian Jaya dapat sangat membantu perkembangan kota2 di PNG dimana teknologi industri dan perdagangan sangat dipengaruhi oleh pola2 yang didapat di Australia, yang kurang tepat di PNG

Persoalan2 politis masih menghalangi lancarnya perkembangan kerja sama yang lebih erat antara dua daerah ini . Tapi perkembangan2 dibidang sosial dan ekonomi yang sangat berbeda disebelah timur dan barat dari perbatasan sudah menciptakan masyarakat yang berbeda pula. Dengan demikian rasa persamaan telah berkurang dan ini akan lebih memungkinkan kerja sama yang sehat antara dua tetangga yang mempunyai banyak ciri khas alam dan geografis yang sama.

## THE ARSO VERSION OF THE STORY OF THE FLOOD\*

P.W. Rambouts o.f.m.

IKHTISAR :

Sejumlah cerita2 mythologi tentang airbah besar yang mengenangi permukaan bumi ini terdapat diberbagai-bagai bagian pada bumi kita. Cerita2 semacam ini terdapat juga pada beberapa suku di Irian Jaya.

Cerita tentang airbah besar yang termuat didalam artikel ini diceritakan oleh orang2 Arso. Menurut cerita ini airbah yang terjadi itu diakibatkan oleh terbunuhnya seekor buaya yang dianggap keramat.

Hanya beberapa orang saja yang dapat terhindar dari bahaya air bah ini, mereka inilah orang2 pertama yang mendiami kampung Arso.

Long ago it was not possible to bring a child into the world by natural means. The womb had to be opened with a stone axe. The result of this operation, of course, was that the mother died.

Now once upon a time there lived in the village of Sawja-Tami a man named Towjatuwa. His wife was expecting a child and the delivery day was not far off. Sadly he went to the bed of the Tami River to find a good stone to use as an axe. As he was walking along the bed of the Tami River deep in thought, he suddenly heard a strange sound. He looked around and saw a huge crocodile behind him. It was a beast of formidable proportions and among its scales were cassowary feathers.

The crocodile spoke and asked, "What are you doing ?"

"I am looking for a stone to use as an axe because my wife must bring a child into the world," answered Towjatuwa.

"Oh! You men cause women sorrow and pain that they really need not undergo. Tell me where you live and when darkness falls I will come and help your wife so that she need not die," said the crocodile.

Happily Towjatuwa returned home and told his wife the good news. Towards evening he removed a section of gabba-gabba (sago palm pith) from the wall of his house so that the crocodile might enter. His wife sat by the fire,

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\*Translated from the Dutch by Barbara Bernander.

leaning against one of the upright poles of the hut. When it was dark, Towjatuwa heard a rustling in the high grass. It was the crocodile.

The crocodile's large snout was filled with herbs mixed with water and he spat this over the woman. (The herbs he had in his mouth, the so-called gruaka, are to be found in all the villages behind Jayapura growing beside the houses. This is the medicine that has to be used during confinement. The crocodile learnt this and so taught it to Towjatuwa). The outcome was wonderful. In a moment the child was born and the woman lived. The joy of Towjatuwa cannot be described.

The child which was born was a boy. The crocodile first told them his name and then gave a name to the boy. He himself was called Watuwe and the child was given the name of Narrowra. Then the crocodile prophesied, "When the child, Narrowra, grows up and becomes an expert hunter, the people will shoot me. They will eat my flesh. Kwembo (the godhead), however, will be very angry and as a punishment will destroy the whole world with water. When you, Towjatuwa, and your son are offered my flesh to eat, you must refuse for anyone who eats it will perish. You must ask for my testes and take them to the mountain in Sankria. You, together with your son. There the jankwenk (the people from above) will tell you what to do next".

Narrowra grew and prospered and became a good hunter. His father often took him hunting. One day, while he was away from the village the following occurred.

The children from the village were playing a ball game in the bed of the Tami and, as was the custom, they had put a few breadfruit on a fire to warm. None of them stayed by the fire as they were all happily at play. When they tired of playing, they went to see if the breadfruit was ready as they were all hungry from their game. To their astonishment the fire was out and everything around was wet. This was strange because it had not rained. They could not understand it.

After this happened again several times the children decided to make a large basket from the sheath of the nipa palm leaf which could be suspended from a tree and in which one of the small boys could hide and observe from



above without being seen. The older children went off to play as usual. Suddenly, in the distance, the boy saw the reeds on the bank of the Tami waving to and fro. A large crocodile climbed the bank and advanced slowly in the direction of the fire on which the breadfruit were warming. When it got there it stood astride the fire and extinguished it.

The child was so frightened he could not utter a sound. He stayed in the tree until the crocodile disappeared once more into the river. He then climbed down the lianas which hung to the ground and told the others everything he had seen. This excited the children very much for they were keen on hunting and looked forward to killing the crocodile.

With the help of the older people of Sawja-Tami, a screen of reeds was made a little way from the place where the crocodile would appear. Behind this they could hide unseen. Part of the group went to sit behind the screen with their fine bows and arrows. For safety they each brought sufficient arrows. The other children went to play as usual on the bank and in the bed of the Tami. To the side, the fire burned with the breadfruit as customary.

It was not long before the boys and the men sitting concealed behind the screen saw an enormous crocodile not far off, making its way towards the fire. It was a remarkable beast. They had never seen anything like it. It had cassowary feathers between its scales. Slowly it came closer. The boys and the men drew their bows and when the crocodile stood astride the fire to put it out, they all let fly their arrows. The arrows flew towards the crocodile and struck home. The animal fell dead. There was a loud cry of rejoicing for this brought them meat in abundance. It called for a celebration in which the neighbouring villages would also take part.

Just as Towjatuwa returned from the hunt with his son Narrowra, the people were starting their feast. Proudly they told him of the enormous crocodile they had killed. He asked if he might see it and at once recognized Watuwe. When they invited him to join the feast, he refused and asked, as Watuwe had instructed him, for the testes of the crocodile. Then he told Narrowra what they were to do. Narrowra went to fetch his friend Kunebuan, as well as his sister, Ubara, and the sister of Kunebuan, Membawa. The five of

them set out for the mountain in Sankria. According to the prophesy of Watuwe, this was the place where they would meet the jankwenk to receive their instructions.

On their way they passed by Kwimi which was completely deserted. All the inhabitants had gone to Sawja-Tami for the feast. From there they walked at a steady pace to the mountain in Sankria which stood close to the river Sekanto. Towards evening, they came to the mountain in Sankria. The jankwenk were there already, with their large flutes. What beautiful people they were! White and with wings. This was the first occasion in a long time that these people from above had dealt with the people from below. The last time had been when a woman had stolen fire from one of the people from above. Since then they had always remained above.

When Towjatuwa and the children had rested, the jankwenk began to talk about the terrible punishment which would come to pass over the world as a result of the death of Watuwe. At the same time, they were told what was to be done after the dreadful punishment. All human, animal and plant life would disappear from the earth. Only that which stood on the Mountain of Sankria would survive the catastrophe. Their task was therefore to re-populate the devastated world with people, animals and plants. The seeds with which they were to do this would be obtained from the jankwenk.

To create people they were to sow the seed of a banana. From the stem of the banana they were to take large pieces and to say these words: "I command . . . become woman!" or, alternatively, "man!"

Towards morning the talk ended. The jankwenk took their flutes and each went to stand in one of the directions of the wind. One turned to the south, the other to the north and two others to the east and west. Then they lifted their flutes, put them to their mouths and sounded a deafening noise. This was a sign to the waters. With thundering force the floods came. The water foamed and frothed. Trees were uprooted and dragged away. The clouds emptied the rain on to the earth with immense force.

The water rose higher and higher. The force of the flood remained unbroken until all life was dead, all trees and plants uprooted. The Mountain

Sankria was the only place where life remained intact. Slowly the water came to rest and the downpour lessened. After a few days the water began to subside. There was devastation everywhere. The only tree that still remained standing was a large ironwood at the top of Mount Sankria.

Towjatuwa and his children began to get bored. They wanted to start their appointed work. They sent down a kangaroo to see whether the ground below was yet dry, but the animal soon came back as it was still too wet. After a few more days of waiting, a lory (small, brightly coloured parrot) was sent. It too came back for it was not yet dry. After yet a few more day he sent down a pig. It stayed. This was a sign to Towjatuwa and his people that they too could descend and begin their designated tasks.

They took with them the seeds which the jankwenk had given them. Below, at the foot of the Sankria, Narrowra took over the leadership. He sowed the banana seed and lo, in a very short time, to the delight of the eyes, strong, sturdy banana stems rose from the ground. These were cut down; some pieces were large and others small. They were laid neatly alongside each other: the larger beside the larger, and the smaller pieces beside the smaller.

Narrowra stood in front of them and in a strong voice said the following words, "I command . . . become women!" At this the larger pieces of stem became large women and the smaller pieces became small women.

Unaided the women rose and went forth whilst Narrowra and the others continued their work. The forest was large and after having walked for some time, the women built themselves a dance house. They wanted to hold a feast, but in their own manner. They knew nothing about flutes and there was no pig meat. Still, in order to have some music, they made a container from the sheath of the nipa palm, filled it with water and put in frogs. When they wanted music, they had only to shake the container and the frogs began to croak.

In the meantime, Narrowra had sown fresh banana seeds and from the stems he again cut pieces, large and small. After laying the large pieces beside the large and the small alongside the small, he said once again, "I command . . . become men!" Again there rose both large strong men and small



strudy ones.

Narrowra was happy and spoke to the men, "Men, we must make a feast, for something great has happened. We must always commemorate this that we, Towjatuwa, my father, Kunebuan, my friend and I have remained safe from this terrible calamity. While I go and make flutes for the feast, you must go and hunt pigs." Narrowra then went off to fetch wood to make the flutes. These had to be completely hollowed out. In the meantime, Towjatuwa who was out on a reconnaissance, discovered the dance hut in which the women sat feasting. This gave him an idea as to how the dance hut might presently be used.

The men had already returned some time ago with a few pigs, sufficient to hold a fine feast. They went to Narrowra and asked if the flutes were ready. Repeated he answered "Me-kek", which means, not yet. (Since then the place has been known as Me-kek and is halfway between Sekanto and Arso at the so-called Telega Mati, a dead branch of the Tami River).

At last the flutes were finished. Towjatuwa had already told them of the women's dance hut and when Narrowra completed his flutes, they set off in that direction. They approached the hut very quietly. Silently Towjatuwa went ahead with a few men and placed sharp nipa slats against the house which stood on stilts, and removed the pole which the women used to enter the hut. Then they signalled the men to sound their flutes. With all their might they blew the instruments. The women in the house were bewildered by the noise and tried to flee as fast as they could. The pole for descending was missing and when they saw the nipa slats they tried to use these instead. The slats, however, were sharp and they were all badly hurt.

Rejoicing at the misfortune of the women, the men took possession of the hut. Quickly they cleared it of the containers of frogs. Now the feast could begin. Narrowra again ordered, "In future you must, as I have already said, commemorate our delivery from the deluge. You have us to thank for your existence"

Thus they prepared the decorations. Red, white and black paint was brought with which to paint the body. The whole body was painted in small squares, black, white and red. These represented the scales of the crocodile Watuwe. Because the crocodile also had cassowary feathers, these too had to be

depicted. Therefore they made an inkwi-tar (literally, cassowary feathers) which is a head adornment consisting of a cane framework with one ring at shoulder length and one at the height of the temple. Extending upwards from these two rings are four pieces of cane, at times as long as 1.20 meters. These are tied at the top and are bound with cassowary feathers and decorated with the white feathers of the cockatoo. Sometimes it may have more cassowary feathers at the very top. Another decoration is the kos which is a breast ornament made from the still white leaf of the coconut palm or nipa palm. These leaves which have not yet been exposed to the sun are yellowish white. The hollow bones of the pig provided material for an ornament worn around the stomach. These bone are cut under water into rings and strung together to form a chain. This is called a keri. Additional decorations include the round penis sheath, arm and leg bands. Between the armbands can be found the large tusk of a pig and the leg bands are often beautified with the blue-grey Job's tears. The most important accessories, however, are the flutes, the jinir and the jinasse. The jinir is the short flute and the jinasse the long one.

Thus fully attired and equipped, Narrowra and Kunebuan began to dance. It went well. The rhythmic

7 6 5 5    7 6 5 5    7 6 5 5    7 6 5 5  
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sounded beautiful under the tall trees. However, they were not to dance for long for their inkwi-tars began to grow until the weight was too much for their heads. Therefore they contented themselves with watching the others dance on. In the meantime the women had gathered nearby.

This was the moment when Narrowra could present each man with a woman. The big men received the big women and the small men, the small women. To each couple he gave the necessary seeds which they were to sow in their village. Sago was also given. They were specifically forbidden to eat them on the way.

Two by two Narrowra sent the people away with the mission of founding villages. Two had to go south and establish the village of Arso. Two others were to start the village Wor, and so on. In this way couples were designated for Kuana, Wambes, Jetty, Kwimi, Girire, Sawja, Njao, etc.

The couples that were sent to Kwimi did not heed the order not to eat sago. On the way they ate nearly all of it. The result was that they had very little left to plant in the village. This is the reason why there are today so few sago palms in Kwimi.

It was now time for Narrowra and Kunebuan to marry. Because Narrowra, Kunebuan, Ubara and Membawa were the only true people still living they had to arrange an exchange marriage. This is the reason the people in the area prefer exchange marriage when at all possible. Kunebuan married Ubara, Narrowra's sister, and Narrowra married Membawa, Kunebuan's sister.

They lived on Mount Sankria where they chose to remain. Their marriage was happy. Narrowra received the testes of Watuwe from his father Towjatuwa. He was to guard them well and ensure that they were never seen by women. Carefully he stored them in a nokking (a small bag) and hung it on a pole in the house under the roof. As long as this small parcel hung there undisturbed and no woman saw its contents, life was pleasant; the hunt was always successful and no man knew misfortune or illness.

Narrowra had a son, Nifirm. The boy was very tiny. The second son however, was much bigger and sturdier. This son was called Mukumu. Nifirm found it very tiresome that his younger brother was much bigger and stronger than himself and he decided to go away for good. He changed himself into a morning bird, the burung siang and flew away.

One day, while Narrowra was out in the forest hunting, something suddenly went wrong. He lost his way, got caught on the thorns of the rattan and stumbled over the roots of the trees. He sensed the reason for this and quickly hurried home where, indeed, it was as he suspected. The women, who were no longer able to contain their curiosity, had climbed up the pole, brought down the small parcel and opened it to see what was inside. At that moment the contents began to grow.

As soon as Narrowra reached the house, he grabbed the package and quickly wound various leaves around it to hide it from the eyes of the women. He summoned the people of Arso and with their help carried the testes of the crocodile Watuwe to Arso. Eight people were needed for this task. The package



was carried on a branch of the ironwood tree that had survived the flood.

There in the dance house they built a special room for this precious package. No woman was allowed to enter the dance house. It was a house reserved exclusively for men. Day and night watch was kept. A large number of the men slept in the house around the room with the obat hudjan (rain medicine). They were convinced that if the package was broken again, the world would undergo another deluge. In November, 1953, they disobeyed and opened the bundle.

It contained two large stone axes.

## A NOTE ON THE WORK OF THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

Norman Draper

IKHTISAR :

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L.) adalah suatu Badan Yayasan Swasta yang bekerja di 25 negara dengan 3.000 tenaga pada saat sekarang. Kebanyakan dari petugas2 S.I.L. yang bertugas dilapangan adalah tenaga2 yang dilatih untuk memiliki keahlian dalam bidang ilmu bahasa (linguistics). Tugas pokok mereka adalah mempelajari dan merekam bahasa2 daerah dengan maksud menterjemahkan Kitab Perjanjian Baru (New Testament), maupun hal2 lainnya kedalam bahasa2 daerah itu sendiri.

Pada jaman sekarang banyak ahli2 berpendapat bahwa mendidik orang untuk membaca dan menulis dengan menggunakan bahasa daerah sendiri lebih dahulu adalah lebih cepat apabila dibandingkan dengan mendidik orang untuk membaca dan menulis dengan menggunakan bahasa asing yang belum dikenal. Rupa-nya pokok inilah yang menjadi pendorong utama bagi orang2 S.I.L. untuk beroperasi diberbagai negeri didunia dewasa ini.

Petugas2 S.I.L., bukan saja mempelajari bahasa2 daerah akan tetapi mereka turut serta dalam proyek2 pembangunan desa seperti pembukaan jalan, pembangunan jembatan dan program2 pembangunan masyarakat desa lainnya di daerah mana mereka beroperasi.

Di Irian Jaya, S.I.L. pada tahun ini juga memulai usaha2 kemanusiaan-nya dengan bekerja sana dengan Universitas Cenderawasih. Para linguistics S.I.L. yang sekarang berada di Irian Jaya sudah memulai tugasnya, yaitu mempelajari bahasa-daerah di daerah Tor dan daerah2 sekitar Sarmi lainnya.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L.) with a total membership of nearly 3,000 is involved in linguistic research in 25 different countries. About half the membership are linguists who have completed at least two S.I.L. courses; the others support the work as pilots, printers, administrators, radio technicians, teachers of members' children, builders, etc.

S.I.L. schools

In eight different countries S.I.L. conducts courses in linguistics, normally in the summer months (hence the name S.I.L.). These are often related to University programmes as credit courses. They are designed specially to meet the needs of students, research workers, or others who plan

to study unwritten or unanalyzed languages.

#### Training camp

Each member initially is given three months training in preparation for village life and dependence upon village food. This orientation is also aimed at deepening his sensitivity to another culture and outlook. As well, at the training camp a number of practical skills are taught such as house construction, maintenance of radios, battery chargers, outboard motors and so on.

#### The programme

The programme of research and translation varies slightly according to the needs of each country. A team including a husband and wife (both trained in linguistics) or two single people will concentrate their efforts in one language and culture area. They spend about half of their time in the village situation to absorb the language with its idiom and thought patterns and to study the culture that so intrinsically permeates the language. The rest of the time is generally spent at the headquarters base. A team will normally spend ten to fifteen years in completing their whole project of linguistic analysis, translation work and teaching literacy.

#### At base

At base, teams are given opportunities for additional training in various aspects of their work including phonemics, syntax, lexicography, advanced grammar, literacy, anthropology and translation techniques. Senior consultants who have specialized in their particular fields, many having completed their M.A. or Ph.D. degrees, direct these workshops and advise on research problems.



### Literacy

In most of the twenty-five countries where S.I.L. operates, governments have requested S.I.L. to conduct adult literacy classes. Wide experience in this field has produced positive results showing a distinct advantage in using the vernacular as a bridge to literacy in the national language. It is normal policy in S.I.L. literacy programmes to teach literacy in the vernacular.

### Translation

S.I.L. expects each team to translate at least the New Testament of the Bible along with other books which are important in the lives of the people so that they may develop concepts of the world beyond the village. Government departments sometimes ask S.I.L. to cooperate in publishing particular booklets in the vernacular, recognizing the advantage of communicating with village people in their local language.

### Projects

Many teams work with the village people in developing community projects. These may include such things as a clean water supply, the raising of chickens, cash crops, construction of bridges, roads, or airstrips. All such projects are first approved by local government officers and the S.I.L. Director.

### Finances

Members receive no salaries from S.I.L. but are responsible for their own support or are sponsored by Christian churches and friends who are interested in assisting S.I.L.'s programmes. It is therefore a non-profit service organization. Field and home administration costs are financed by agreed percentage payments from members out of monies given to them for the work.

## Results

The results of S.I.L. members' research is available to all interested parties who recognize the normal ethics of scientists as to published material and its use.

## Irian Jaya

S.I.L. has commenced work only this year in Irian Jaya where they are operating in affiliation with Cenderawasih University. The first three teams are already beginning language research in the Sarimi and Tor River areas. An initial survey undertaken by S.I.L. through correspondence with government and mission personnel in this Province has reflected a wide interest in the field of language study. It is hoped that because of the large number of languages represented in this area of Indonesia S.I.L. may encourage present language studies and make a significant contribution to scientific research and to the well being of village people in Irian Jaya.

FURTHER THOUGHTS ON THE DUGUM DANI :  
A RESPONSE TO A REVIEW

Karl G. Heider

Father Jules Camps' review of my monograph, The Dugum Dani (IRIAN 1.2:83-100. 1972), is a most welcome contribution. The Editors of IRIAN are to be congratulated for their enterprise in soliciting it. All too often, anthropologists write only for other anthropologists, and their ideas and findings are lost to the people where they actually did their research. And all too often, missionaries and government officials, who spend more time in an area than do anthropologists, do not write their ideas on paper at all.

If IRIAN develops this sort of interchange, it will become valuable indeed. And the next step will come when the people of an area review what outside anthropologists have written about them, and even write their own ethnographies about their own culture.

Meanwhile, I would like to comment on Fr. Camps' review of my book. He has found some mistakes: for example, the jabbing spears are indeed more than four meters long, and not, as I unaccountably wrote, "two to three meters long." Some of this points are disagreements of emphasis. Two examples of this are: he thinks that remarriage of young widows and eating of raw sweet potatoes is more common than my observations suggested.

We also have outright disagreements on matters of fact. Despite Fr. Camps absolute denial, I did find that the terms namene and najege (my dog) could be used for especially important men; and I did see the remains of fires in hearths in the sleeping lofts of some women's houses. On the other hand, Fr. Camps may well be right when he suggests that the various names for rain which I reported were the results of misunderstandings in the early days of my field research.

One possible source of conflicting data may be due to the fact that my first work was done in the Dugum Neighborhood, but that Fr. Camps lives in Jiwiki, some 5-10 km. up-valley. Anyone who is familiar with the Grand Valley of the Balim knows that often groups which are only a few kilometers



apart may show differences in cultural traits, both minor and major. Unfortunately, Fr. Camps is rarely clear whether he is speaking of the Dugum Neighborhood, of Jiwika, or of other parts of the Balim where he has lived and visited.

But Fr. Camps has also raised a number of more important issues, among them the matter of orthography of Dani words. He has correctly pointed out inconsistencies in some of my transcriptions. But it should be noted that his review and this present reply are continuations of many long debates which we have had over the past years, and especially during the months in 1970 when I lived at Jiwika as his guest. The debates were inconclusive, and I think that some of these matters can only be resolved by a trained linguist.

#### The name "Dani"

I have used the name "Dani" for the people speaking related dialects and languages who live in and around the Balim drainage; and "Grand Valley Dani" for those who speak dialects of the major language in the Grand Valley of the Balim. As I wrote at the time, there was no really appropriate term for these people. The term which Fr. Camps suggests, Orang Baliem (surely he means "Balim"?), may be appropriate for those people living along the Balim River. But then what of the "Western Dani" who live in the Konda Valley, north of the Balim drainage system, and other "Dani" who do not live in the Balim?

There is no obvious answer to this problem. Years ago I began using what seemed to be the best name and no one, including Fr. Camps, has objected until this year. Outsiders are always on slippery ground in this respect, and must watch carefully as the consciousness of the people themselves rises and they choose their own names. Meanwhile, one might remark that many of us seem to live quite happily with names imposed from the outside (e.g., "Indonesia" and "America.")

#### Sexual behavior

Fr. Camps questions my statements that abortion is rare and that the level of sexual interest is low. Actually, I wrote that although people talk about abortion, "there is no indication that abortion actually occurs," while

Fr. Camps says that "anyone who has lived for a longer time among the Dani (sic) people has been able to learn that abortion occurs frequently." (89) I am sure that Fr. Camps does not mean this. Long residence is not necessarily correlated with knowledge. More important, one of the basic lessons of Anthropology (and indeed of life itself) is that there is often a difference between what people say about their behavior and what they actually do. Fr. Camps has done no more than repeat an old wife's tale which supports my point that people talk about abortion. But neither of us has convincing data that abortion "occurs frequently."

My data about sexual behavior come from non-Christian adult males who lived mainly in the Dugum Neighborhood and Jiwika; at least some of Fr. Camps' data are from Christian catechists and, apparently in part, from people from elsewhere in the Balim area. In my conversations with many men about the long period of post-partum sexual abstinence, I perceived no overt sexual concern, yet Fr. Camps reports two young Christians who "have almost become frantic as a result of the prolonged abstinence." During my period of observation in the Dugum-Jiwika areas, I saw only one unmarried young man have a hunuk-palin seizure, and that lasted only an hour or so; yet Fr. Camps says that it "quite often occurs" and "some of them loose their heads completely for a full day..." (91).

These discrepancies raise more problems: were my observations incomplete? are Fr. Camps' observations misunderstood or wrong? or has there been a major cultural change in sexual and sex-related behavior during the last decade? I am unable to answer these questions now, but obviously they are worth serious attention. And they cannot be resolved by a few casual anecdotes.

### Warfare

Fr. Camps also raises some interesting questions about the fighting in the area during the 1960s. He adds some useful historical notes to my account, but he misunderstands the point of my discussion.

It seems to me that when looking for "causes" of Dani war, we must consider both social structural features and specific triggering events.

Structurally, the Dani alliance (e.g., "The Kurelu Alliance") is an unstable unit composed of relatively independent cohesive confederations (like the Wilihiman-Walalua Confederation). An entire alliance can and does (or did) wage war against another alliance. An entire alliance holds a maximal pig feast every five or so years.

But an alliance is not an effective judicial unit. Conflict resolution is effectively managed within the confederation, but not between confederations of even the same alliance. Perhaps it would be best to qualify this: within an alliance, some confederations are closely enough associated so that conflicts between them can be resolved relatively easily by the Big Men; but also, within an alliance some confederations are so separated politically that it is relatively difficult for any Big Men to resolve conflicts between those confederations. This was the case between the two factions of the Kurelu Alliance in the early 1960s. The historical events of the Police presence contributed to conflict which, for structural reasons, the alliance found more and more difficult to resolve. And so the outburst of fighting in 1966, which split the alliance.

Fr. Camps poses the hypothetical question.

Suppose that the Wilihiman-Walalua had always belonged to the Logo-Mabel war alliance, does Heider believe that such a retaliation would not have taken place? (94)

My hypothetical answer is, "No, it would not. If the Wilihimen-Walalua had always been close to the Logo-Mabel, the 'crimes' would have been punished or resolved as they occurred and tension would not have built up to the point of explosion."

This emphasizes the weakness of the Dani judicial system. (And it must be recognized that by "judicial system" I refer not to Police and Courts with power, but to adjudication by Big Men with influence. A common error has been to think that the Big Men were "chiefs" or "kepala" with real power. This is a self-correcting error, however, for the Big Men are gaining power and will soon be true chiefs or kepala.)

Until the late 1960s, the Dani judicial system could handle small-



scale conflicts, but could not easily resolve conflicts between people of different antagonistic groups. The end result of such unresolvable conflict was often war. Now, of course, as the effectiveness of the Police and Civil Government grows, a new judicial system should be able to deal with such conflicts.

Finally, I am very glad that Fr. Camps took issue with my last words, which were extremely pessimistic about the future of the Dani. I said that "the chances are slim indeed for the Dani to become other than detribalized parasites." This was a warning, not a prediction. I sincerely hope that it does not come to pass. If it does, not, much of the credit will go to Fr. Camps and many others who will read these pages.

#### A COMMENT ON DANI ORTHOGRAPHY WITH REFERENCE TO HEIDER'S DUGUM DANI

M. Bromley

Father Camps' informed and detailed review of Karl Heider's The Dugum Dani has raised, among other issues, the matter of Dani orthography. The inconsistent spellings in the book are indeed bothersome, but I think Father Camps has been unnecessarily harsh in his criticism. It should be noted that Heider modestly and truthfully admitted in his preface his difficulty with just the symbols cited in the review, including i and y, d and t, b and p, g and k, dl and bp (Heider 1970: viii). And, as the citations in the review demonstrate, the terms quoted by Heider are in general recognizable to anyone working with the language spoken in the area, and they are probably the only people who care about the pronunciation of the terms anyway. Father Camps also unwittingly provides a reminder that mercy ought to be shown to those who do not fully master the orthographies we linguists devise. Contrary to what is cited in that review (1972:86) from Father Peters' generally excellent dissertation (1965:173), p at the beginning of a word does not stand for b, and the example given as pakai begins in mid-Grand Valley dialects with an implosive and should be spelled with initial bp

in the orthography under discussion. For an accurate summary of that orthography, including the value of initial p as a voiceless aspirated stop, see Father van der Stap's dissertation (1966:3), although it should be noted that initial p does not occur in the speech of most people in the areas studied by Father Peters and van der Stap, but has rather been replaced by h.

## UNIVERSITY AND INSTITUTE NEWS

Procedures for Applying to Undertake Research  
in Indonesia

The University of Cenderawasih has received a letter from Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) -- the Indonesian Institute of Sciences -- setting out the procedures to be followed by foreigners wishing to do research in any part of Indonesia. The procedures are as follows:

1. To carry out research in Indonesia one must have a sponsor. Normally, this would be an institute or other organization within Indonesia which has some connection with the type of research envisaged. If the applicant does not know of any such body the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) will endeavour to put the applicant in touch with an appropriate organization or, if the applicant wishes, will act as sponsor itself.
2. In order to obtain a visa to enter Indonesia to carry out research LIPI must first approve of the proposed research. To obtain such approval and the necessary visa the following should be sent to LIPI.
  - (a) A letter of request to undertake research.
  - (b) A detailed research proposal which includes the duration of the proposed research, the date of commencement and the location where research is to be carried out.
  - (c) Three copies of the applicants curriculum vitae including a list of publications.
  - (d) Two letters of recommendation. One of these should be from the applicant's university or institute and the other from a well known authority in the field of the proposed research.
  - (e) A letter of support from the sponsor in Indonesia if the



sponsor is not LIPI.

(f) A letter of guarantee verifying that the applicant has sufficient funds to cover research and living expenses in Indonesia.

(g) One photograph of the applicant.

If approval to carry out the research is granted LIPI will communicate with the Immigration authorities in Jakarta requesting that a visa be granted to enter Indonesia. The granting of a visa takes about one month from the time when the documents referred to above have been received.

The address of LIPI is Jl. Teuku Tjihik Ditiro No. 43  
Jakarta  
Indonesia.

#### Asia Foundation Grants

The Asia Foundation, Jakarta, Indonesia, has granted Rp. 615.000,- in equipment and funds to help meet the costs of publishing the IRIAN and Rp. 1.314.000,- in equipment and funds to assist the research activities of the Institute for Anthropology. In acknowledging these grants the Rector of the University, Dr. Soekisno Hadikoemoro, the Director of the Institute, Drs. Anwas Iskandar and the staff of the Institute wish to express their appreciation for this generous assistance.

#### University of Cenderawasih Museum

Although the museum has not yet been opened officially it is open to the public each day. An increasing number of visitors attest to the growing popularity the museum is achieving in Jayapura. There are now 867 artifacts

held by the museum although it is not possible to display all of these at the same time. At the present time artifacts have been obtained from the following areas in Irian Jaya: Merauke, Asmat, Mimika, Teminabuan, Raya Ampat, Manokwari, Paniai, Baliem, Bokondini, Bonggo, Sarimi, Yapen Waropen and Biak. Most of the artifacts have been purchased through the John D. Rockefeller 3rd. Fund grant to the museum but there have also been a number of pieces donated to the museum and some have been obtained on loan from government officials and from the Kabin Permuseum Dinas PD & K Propensi Irian Jaya.

At this time we wish also to express our appreciation for a gift of artifacts from the Papua, New Guinea Museum and Art Gallery. This gift was made possible through the generosity of Mr. R.D. Mitton of Newmont Mining Company and the Board of Trustees of the PNG Museum and Art Gallery.

Arie Yan Korwa  
Curator  
University of Cenderawasih  
Museum

## RESEARCH IN IRIAN JAYA

Proposed research:Potential Modernization Among the Asmat

This is Ph.D. dissertation research being conducted among Asmat of Irian Jaya. Focusing on six coastal villages in the District of Agats, the study will investigate the potential for modernization and development there. Specifically, changes in local resource utilization patterns and changes in communication patterns will be investigated statistically, as they have been influenced by external change agents, and as they can be related to internal population dynamics.

The period of research: Sept. 1973 - June 1974. Research advisor: Prof. G.O.Lang, University of Colorado.

Peter van Arsdale  
Department of Anthropology  
University of Colorado  
Boulder, Colorado

Plan for Interdisciplinary Research  
in the Central Highlands of Irian Jaya

Anthropologists of the Berlin Museum for Ethnology (Staatliche Museen/State Museums Preußischer Kulturbesitz, West-Berlin) and scientists of the social and natural sciences at university institutes of Berlin and within the Federal Republic of Germany have developed a plan for research work to be realized with regard to the people of the Central Highlands of Irian Jaya east of the Baliem Valley, within the area north of Mt. Goliath and westwards to the Sobger River.



It is the idea to start with anthropological and linguistical field work early in 1974 (at the latest), continuing the co-operative approach within the following years in relation to sociology, psychology, physical anthropology, medicine, ethnomedicine, human ethology, ethnomusicology, prehistory, anthropogeography, botany, zoology, soil sciences, and climatology.

The complete research might be undertaken from 1974 to 1979. Only 5 - 8 German scientists would work within the area at the same time.

At the end we should have gained a thorough knowledge of that area under the topic "Man and his environments", covering the problems of development and change to the fullest extent. The scientific results will be published in a series of volumes.

All funds necessary for this project should be provided by the German Research Foundation (Bonn - Bad Godesberg). The research should be done in close co-operation with the Government of Indonesia and with all those Indonesian Institutes which will be interested in this work.

The result of all this research work should be made available to the Government of Indonesia and to the Indonesian Universities, particularly to the University of Cenderawasih, as soon as possible. This includes the implications for development, which might be useful for the Governor of the Province.

If the Government of Indonesia desires development aid for this area in the future, detailed plans might be submitted by our specialists in co-operation with the FUNDWI representatives, and the Federal Republic of Germany might assist by providing funds.

The research work within the area should be started in February 1974. All participants are well aware of the extremely difficult nature of the terrain and will bring the technical equipment necessary for carrying out the intended work.

We firmly believe that the proposed research is not only important for science itself. It will be still more beneficial to those concerned with the

later economic development of the people of that area. These disinterested studies of social and natural research should serve the interests of the people of Irian Jaya finally.

The President  
Museum Für Völkerkunde  
1 Berlin 33, Dahlem  
West Germany

### Research in the Asmat

The Professor of Anthropology and three staff members of the Institute for Anthropology, University of Cenderawasih, intend undertaking a lengthy research project in the Asmat region of the south coast, commencing late October, 1973. Research will be centred in the villages of Saowa-Erma.

The initial project will be to undertake a study of the effectiveness of co-operatives in motivating villagers to sustained work. This phase of the study which is expected to last two months will be funded by the Irian Jaya Joint Development Foundation. The second phase of the research which is expected to continue for four months will focus on culture change with particular reference to forms of emerging leadership. Costs for this portion of the research work will be met partially by monies remaining from the Southern Illinois University/UNESCO FUNDWI 8 subcontract and the Asia Foundation grant to the Institute for Anthropology. It is hoped that additional sources for funding can be found.

Malcolm T. Walker Ph.D.  
Professor of Anthropology  
University of Cenderawasih

Research in progress:Research into Adat Law in Irian Jaya

A study of adat law in various areas of the Province is being carried out by University personnel under the direction of the Faculty of Law. The project is being funded by the local government. It is hoped to be able to present a progress report on this research in the next issue of the IRIAN.

Completed research:

Larry L. Naylor: Culture change and development in the Baliem Valley.

The field work for this study was completed in March, 1973. Funds were provided from the Southern Illinois University/UNESCO FUNDWI 8 subcontract and a graduate research fellowship from Southern Illinois University. A mimeographed report bearing the above title has been submitted to the Government of Indonesia through UNDP. The research data are now being written up as a Ph.D. dissertation which will be submitted to the Anthropology Department, Southern Illinois University.

Institute for Anthropology, University of Cenderawasih: A Socioeconomic Survey of the Jayapura Fishing Industry (Dec. 1972; 56 pps. mimeo.).

Institute for Anthropology, University of Cenderawasih: A Survey of the Copra Industry in Sorong (August, 1973; 65 pps. mimeo.).

Institute for Anthropology, University of Cenderawasih: Markets in Jayapura. (Field work for this study has been completed and the report is now being written.)



Myron Bromley Ph.D. :

Dr. Bromley has spent a number of years working as a linguist for the Christian and Missionary Alliance (C.M.A.) in Irian Jaya. His most concentrated efforts have been spent in studying the Dani language. Dr. Bromley holds a Ph.D. in Anthropological Linguistics from Yale University.

Norman Draper :

Norman Draper, by profession a radio engineer, served as a radio technician in the R.A.N. during World War II. He received his linguistics training through the S.I.L. courses in Australia during the summers of 1949, 1950, and 1963. Between these years he was engaged in linguistic work with the Australian Baptist Mission in Papua New Guinea and in the Baliem Valley of Irian Jaya. Since 1964 he has been a member of S.I.L., doing language research in the Maprik district of P.N.G., and serving as liaison officer for S.I.L. in Port Moresby during 1971 - 1972. He is currently Administrative Officer for S.I.L. in Irian Jaya.

Peter Foster :

An Englishman, Peter Foster graduated in agriculture at the Universities of London and Reading. Prior to coming to Irian Jaya, where he was managing the FAO/FUNDWI 27/28 Project "Agricultural Development and Animal Husbandry", based at the Amban Agricultural Research and Education Institute, Manokwari, he was working as Agronomist-Ecologist for more than twenty years in several countries in tropical Africa. Mr. Foster has now completed his assignment in Irian Jaya and has returned to England.

Ross Garnaut Ph.D. :

Dr. Garnaut, an economist, is a Research Fellow with the New Guinea Research Unit, ANU, Canberra. He has carried out numbers of studies in Papua New Guinea on various issues bearing on economic development and currently heads a research team which is studying the movement of rural peoples to Urban centres in P.N.G.

Karl G. Heider Ph.D. :

Heider was a member of the Harvard Peabody Expedition to the Baliem Valley 1961 - 1963. Subsequently he returned to the Baliem in 1968 to gather further material on the Dani which in 1970 led to the publication of The Dugum Dani, the most comprehensive work to date on Dani culture. Dr. Heider gained his Ph.D. in Anthropology from Harvard University. He is now an Associate Professor of Anthropology at Berkeley, California.

Chris Manning :

Chris Manning is a Research Assistant with the Department of Economics, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, Canberra. At present he is carrying out research work at the Institute of Population Studies, Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta.

P.W. Rombouts :

P.W. Rombouts o.f.m a Franciscan priest was ordained in Holland in 1946. The following year he began work as a missionary in Irian Jaya and has worked here ever since. For some years Fr. Rombouts has been in charge of a large mission agricultural and secondary school complex in Epoto, Wissel Lakes, but over the years he has carried out mission work in the areas of Arso, Waris, in remote areas of the Bird's Head, and in Sorong. He is familiar with the languages of the Waris people, the Biaks and the Ekagi people of the Wissel Lakes.





### Manuscripts:

The editors of the IRIAN welcome manuscripts of a theoretical or practical nature that directly or indirectly bear on West Irian. Manuscripts should be typed, double space and may be submitted in either Indonesian or English. If articles are submitted in Dutch the editors will endeavour to have the material translated into one of the above languages. Two copies of articles are required. Each article must be accompanied by an abstract of 200-400 words which, if possible, should be in the language other than that in which the manuscript is written. Articles should be accompanied by a brief biographical note on the author.

### Note:

Pandangan2 yang diinjatakan dalam artikel apa sadja dalam Irian ini adalah pendapat pengarang2 dan tidak perlu mewakili pandangan dari Pemerintah Indonesia atau Pembesar2 Pemerintah setempat. Para penerbit dari Bulletin ini dan Universitas Cenderawasih tidak memikul tanggung djawab atas pertanyaan2 yang mungkin muntjul dalam suatu artikel.

The views expressed in any material produced in the IRIAN are the authors' and do not necessarily represent those of the Government of Indonesia or local government authorities. The editors of the IRIAN and the University of Cenderawasih accept no responsibility for statements that may appear in any article.



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# IRIAN

Bulletin of Irian Jaya Development



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## IRIAN

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The maps and diagrams in this issue were drawn by R.D. Mitton.





## THE ASMAT PEOPLE OF THE CASUARINEN COAST

A. van der Wouw m.s.c.

ICHTISAR :

Orang2 Asmat yang berjumlah kurang lebih 40.000 penduduk itu kira2 9.000 darinya berdiam disepanjang pantai Casuarine.

Artikel ini memuatkan pembahasan2 khusus tentang pola2 pokok kehidupan orang2 Asmat didaerah ini yang mempunyai kebiasaan2 yang berbeda dari orang2 Asmat lainnya dibagian utara. Orang2 Asmat yang berdiam dipantai Casuarine tidak seagresif seperti mereka yang berada disebelah utara, walaupun demikian seringkali terjadi juga peperangan antara mereka. Pengayauan kepala yang sering terjadi didaerah Asmat tidak memainkan peranan yang penting dalam kehidupan mereka yang berada didaerah pantai ini. Dalam hubungan2 lain tidak tampak perbedaan2 pokok pada kebiasaan2 mereka yang tinggal didaerah pantai Casuarine dengan mereka yang berdiam disebelah utara.

Penyelenggaraan perkawinan pada dasarnya adalah sama, begitupula dengan ukiran2 kayunya, walaupun pada ukiran2 ini ada motif2 yang lebih ditonjolkan didaerah pantai misalnya penonjolan diletakkan pada perawakan2 yang diukirkan. Beberapa jenis ukiran yang terdapat didaerah pantai ini tidak terdapat ataupun terbuat didaerah-daerah lain di Asmat.

Tiga upacara penting yang hanya terdapat pada daerah pantai Casuarine dan tidak pada daerah2 lain yang terletak disebelah utara adalah: Jumb-pambi, Tasor-ju dan Piesepies.

Dalam hal pengurusan orang mati, dulu orang2 pantai Casuarine hanya membiarkan mayat diatas panggung dimuka rumah dimana kematian itu terjadi. Mayat dibiarkan tinggal busuk, kemudian tulang2nya dikumpulkan dan dimasukkan kedalam rumah. Sekarang pada umumnya mayat2 dikuburkan.

Salah satu aspek untuk mengintensifkan hubungan kekeluargaan mereka antar satu kampung dengan kampung lainnya ataupun antar satu bagian dengan bagian lainnya dalam kampung yang sama ialah hubungan kejiwaannya. Salah satu caranya ialah pengangkatan anak dari satu kampung oleh kampung lainnya sebagai ganti rugi bagi mereka yang telah terbunuh dalam peperangan. Dengan menempuh cara ini mereka dapat menghubungkan kembali perdamaian dan ikatan persaudaraan yang retak akibat terjadinya permusuhan antara kampung2 yang bersangkutan itu. Salah satu pengertian lain lagi ialah "pauwo", suatu upacara yang menyangkut hal penukaran pemberian2 untuk memulihkan kembali perdamaian setelah terjadi suatu masa peperangan.

Hal yang sangat menarik dalam upacara2 ini adalah "tosor-ju", dimana para pemuda diangkat sebagai anak angkat oleh orang2 tua dari kampung lain seperti mereka itu seolah-olah masih kanak2. Upacara ini merupakan simbol dari "kelahiran kembali". Satu hal lagi yang menyangkut hubungan kekeluargaan mereka ialah "Papis", suatu cara pengurusan soal perzinahan yang terjadi antar dua pasangan. Akhirnya yang amat penting dalam kehidupan mereka ialah perangai yang dikenal sebagai "Arok". Disini seseorang untuk menyatakan perasaan simpatinya kepada seseorang lain yang ditimpah kemalangan berpantang makan

beberapa jenis makanan untuk menyatakan keprihatinannya itu.

### Introduction

Of a total of about 40,000 Asmat people, almost 9,000 live on the Casuarina coast. In this paper the principal concern is to describe the main facets of the culture of these people and in particular to draw attention to some of the cultural feature which distinguish the Asmat of the Casuarina coast from other Asmat people.

In 1950 after Father G. Zegwaard m.s.c. made his first patrols into the Asmat area from Mimika, in 1951 Fr. Vershueren and Meuwese attempted to reach the Casuarina coast. In those days the stretch of coast bore the name Pasir Putih (white sand) because of the white stretch of shoreline that one could see from ships plying between Merauke and Agats. On this occasion the two missionaries only managed to reach the Kronkel River. The following year they tried again and succeeded in reaching the mouth of the Cook, but because of the heavy sea and the fact that they had only small river canoes, their attempt to proceed further along the coast failed.

In 1956, Fr. van Kessel and Fr. Lommertzen also visited the Casuarina coast but this time they made the attempt from Arsij, where van Kessel had his headquarters. On this expedition they first entered the Faiet River which hitherto had not appeared on any map. On their way south from the Faiet they passed by the Kronkel and entered the Cook River. From the head of the Cook Fr. Lommertzen returned home to Arare; van Kessel continued the journey and was able to find a way to the head of the Kronkel River. By following the river he reached the sea and was able to return to Atsj. In October, 1958 a government post was established at Pirimapoen. Fr. van Kessel made his headquarters at Basiem on the Faiet River, and a few years later built a house at Pirimapoen.

### Villages and Inhabitants

Although the district of Pirimapoen encloses some villages of other

tribes here we only give a list of the Asmat villages and the number of inhabitants in 1961 and in 1972. In comparing the two figures it is noteworthy that population increase only occurred in the two villages where medical help was available, namely, Pirimapoen where until 1970 a protestant mission doctor was stationed and Basiem where a catholic priest continues to work.

<u>Village</u>	<u>Inhabitants 1961</u>	<u>1972</u>
Pirimapoen	375	485
Aorket	400	461
Emine	300	281
Tarew	800	878
Semendoro	400	485
Sama	n.a.	450
Kajirin	350	347
Bajuen	300	427
Simsagar	450*	533
Sinagat	200	199
Jab Tambor	300	267
San Tambor	250	185**
Bjuepies	450	550
Basiem	600	823
Naneu	500	435
Piramat	125	149
Bawoes	135	132
Bagair	260	293
Tacro	175	180
Otanep	n.a.	1,200
<u>Total</u>		<u>8,670</u>

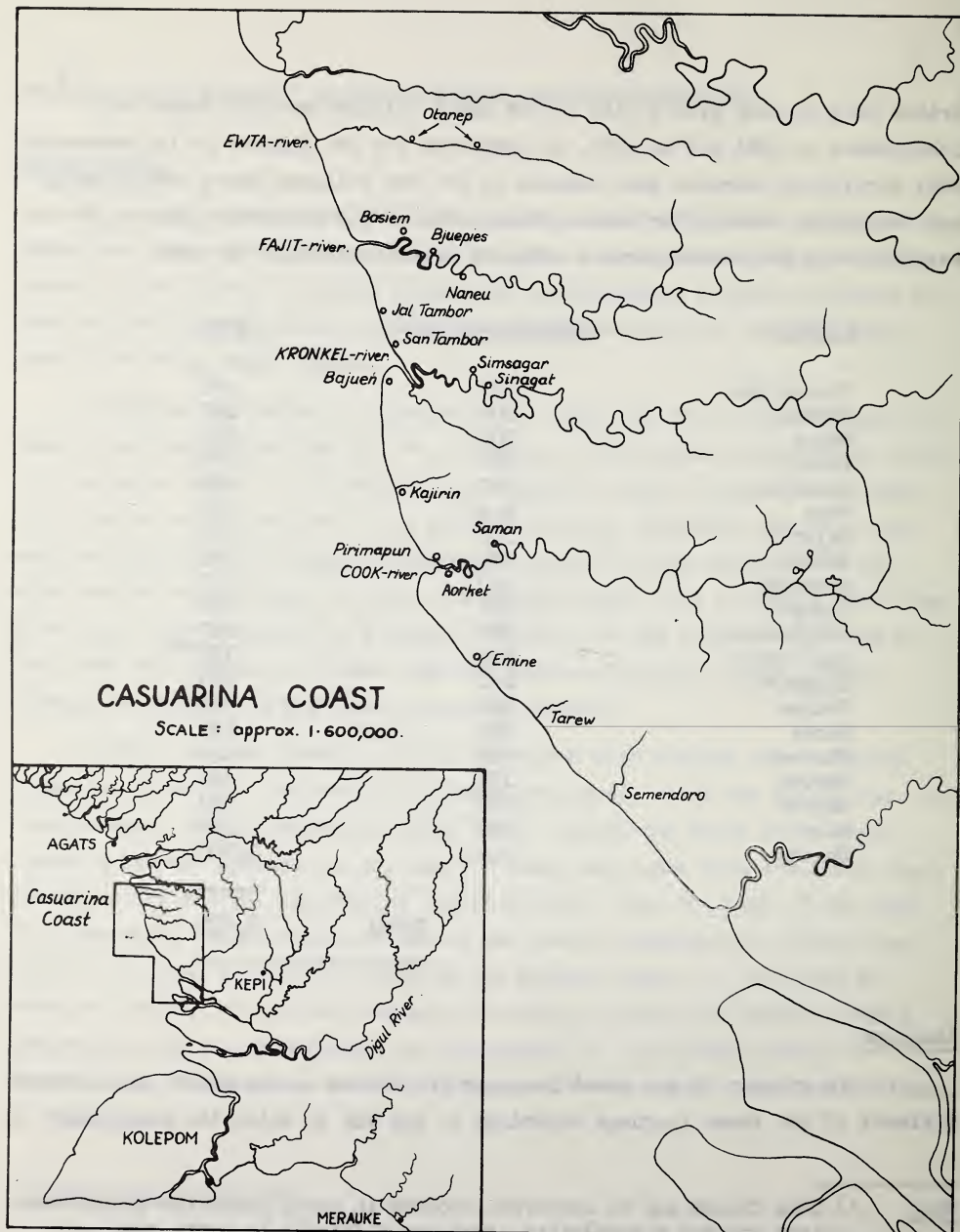
### Language

In his grammar of the Asmat language Fr. Drabbe m.s.c. named the different dialects of the Asmat language according to the way in which the word 'man'

Note \*) This figure may be incorrect because in early years the people were very shy and a population count was difficult to carry out.

\*\*) Some people from this village moved to other villages because of a shortage of sago.





was pronounced. In those days Fr. Drabbe had no interpreters available from the Casuarina coast and he was unable to designate this dialect. However, according to the way these people pronounced the word 'man', the dialect should be called Kawainag dialect. This is distinct from the Kaunak dialect used on the Wildeman River, the Keenakap dialect found on the Suretsj, Sor, and Atsj Rivers, the Keenok dialect upstream from Pomatsj and Unir and the Kawanak dialect found in almost all the villages downstream from the rivers, including Otjanep. Hereunder we give a number of corresponding words from the five dialects.

	<u>Kawanak</u>	<u>Keenok</u>	<u>Keenakap</u>	<u>Kaunak</u>	<u>Kawainag</u>
long	jurag	Juro	zirao	taoroo	jirao
short	jipin	koro	zipin	fakup	fanip
hard	fak	feak	fak	feak	pake (aso, fak)
soft	kumit	kumiri	kumit	komet	inep
many	arke	mbiperak	arke	arke	tar
nothing	opok	opokais	wap	ndasan	wapag (ndasan)
one	tsjowok	toko	takape	taka	tag
two	jannuk	jannok	zannok	zannik	amin
three	mbamintsjop	mbemtiap	mbemintep	mbanur	mbeni
nearby	sotop	serep	sotop	ndamsen	ndamnap
far away	ndowon opok	ndamasin	ndanap	ziraut	jirao, jiti
sweet	femes	femes	femese	femes	ome
sour	sismik	sismik	susmuk	asos	aset
wet	of	mborok	ndet	mboto	mburut
dry	sa	sa	sa	soso	sosot
right (true)	ndak	ndok	ndak	emenak	nag
sun	jou	jie	zoe	tanam	jawui
moon	pir	pir	pir	pira	pir
thunder	wir	wur	wur	wi	wuru
lightning	mber	werak	mber	mba	mbasamboro
wind	fo	mbuu	fo	zusus	fo
water	mbui	mbi	mbui	mbi	mbi
river	jo	ji	zu	zu	jo
bird of	kokojo	ferfo	kokoro	....	opojo
paradise					
bush hen	owon	oonap	oan	....	perakor (kanem)
snake	amer	amer	amer	amer	amerto
crown	jur	jir	zu	pi	joa
pigeon					

### Headhunting and Fighting Practices on the Casuarina Coast

Reports written in 1951 and 1952 when the first contacts were made with the villages on the Casuarina coast reveal that the people were more timid and afraid than aggressive. The main difficulties experienced by the explorers was caused through the insatiable hunger of the villagers for iron. There were practically no lengths to which they would not go to obtain an iron axe or knife. According to the notes left by van Kessel who opened the area ( a compendium of these notes can be found in Nieuw Guinea Studien, jaargang 5, Nr 4 October 1961 ) headhunting occurred on the Casuarina coast but not as frequently as in the upper part of the Asmat (see Fr. Zegwaard's article "Headhunting Practices of the Asmat", American Anthropologist, December 1959). This is borne out by the fact that from the time of the earliest contact, in the houses only a few skulls were seen lacking the lower jaw and having a hole in the temple-the distinctive sign that the skull belonged to a murdered person. Houses in fact were cluttered with skulls but these were of relatives who had died (see, Disposal of the Corpse).

However, if headhunting in the sense that most of the men of a village would go out to attack and kill people from another village was only sporadic, other forms of warfare were common. People who passed by a village were likely to be killed and killings in fights between villages or between parts of one village occurred quite frequently. Sometimes the fights could go on for months particularly when on one side more people had been killed than on the other. It may sound amusing but frequently having fought until their arms were tired from pulling the bows and throwing spears as well as the weight of carrying shields, both sides would agree that they would temporarily stop the fighting. They would settle on another day to start all over again. Between 1962 and 1967 fighting within and between villages accounted for 32 deaths. Many more were wounded.

### Marriage

In the matter of arranging marriages and the means by which a bride may



be obtained, there seem to be no differences between the people of the Casuarina coast and those of the northern part of the Asmat.

Most marriages are arranged. In some cases the partners are decided upon many years before the actual marriage takes place. During this period gifts of food are occasionally made between the families of the boy and girl concerned. Couples sometimes elope and there are also cases of bride capture. Both these instances are likely to lead to fighting.

On the day of the wedding the bridegroom goes first to the house of the girl. He sits down close to the girl while her uncles and aunts adorn her with necklaces. A cuscus skin with feathers is placed on her forehead; arm bands are worn and usually a cassowary bone knife is thrust into one of these. The upper part of the body and the face are painted white and red. After this the girl will be given her first ajor - the dress of a married woman made from the fibres of sago leaves tied to a woven band.

After these preparations the girl is borne to the house of the boy on the shoulders of an uncle. The bridegroom who is led by the hand follows behind. The girl, sitting on the shoulders of her uncle usually carries an axe. Her family brings arrows, spears, dogs' teeth, axes of iron as well as stone, birds feathers, cuscus skins and so on. After having arrived at the boy's house, the couple is seated on a mat close to the fire place. Sitting side by side, the knee of the girl is placed on the knee of the boy. One of the relatives of the girl stands behind her and whispers the name of her partner into her ears; this name the girl has to repeat. The same procedure is then followed with the boy. Still standing behind them this relative places one hand on the girl's back and the other on that of the boy. Pushing them a little (seri baorei ndeima) he says: "Amo junu, jo junu anapessema baorei" (May both of you stay together all monsoons and all days).

The boy's family then accept all the items brought by the family of the girl, but unlike the people of the northern part of the Asmat, these gifts have to be replaced. The boy's family together with the newly married couple go to look for sago. In the evening they bring the sago together with gifts

to replace those that have been given to the family of the girl.

Exact replacement of the gifts is adhered to very strictly. Should it happen that the family of the girl gave something and no one among the boy's family possessed this particular item, it will be returned with an apology.

### Carvings

As in the case of other areas of the Asmat, along the Casuarina coast one can associate styles in carving with particular villages and, in the case of the better carvings, with a particular artist.

It is virtually impossible to state any clear features which differentiate the carvings of the Casuarina coast from those of other areas of the Asmat. With regard to Casuarina statues however it can be said that the faces are much more expressive and less stylized. It is also typical of the area that the teeth are large and everted and the tongue always protrudes between the teeth. Also, along the coast there are carvings that are not found in the other areas of the Asmat. Hereunder the name of the village is given and the more typical carvings described.

### Otanep (people from Agats call this village Otsjanep)

- Bowls** : Some of the carvers of this village make very beautiful bowls decorated on the back and with a human head on top. This type of bowl is also found at Omadesep and Basiem but most of the bowls from the Basiem are originally from Otanep. Over the last few years I have seen some items made by a carver from Basiem.
- Pillows** : The human skull of a relative is still the most common pillow. At Otanep people also use oval shaped pieces of wood 30 to 40 cm long. Most of these are decorated, sometimes with very small and delicately carved figures all around the surface.

- Crocodiles : This is item that has recently appeared at Otanep<sup>1</sup>.  
Originally these crocodile were made only at Semendoro and Tarew. The crocodiles made at Otanep are not very expressive. Generally they are made from light wood.
- Basiem : Although there are seven good carvers in this village who make fine perahu heads, shields and spears, no specific carvings are associated with this village.
- Bjuepies and Naneu : The same applies to these two villages.
- Bawoes : In this village people used to make bowls also but they were different from the bowls of Otanep. Bowls from Bawoes were not painted; the motifs were also different being smaller and well executed. Sad to say, the only two good carvers have died and nobody else of the village ever learnt how to carve.
- Semendoro : The big crocodiles and bünüts (mythological snakes) made from heavy iron-wood were originally carved in this village.

A feast was associated with the making of these carvings. When a carving was completed it was removed from the feast house and shown to the village people. For some years there has been no interest in carving these crocodiles and snakes. This may be because there is no market for them because of their size and weight.

- Tarew : In the 1960's carvings of crocodiles and bünüts were also made in this village. In recent years the carvers in this large village have begun to make all kinds of new carvings involving new compositions. Some of these carvings are very attractive although as traditional ethnographic items they are of no value.

---

<sup>1</sup>Otanep is the only village where numbers of young people are interested in learning to carve. This may be because no other sources of income exist.



### Care of the Corpse

Unlike other areas of the Asmat, along the Casuarina coast the corpse is placed on a platform in front of the house, within half an hour of death. The only exception to this was in the case of little babies and also women who died in childbirth. The corpse of such a woman was removed from the village because her spirit is dangerous and greatly feared.

Needless to say, villages where deaths had occurred were permeated with a horrible smell. The corpse was lightly wrapped in a mat and left to rot on the platform. The family must have the head of the deceased. A small feast was arranged for the day when the head could be removed from the body. That night the Ndambir wui ndüso would be sung, the song of the death's-head. To speed up the process of decomposition, the maggots would be moved from one part of the corpse to another. When the flesh had rotted away, the bones would be collected and the platform taken apart. The bones as well as the sticks which formed the platform were carried to the forest. That night a small sago feast would be given and people sang the Jame, embag, ndüso - the song of the bones and the jame. This term refers to the soft wood used for the platform building.

Nowadays one rarely sees platforms any more. As soon as a catechist has been stationed in the village, the people are urged to bury the dead. It is still common, however, to dig up the corpse after a few weeks to remove the skull. If the skull is not taken into the house the spirit of the deceased will become angry and take revenge by "taking away" another person.

In an adult dies suddenly, in the middle of the first night when the corpse was exposed on the platform a large group of men would gather around the platform with spears and arrows in their hands. They would arrange themselves around the platform and wait in silence. The reason of this gathering was to discover the cause of death. (jente tao-osomes). One of the relatives would begin by asking "X, why did you die ? What happened to you ?" It is believed that when the correct reason for death is given the body will "move". The relative would mention all kinds of possible causes of death.

"Did the sorcerer woman from Otanep-mbapon kill you ?" "Were you beaten by your husband ?" "Did you eat forbidden food ..... fish, crab etc.," At a certain question when the corpse "moved" the men standing around the platform would raise their spears and arrows and strike them against each other across the top of the platform. At the same time they would shout "aaaaaaah ! eeeeeeeh ! sssssssss !" because the cause of death was now known.

Throughout this procedure the people in the house of death remain inside waiting in silence and in some apprehension to learn the cause of death. After the corpse has been removed and the cause of death known one of the close relatives will go to the riverside and inform the entire village what they have learned. His voice resounds over the river and can be understood easily by everyone in the houses. After the information has been given, from all the houses a great shout will arise. Everyone can then sleep in peace.

### Feasts

Because the purpose of this article is to show the main differences between the Asmat of the north and the Asmat of the Casuarina coast, in this section we will not discuss the feasts that are common to both areas, such as the mask feast (jipai) the Bis feast, the feast of the sago grubs (firao or ankao), the feast of the new shields (james) and many other smaller feasts.

According to the notes left by Fr. G. Zegwaard, almost all the Asmat feasts and rituals are adapted from kawara rituals of the Mimika, which in turn seem to be very close to the rituals of the nafaripi (island people). As for the Casuarina coast, the older people say they took their feasts over from the northern Asmat. As a matter of fact, the servant the writer employed from 1962 - 1965 who came from Ewer (close to Agats) initiated some feasts that up until then had never been customary in this area. One of these was the Bis feast, which elsewhere was the prelude to a headhunting raid. On the Casuarina coast the feast has no association with headhunting, which was unknown. So far as is known there are only three feasts celebrated on the Casuarina coast that are not known to the Asmat of the north. These are :

1. Jümu - pambi : the feast of the sago tree.
2. Tasör-jü : see under Intensification of Relationships.
3. Pieseopies : a feast that is not known in the Faiet and Kronkel River areas but only in the environs of Pirimapoen.

### 1. Jümu-Pambi

Unlike the Firao and Ankao, in this sago grubfeast an entire sago tree is brought into the feast house so that the grubs will grow within it in the feast house itself.

At the beginning of the feast almost all the men of the village go to the sago grounds. A large sago tree is felled and the rough outside bark stripped away. After having cut and cleaned the tree, it is carried to the river. In the river two canoes are tied together and on top of them are placed pieces of wood to form a platform. With much shouting the sago tree is laid on top of the platform. On their way to the village the men sing. When they arrive at the village, the men beat the sides of the canoes with their hands and at the same time stamp their feet. Then together they lift the sago tree and shouting "ho! ho! ho! ho!", the tree is carried to the feast house. The men enter the feast house through a specially made door. Still shouting the tree is brought into the house and with a final loud "ho!" placed on one side of the house, close to the wall.

That evening the jümu ndi is sung and danced. The next day everybody goes to the sago area again to collect the jükoet (capricorn beetle). These are brought to the village and placed inside the holes (to-mbamoene) that have been made in the bark of the sago tree. According to their belief the capricorn beetle will defecate inside the sago tree and this will become sago grubs. In actual fact, the capricorn beetle lays eggs that become grubs. On another occasion the men go off to cut down some sago trees in order to extract the sago grubs. By examining the phase of the moon they are able to estimate the time when the sago grubs will be ready. It takes about 40 days for sago grubs to mature in larger trees.



The men spend the nights in the feast house and also much of the day. The sago grubs, when they are mature enough, come out of the tree and begin to crawl on top of the bodies of the men. This indicates that the grubs are likely to be ready in the trees of the sago grounds. If this is the case the men may fish for two days and then bring in more sago. There is much discussion about the quantity of food to be collected. As well as fish, sea and land crabs are caught and taken to the feast house. The nippers of some of the crabs are inserted into the holes in the palms of the sago. People explain that they do this because the sago grubs have jaws and can bits.

When everything has been prepared, that evening and all night until daybreak there is singing and dancing. People then go to the sago palms to collect the grubs and also to decorate their bodies with ornaments and paint. Only the old men and women remain behind as well as a few middle aged men who continue drumming in the feast house. At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon everyone returns. From the houses the men bring bagapies (small digging stick; the larger sized stick is called am) to the feast house. The large sago tree is carried to the middle of the building and each man begins to rip off the bark of the tree (toawa) and then to tear apart the inside (to-fas), all the time shouting "huh! huh! hu! hu!". As soon as the first grubs appear they push each aside to get hold of them. When all the grubs are collected a final "huh!" resounds throughout the building. The grubs grown in the feast house will be eaten by the men who lived in the house. Those from the sago grounds will be divided among the women and the older men.

Everybody begins to bake the grubs. Some are mixed with sago; others are eaten without sago. Grubs are literally everywhere and all night the people eat and sing the piramat-so, until daylight. When the sun rises everybody enters the feast house from one side; first the women and children, then the men. They then walk through the building and come out the other side. After having danced for a time on the ground, all of them go to the river to wash off the remains of the grubs. They then get into their canoes. The women fish with their nets on the sides of the river and the men paddle ashore to various

places to collect crabs and nipafruits and they also catch fish. When enough food has been gathered everyone retires to his own house to eat and rest. This marks the end of the feast.

## 2. Tasör - jü

This feast is discussed in the section on intensification of relationships.

## 3. Pieseopies

This is the only feast for women. It is not known on the Faiet River. The feast lasts but a short time and is perhaps better considered as one of the smaller feasts mentioned below. During the daytime the women run up and down the village waving their hands in front and thrusting their stomachs and buttocks back and forth. Sometimes this behaviour is kept up, on and off, for several days. When the writer first saw this feast at Pirimapoen, the men had to collect all the food for the women; but in some other villages in later years this is no longer the case.

## Smaller feasts

There are a number of smaller feasts. For example, amse pambi - sago feast; to-pambi - sago grub feast; wi pambi - feast of the heart of the sago; jötör-pambi - feast of the large size sago grubs.

For all these feasts there is usually only ndüso soerfan (singing without drumming) during the night before the particular kind of food is collected. Sometimes there is also intermittent singing the next day while others are gathering the food. Nowadays, during the second night there may be drumming and dancing and singing perhaps to make up for the lack of bigger feasts which are now held only spradically. All these smaller feasts are not peculiar to the Casuarina coast; they are common throughout the whole Asmat area.

## Intensification of relationships

In the life of the Asmat people there are a number of occasions when

relationships between different villages, or relationships between families and persons within the village are renewed, strengthened or intensified. A number of these occasions are mentioned below; in some cases they also occur in the northern part of the Asmat.

### 1. Seijō-jū

One of the most important ways to restore good relationships between villages is through the adoption of a child. When one village gives a child to another it is accepted as compensation for people killed in a fight between the two villages. For example, the villagers of Jab Tambor had killed two older brothers of a man called Jipa of Basiem village. The family of the individuals who had killed the two brothers arranged for a boy to be given to Jipa. The child was taken to Basiem. After having arrived there the people went ashore to where Jipa and his family were standing in a row. The people from Tambor then arranged themselves in another row opposite the people of Basiem. The child was passed to Jipa who fondled it and then each of the Basiem people in turn fondled the child. After that gifts were handed over such as spears, arrows and ornaments. The child was taken to the home of his new parents. There he would be given a new name.

### 2. Pauwo

Another way to restore peace between two villages, or between two parts of one village is called a pauwo. There had been fighting between Basiem and Otanep and one man from Otanep had been killed. A delegation from Otanep went to Basiem and after the people from Basiem had assembled, the men from Otanep thrust an ordinary arrow and a arrow used for pig hunting into the ground. They then asked the people of Basiem, "Is there anybody who will take these ?" If nobody took the arrows, it is accepted as a sign that there will be no peace at that time. But in this case two men from Basiem, Wiek and Isep, pulled the arrows from the ground and hung them around their necks with a piece of rope. When this happened everyone gave a great shout.



The people from Otanep returned to the village and informed the father and mother of the slain man that they were to go to Basiem. The two men from Basiem who had taken up the arrows were to accompany them as wame ipit. After the parents of the murdered Otanep man had arrived at Basiem, some of their hair was shaved off. It was mixed with sago and eaten by the people of Basiem. There was also drumming Mbako eme kurumatuefes (drumming because of the shaved hair). All kinds of materials were then collected to be given to the Otanep people: stone axes, steel axes, spears, arrows, dogs' teeth, etc. The next morning a new ajör (dress of sago fibres) was given to the older sister of the murdered man. When the people of Otanep returned home, the two wame ipit and their close relatives accompanied them. There, some of their hair would be shaved off and eaten by the Otanep people.

### 3. Arok

Arok is an expression of sympathy for some individual who has suffered misfortune. Below are a number of examples of arok which show the range of situations in which arok may be expressed.

Amok, who was eating sago grubs dropped some of them through the floor and they fell to the ground. He went down to retrieve them but hit his head against a piece of wood. Another man by the name of Otor saw what happened and from then on abstained from eating sago grubs. After some time Amok was told of what Otor was doing. Amok then collected some food and took it to Otor's house. He placed some of the food into Otor's mouth and after this Otor was able to eat sago grubs again.

When the stern or bow piece of a canoe breaks off (or when something else happens to a canoe) people usually wail as if a person is sick or has died. Someone will usually take the broken piece into his house and after some time will return it together with a gift of food to the canoe owner. Later on the canoe owner is expected to give food in return.

When somebody drinks coconut milk, or coconut flesh, or sago grubs, fish or pork and then chokes, another person will abstain from eating the food

that caused the choking. This is referred to as jüsün-arok (arok of coconuts) or to -arok (arok of sago grubs) or enam-arok (arok of fish) or wo-arok (arok of pork). After some time the person who choked on the particular food will pay the individual who fasted with a gift of this food. Later on this gift of food is usually reciprocated.

When a woman's older brother or sister dies it is customary for her to throw away her skirt which is made from the fibre of sago palms, as a sign of grief. Sometimes a man will retrieve the skirt and take it home. After some weeks he will take a gift of food to the women together with the skirt. Later the woman is expected to repay him with foods also.

When a canoe capsizes at sea and the fish caught are lost, an observer of sympathy may abstain from eating fish. Eventually the owner in the canoe will hear of this and bring a gift of food to the sympathizer who will then begin to eat fish once again.

When a man goes fishing with his wife in a canoe it sometimes happens that in retrieving the spear after having thrust at a fish the shaft will accidentally hit his wife's leg. Out of sympathy the husband will refrain from eating the particular type of fish he was trying to spear. The wife will tell her family who will bring a gift of food to the man. After this he will again eat that type of fish.

This list of arok possibilities could be extended but it should be apparent that arok is an important aspect of behaviour in the life of these people.

#### 4. Tosör - jü (ritual of rebirth for adopted children)

Although Fr. Zegwaard mentions this feast in his notes on Northern Asmat, it does not appear to be as common as on the Casuarina coast. It is particularly common at Otanep, the Faiet River and the Kronkel River, including Jab Tambor and San Tambor. The tasor-ju is a ritual in which adult men and women are adopted by other families. It occurs between families of different villages

and also between different clans of the one village. This ritual adoption has two phases - breast sucking and rebirth.

(a) Breast - sucking

The head of a family will ask an adult man or woman whether he or she will agree to become his adopted son or daughter. If the ritual is to be held there are usually two or three couples to be adopted. These persons will be close relatives such as cousins but not brothers or sisters. When the adoption is agreed upon the new "children" will visit the home of their parents. There they will eat together and the "children" will suckle the breast of the mother. At this time the child will be given a new name (ao-Juas). A man will be given a soto-amon (small bow) and a woman a stick that has been used to remove food from the fire.

(b) Rebirth

In preparation for the second phase of the ritual, the families of the new parents fell sago palms and leave them to rot. An asör feast is held when the sago grubs appear.

The day before the ritual the families of the new parents prepare fibres ravelled from young sago leaves. The next day these fibres are connected to the hair of the "children" so that they hang down the back reaching knee height. Some of the fibres are tied to the skin of a cuscus which is worn on the forehead. The "children" are also decorated with a variety of ornaments including feathers and their bodies are painted.

Within one of the family houses which is sufficiently large (in former days a feast house was generally used) two fences are made from coconut leaves (Jüsün tam turi). Within this enclosure the births will take place because "childbearing" is supposed to be secret.

Between the two fences some twenty men lie on their stomachs. The new "mothers" together with close female relatives stand in a line astride the men.



The mothers-to-be wear skirts of sago fibres. The newly born "babies" crawl underneath the legs of the women and over the backs of the men. As they do so the women groan in a most realistic manner as if delivering a child. When the "baby" of the mother crawls beneath her she removes her outer skirt and places it over the head of the "baby".

At the end of the row some older women who play the role of midwives (tie mbapor tapes) are seated amidst piles of sago leaves. They take their role - playing seriously and will exclaim, for example, "Here he (or she) comes !" Take a good hold of the head !" When a "baby" reaches one of the midwives she will fondle it and cover it with sago leaves and exclaim "What a fine grandchild !" or some such remark. When the mother delivers her child a midwife will tie a piece of rope around her waist to counteract the birth pains.

Around the waist of each "baby" a stone axe is tied and attached to the axe is a length of fibre. As the children are born they are covered with sago leaves. The length of fibre is then cut and the stone axe (which represents the after-birth) is taken away. One of the men will shout, "The umbilical cords have been cut ! Let us take the children in our arms !" Shouting "huh! huh! huh!" the man carry the newly born "babies" up and down the house. The man in charge of the proceedings goes to the entrance of the house and shouts the news that three (or ~~whatever~~ the number) fine babies have been born. This news is greeted with a great shout by the villagers.

The newly born "babies" then give small quantities of sago grubs to everyone in the delivery house; the rest of the food that had been collected is divided up at a later time. A male "baby" will play with his little bow and try to shoot an arrow over the river; a female "baby" will play with her food stick. The "babies" for a time will play with the other children; they also call to their new mother. The parents then take some sago and rub it on the heads of the new "children" and the "children" are given a new name (tasör Juas).

## 5. Papis

Van Kessel describes papis as "strictly-regulated adultery between two friends, hence always two permanent partners, who interchange their wives for one night and only on exeptional occasions. The special occasions are the result of interference by the spirits in their daily lives. The parties are in a very vulnerable state and this can only be rectified by committing an abnormal deed. To normalize their cosmic arrangement, they willfully disrupt their own social order to mislead the spirits".

The writer has nothing to add to this except to note that in his explanation for papis Fr. Zegwaard essentially agrees with Van Kessel. How prevalent the practice of papis is today the writer is unable to say.

This article does not presume to describe all the differences which distinguish the Asmat of the Casuarina coast from other Asmat people. The longer one lives among these people the more one appreciates that they have their own distinctive way of thinking and of viewing the world. If the work of a missionary is to be effective he must be a sympathetic student of the culture of those whom he seeks to help.

## SOME NOTES ABOUT THE MUYU PEOPLE IN JAYAPURA\*

Paskalis Kaipman

ICHTISAR:

Tulisan ini terutama memuatkan beberapa catatan tentang Orang-orang Muyu yang kini berada di Jayapura, baik meliputi mata pencaharian, pendidikan, perkawinan dan hubungan2 antar mereka serta perasaan2 solidernya. Disamping itu tulisan ini memuatkan juga kontak2 pertama antara Orang2 Muyu dengan orang2 asing yang datang kedaerah itu dan perkembangan2 selanjutnya hingga kini.

Introduction

At the present time there are believed to be approximately 285 Muyu people living in Jayapura. Of this number 57 are students (thirteen of whom are female) and 71 have employment with private firms or government departments. A few Muyu people are market gardeners in the Abepura area and a number of others are unemployed or have only intermittent employment.

In this article, following a brief note on the history of contact with the Muyu people some comments are offered on the adaptation of the Muyu to urban life in Jayapura.

History of Contact with the Muyu

The first contact the Muyu had with the outside was in May, 1912, when some members of a Dutch mapping expedition arrived from Merauke on the S.S. Zwaluw. Two years later, Bird of Paradise hunters began to make regular visits to Muyu villages; it was these hunters who were mainly responsible for introducing steel tools. The first government post was opened in 1919 in the

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\*This article is a condensed and translated version of a longer paper by the author entitled Orang-Orang Muyu di Kota Jayapura. The paper was submitted to the Sekolah Tinggi Teologi Katolik di Jayapura as part of the requirements for the B.A. degree. This present article has been prepared from the original paper by Johsj Mansoben, Institute for Anthropology, University of Cenderwasih.



village of Assike on the Kao River; it was not until 1940 that Mindiptana became the administrative centre for the Tanahmerah district.

Most of the mission work among the Muyu has been carried out by Catholic missionaries. Missionaries made visits to Muyu villages throughout the 1920's. The first mission post was established in Ninati in 1933 (the post was shifted to Mindiptana in 1940) at which time schools were opened in a number of villages. Keiese teachers were placed in charge of these schools but because of the war it was not possible to recruit more Keiese teachers and it was necessary to train teachers locally as soon as possible. By 1944, 26 Muyu teachers were teaching in mission schools.

Communication within the district was greatly aided when in 1956 the Kamka road was completed linking Mindiptana and Woropko. In 1958 the road was extended to Ninati. In 1961 the airstrip at Wumek was completed thus linking the area by air to other centres of the province. There are now regular flights to Mindiptana by Merpati airlines.

In recent years there has also been an expansion in educational facilities in the Muyu region. There is a secondary school (SMP), a home economics school (SKKP), a vocational training centre (ST) and a teacher training centre (SGB). However, employment opportunities are few and it is this factor that has induced such large numbers of Muyu to move elsewhere. Other than the 285 Muyu now living in Jayapura, Muyu people have moved to Sorong, Biak and Manokwari but their numbers in these centres are unknown. It is estimated that at the present time there are 2,500 Muyu in Merauke. It is probable that few of them there have regular employment.

#### The Muyu Community in Jayapura

The Muyu living in Jayapura come from a number of villages and although more than half their number live in the Abepura area (students in dormitories account for many of these) the Muyu do not form a community in any geographical sense. However, they all identify themselves as Muyu and

enjoy a sense of community. Any Muyu person in Jayapura can describe where the other Muyu are living, which of them are married and to whom they are married, who is considered well off, or poor, and so on. This sense of community is reinforced by occasional feasts when all the Muyu will gather together and on the occasion of a death when all will gather to take part in the funeral and to express their sympathy.

Notwithstanding these occasional demonstrations of communal solidarity attempts to organize the Muyu in Jayapura along formal lines have not met with much success. An attempt to establish a co-operative store that would operate for the benefit of the Muyu members failed for lack of support. Similarly, an attempt to establish a friendly society that was to dispense aid to needy Muyu families failed despite much initial enthusiasm. For a time there was no difficulty collecting the Rp.200 monthly fee each family was to contribute but then suspicions arose about the honesty of those who were responsible for the funds. Members failed to pay their contributions and the society ceased to exist.

In their individual dealings with one another reciprocity is expected. To fail to reciprocate a gift or help is to invite criticism. Likewise, to deny help when it is requested also brings criticism and Muyu who have good employment with the government or private firms are often accused of being indifferent towards their Muyu ties. It is probable, however, that among all the Muyu who have made their permanent home in Jayapura there is a trend towards individualism. In part, this is a consequence of the economic demands of urban living but it is also a consequence of the many marriages which have occurred with non-Muyu. Such marriages do not reinforce existing Muyu kin ties but serve to weaken Muyu solidarity.

#### Muyu Marriages in Jayapura

Most of the Muyu who come to Jayapura are single men. If they obtain permanent work they generally look for wives in Jayapura. From a study of 38

Muyu households in Jayapura it was found that twelve men had married Muyu girls, eleven had married girls from Biak and six had married girls from Java. The remaining nine marriages were with girls from Marind, Sarimi, Enggros, Sentani, Inanwatan, Sorong and the Baliem Valley.

Those married to Muyu women were already married before coming to Jayapura. Since 1971 more Muyu girls have been arriving in Jayapura as students and in the future it should be easier for Muyu men in Jayapura to find wives among their own people. The Muyu men in Jayapura expressed a preference for marrying Muyu women. It should be noted, however, that there are also five cases of Muyu girls now living in Jayapura who married men from other areas. Three of these cases were marriages to soldiers who were posted temporarily to Mindiptana; the other two cases were marriages in Jayapura. One girl married a man from Kaimana and the other a man from Moni.

In every case of marriage when both parties are Muyu the marriage occurs in the church. In Jayapura marriages where the girl is from another area the marriage does not, as a rule, take place in the church and the adat followed is that of the girl's people. In the case of a marriage to a Sentani girl, for instance, bride price is paid in a series of payments with the birth of each successive child. In the case of a marriage to an Enggros girl, not only is bride price involved but the husband must also make payments to his wife's family any time there is a death among their close kin.

In the case of the Muyu women who have married outsiders the bride price payment has been in money. The sums have been in the vicinity of Rp.160.000,--. Among the Muyu themselves bride price has been as high as Rp.300.000,--; the amount of payment supposedly has now been fixed at Rp.50.000,--.

A number of the Muyu people in Jayapura express concern at these marriages to non-Muyu. There is also some concern at the number of Muyu men who have become excessive drinkers and whose families, as a consequence,



suffer neglect. However, it appears that the number is comparatively small. The evidence seems to be that the Myyu people in Jayapura have adjusted to urban conditions, if not painlessly, at least more satisfactorily than many other groups.

# EXPEDITION FROM KIWI TO THE AREA OF THE AIPKI PEOPLE

Robert L. Wight  
M.B., B.S.

## ICHTISAR:

Artikel ini secara umum memuatkan beberapa aspek kehidupan dari kebudayaan yang tidak dikenal, yaitu tentang orang2 Aipke terdapat disebelah timur Kiwi dekat perbatasan Irian Jaya dengan Papua New Guinea. Orang2 Aipke terutama hidup dari sagu disamping itu mereka juga dari hasil2 ladang, tetapi taraf perladangannya masih sangat sederhana. Mereka hidup terasing dari kelompok2 suku lain sehingga sedikit sekali terjadi kontak perdagangan antara mereka dengan orang2 dari Green River diseborang perbatasan. Keadaan lingkungan alam daerah tersebut dibahas dalam tulisan ini tetapi lebih banyak perhatian dipusatkan pada suatu rumah keluarga besar yang merupakan tempat tinggalnya orang2 Aipke, juga yang merupakan pusat berkumpul orang2 Aipke untuk bernyanyi dan menari.

The purpose of the trip was to meet the unknown Aipki people in the lowlands and to do a rough medical survey of the area between Kiwi and the lowlands. Rev. Jack Hook of the Unevangelised Fields Mission had sent a pastor into that area the previous year and it was reported that the Aipki people would be happy for the missionary to come and visit them and to bring trade goods. All manner of stories were rife amongst the Kiwi people as to the nature of the culture of these "unknown" people, and this created an added sense of adventure and curiosity. It was also my desire to obtain very simple observations of an anthropological nature, although it should be clearly understood that none of us is trained in this field.

Three Europeans, three Dani medical workers and some fifteen Kiwi carriers took part in the expedition. The three Europeans were the Rev. Hook, David Willis and myself. Rev. Hook who organized the expedition came to Kiwi in 1971. The mission station at Kiwi, at an altitude of 4,900', was opened in 1961. David Willis is an Australian portrait artist from Mt. Hagen, P.N.G. Willis mainly took photographs for later portraits and also sketched the large family house of the Aipki. The three Danis are from the Australian

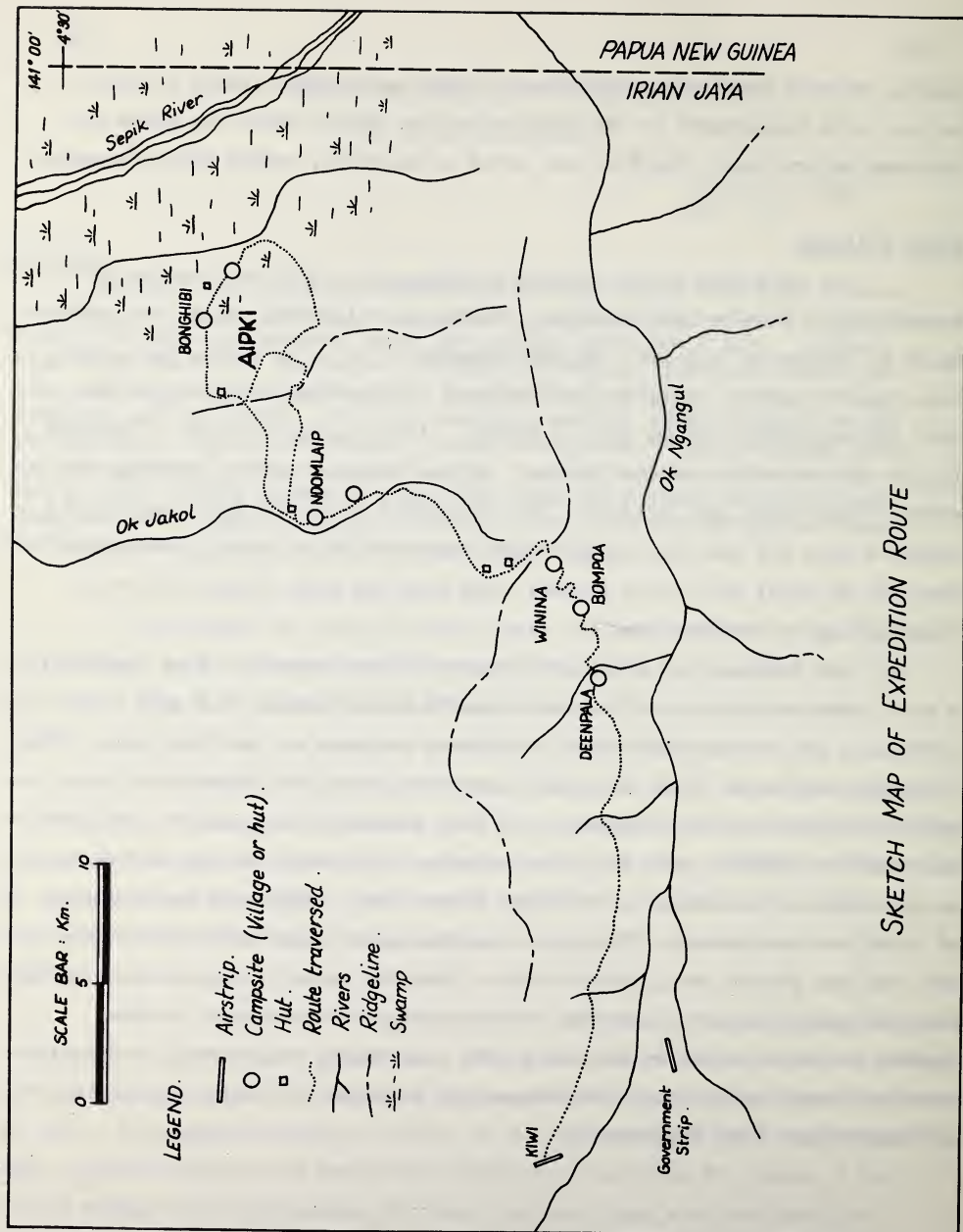
Baptist Mission hospital at Pit River. These men handled nearly all the medical work encountered on the trip as well as taking their own notes on language and culture. The Kiwi men acted as carriers, guides and informants.

#### Route Followed

We left Kiwi in the morning of February 8, 1973 and arrived at Deepala Hikin late in the afternoon. The second night was spent at Bompoa which we reached at mid-day. We had intended to go on to Wiwina but a man from that village en route to Kiwi informed us that the village chief had died and suggested that we stay at Bompoa. After an early start on February 10, at mid-morning we reached Wiwina, the last village before crossing the 6000' (?) pass into the lowlands. The trail down to the Ok Jakol was along a ridge--a spur off the main range. There was difficulty finding a crossing over the Ok Jakol and it was already dark when the party found shelter for the night in two garden huts.

On February 11, after two hours walk, we arrived at some rapids at a spot known as Kakadobali ("no man's land") by the Kiwis. A family who lived in a hut at this site spoke the Ngalum language of the Kiwi group. The following day, after a two hour walk along the river bank we met our first group of Aipki--several young men. We then commenced the climb to the east to cross the 3000' (?) pass into the lowlands. From near the top of the pass we were able to look down on the Sepik River. Near this point another group of Aipki was encountered. This was a hunting party which had killed a pig and this was shared among the carriers. From the top of the pass there was a steep slippery descent almost due north; we then followed small streams heading northeast until we arrived at the huge family house known as Bongbibibi where we stayed two nights. On February 15 we began the return journey and arrived back at Kiwi February 18.





SKETCH MAP OF EXPEDITION ROUTE

### Environment

The altitude at Kiwi was 4,900' and about 6,000' at the pass just north of Wiwina. At the junction with Ok Jakol the altitude was 2,000' dropping further to Ndomlaip. Over the pass the altitude was 3,500(?) and at the lowland swamps about 500'. The foliage from Kiwi to the high pass was uniform, with typical rain forest consistent with the average 5,000' altitude. There were numerous gardens throughout this area in which were sweet potato, corn, marrow and small banana. Wild raspberries were also noted. Between Deenpala and Wiwina the terrain was quite difficult with steep drops and with an average of three small rivers between each village.

The section between the top of the pass and the river was similar with only two gardens noted and these both close together and at the 5,000' mark. There were two huts per garden. The trail to the river was through rain forest but this was almost devoid of undergrowth, being on the ridge, and was perhaps the easiest section of the trip. Once we crossed the pass at 6,000' we noticed the warmer air from the lowlands. Along the river the terrain was a mixture of forest and jungle with breadfruit, large birds, crocodile footprints, fish and snakes. There were only two gardens noted along the east side of the Ok Jakol, both at the sites where we camped. These were also potato gardens, with bananas and marrows. Again there were two or three huts at the top of each garden, but with a river hut at the bottom and a little upstream from the gardens. The same language was noted throughout this area; this was as far as the Ngalum speaking people had penetrated.

Along the trail over the range between the Ok Jakol and the Sepik we noticed several wild pig lairs, and at one spot evidence of a recently lit fire which had been started using the vine and fire-stick method. The lowlands were hot tropical swamps with small streams and many stagnant muddy branches. The undergrowth was lush and there were breadfruit and papaya. We saw only four small gardens, one surrounding each of the three family houses, and one in between two of these. Betel nut was prevalent and

vigorously chewed with lime by all Aipki men. Sago was the staple diet and no potato gardens existed. The house in which we stayed on February 14 was close to the river which separated these houses from the Sepik. This was swift-flowing and we believe that no bridge existed across it and that no canoes were used by these people. They seemed to be geographically isolated between the mountain range east of the Ok Jakol and the river between that range and the Sepik, but could well extend to the north, which in fact is what we were told.

This was confirmed by David Willis who had flown from Kiwi over the area we had walked and had followed the border to the coast. There is a river on the flat lands between the mountains and the Sepik. The Sepik at that part is very wide with many sand banks; there is much swamp between that river and the Sepik and it is probable that the people we saw live on the outskirts of the swamp which would explain why they had no contact with the river traffic. Willis saw only one large house and a small one on a north-south river, north of where the two rivers join the Sepik. Thereafter there were no houses until opposite Green River, where there were villages and large gardens.

#### Group Differentiation

Basically, there are only the two groups, the Kiwi related peoples and the Aipki. The Kiwi group could be further divided into two--the main highland group south of the Northern Range, and the small group who live north of this range in relation to the Ok Jakol. The Ngalum language is the language of the Kiwi related people which, in turn, is related to the Ok family of languages. From Kiwi one and a half days to the west the language changes to the Ketengban language, in the Okbap area, while to the south is the Oksibil group which speak the same Ngalum language with minor differences.

The Aipki are distinctive in their dress, their houses (particularly the giant family house) and probably in their language. Their physical



appearance is also distinctive with strong family traits, and their dancing and singing are quite different from the Kiwi group. Their subsistence activities also differ in that sago is the basic foodstuff and gardening seems to be very rudimentary. The "in-between" group on the Ok Jakol are basically Ngalum people but because of their different environment there are certain distinctions, e.g., shooting fish with bow and arrow, catching smaller fish with nets, hunting wild pig, living in larger houses with open sides for ventilation, plus hunting the occasional crocodile. Their gardens are the same as the highland group. I should say at this stage that tobacco was present in all areas.

#### Contact with Outside Groups

In August 1972, some Kiwi pastors were sent to explore the lowland area. They followed "the big river" down and returned with a highly colourful account of people who lived in huge houses 20' to 50' above the ground. The people gained entry to these by means of a rope of vine and when danger threatened they would cut the rope and let it fall. The men were said to wear long hair to the waist which they tied up in a turban when they travelled. The pastors also told of wild pigs "as plentiful as potatoes are in Kiwi," of fish in the water "as big as pigs" and there were stories of animals that drag men into the water and then devoured them.

At Ndomlaip the people claimed that there are rare visitors to the Aipki area but that no Aipki people have ever entered the highlands. At Ndomlaip we met a Kiwi man who some years ago went to the lowlands and married a girl from the Aipki people. He lives somewhere near to the range east of the Ok Jakol. When we questioned the Aipki through this man who is bilingual we were told that the big family house was built several generations ago when their forefathers migrated across the Sepik from the east. They migrated because of sickness. We asked about contact with the river traffic on the Sepik, but they claimed that although their forefathers used canoes

they did not and could not. They had no contact with Sepik traffic but did possess trade items which had worked their way in from Green River, presumably via the route to the north. Thus they were a very isolated group with hardly any outside contact at all. The bilingual informant claimed that there were eleven other family houses and listed the names of what we assume are eleven other rivers. However, these other houses are probably like the smaller garden houses and not the large family house described in a later section. Only one other such house was sighted by Willis on the flight mentioned previously.

No crocodile hunters had ever been seen in the area and, in fact, the Aipki had never heard of them. The Kepala Distrik from Kiwi had entered the fringe area to the south but had not reached the main family house. Thus, they had had no contact with the government. They had seen and heard planes. The trade items we saw which had come from Green River area were: several steel axe blades, one hunting knife, a cooking pot (although I never saw it—one of the carriers claimed that he did), red and white waist beads for the men and some trade beads on the women. We did not see any stone axes and it is possible that they are no longer in use. The Aipki had never seen clothes before, except for those of their number who had Kiwi pastors last year.

#### Physical Appearance of the Aipki

The Aipki were well nourished with heights from five feet to five feet nine inches. Generally they are taller than Ngalum highlanders; their legs are longer and more slim. A number of the people had strong facial similarities with prominent cheek bones, large eyes, large nose and gave the appearance of belonging to the same family group.

Their hair is cropped closely at the front and worn longer at the back, sometimes in a fur. The Ok Jakol group also arranged their hair in this style. No body decorations were noted amongst the Aipki but several of the men had small holes in the nose similar to those of the Kiwi group.

Neither scarification nor painting were observed, whereas amongst the Kiwi group it is common and a part of many rituals.

There was a total absence of infective skin disease amongst the Aipki group, as far as I could ascertain, unlike the Kiwi group and the Ok Jakol group where yaws was abundant, and secondary skin infections were common. No medical help was called for among the Aipki group whereas well over 100 people were treated en route to and from that area. Yaws was by far the greatest affliction but other conditions treated amongst the Ngalum group were pneumonia, malaria, conjunctivitis, bronchitis, lacerations, plus individual cases of congenital hygroma, hepatosplenomegaly, marasmus, and I think a case of Kwashiorkor.

#### Clothing and Ornaments

The penis gourd was the most distinctive item of clothing among the Aipki. They have no apparent support other than their own good fit. Roughly spherical in shape, the vertical axis is greater than the horizontal. Women wore grass skirts. These skirts are of longer and finer material than the skirts of the highlanders. Some of the men wore a woven hair covering with possum skin or something similar attached at the top. Others wore nothing attached to their hair. Some men wore arm bands on the left upper arm and others wore bands on their wrists. The men had string bags.

One young girl wore a smooth round shell with a centre hole. The shell was suspended around her neck by a string. An elderly woman wore strings of beads around her neck. The beads were probably from Green River. The same woman had a perforation of the nasal septum in which was a white sliver either of limestone or bone. One man had a string of red and white trade beads around his hips, and these had definitely come from Green River.

In passing, it is interesting to compare the bows and arrows of the Aipki and the Ngalum speaking people. The Aipki bows are about 6 feet 6 inches to 7 feet in length, whereas the Kiwi bows are 5 feet or less. A cross-



section of the Aipki bow would be circular, whereas that of the Kiwi bow would be flat on the external surface and curved on the internal surface. Neither group had carvings on the bows, but they both did on the arrows. Aipki arrows average 5 feet 6 inches in length, and Kiwi arrows 4 feet 6 inches in length. The three or four-pronged bird arrows of the Ngalum people were not seen among the Aipki.

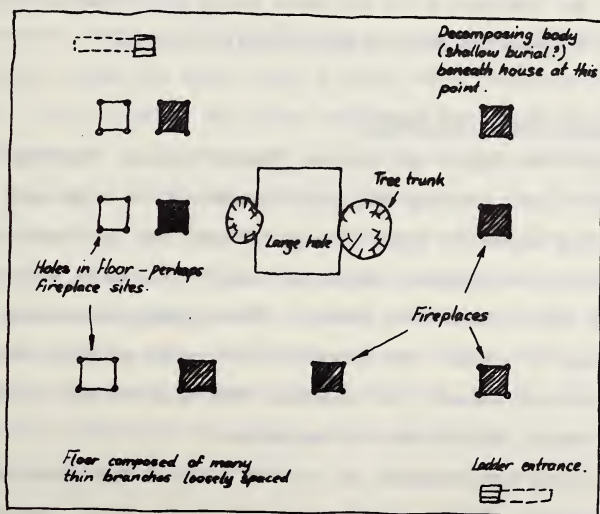
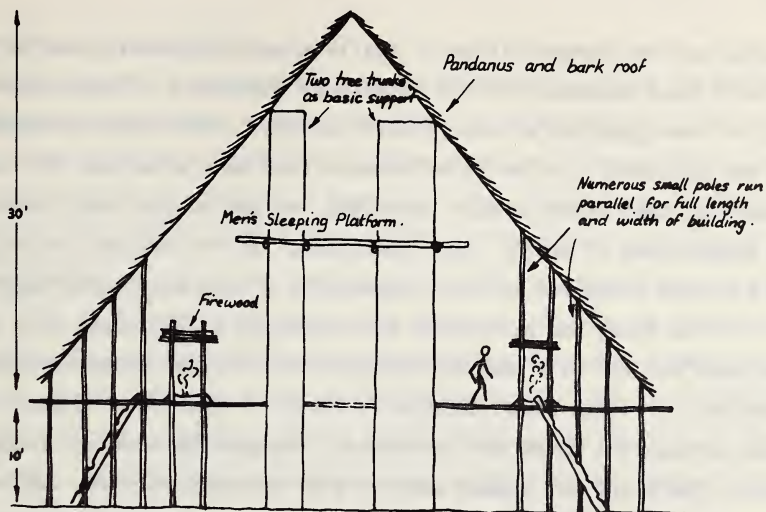
### The Aipki Family House

When we entered the Aipki large family house we were informed by our bilingual Kiwi interpreter that we should occupy the side of the house marked A-B in the accompanying sketch. We endeavoured to stay as much as possible in this section of the house but were allowed to take photos of any section and of any persons we wished.

The two women who were in the house stayed exclusively in the area marked "family area" and it was here that the activities of the Aipki appeared to be centred. During the first night some of the Aipki men slept near us, in the area marked "fireplace," where they chewed betel nut and smoked. They also prepared sago at that spot. But for any other time during the day they appeared to favour the "family" area for conversation and relaxation.

Hanging from low rafters associated with the fireplace structures were numerous string bags similar in design to the Dani yum. These mostly contained pandanus leaf containers for carrying sago and water. We noticed that bananas and papaya were also carried in these string bags. Several nets similar to one seen at Domlaip were noticed and were presumably for catching small fish and shrimp. At Ndomlaip we were informed that they shoot fish with four-pronged bird arrows but also use the net for small fish and shrimp.

The house itself is not unlike a circus tent with one "top." The most intricate work was the roof, and perhaps the most interesting aspect of



SECTION AND PLAN OF AIPKI FAMILY HOUSE.

the house was the several lines of skulls along the western side of the roof. There were many cassowary skulls as well as the skulls of other birds, the skulls of some pigs and a few crocodile skulls. These were arranged in rows along the side A-B. In the house between this main house and the house where we spent our last night amongst the Aipki, we saw a human skull which the Aipki claimed was of one of their ancestors. At "C" beneath that edge of the house a strong odour was noticed; apparently a body was buried there

The house was surrounded by a clearing on all sides with jungle behind side A-B and with the two branches of the river sweeping around sides A-D and B-C to rejoin some distance in front of side C-D. Gardens were located between the house and the river. The gardens were not fenced.

The other two houses seen were of rectangular base, and had an inverted V roof, as distinct from the main house which was of square base and pyramidal roof. Fireplaces were similar in all houses.

#### Dancing and Singing among the Aipki

We spent two nights at the big family house. Shortly before 10.00 p.m. on the first evening the Aipki commenced to sing and dance. I had been told that they might do this, but as nothing had got underway by 8.00 p.m., I had gone to bed to be awakened later by some of the most enchanting and haunting singing that I have ever heard. The singing continued until 11.00 p.m., when it began to rain. The people asked us if we were "satisfied" and had seen and heard sufficient. We assured them that we had. At all times the Aipki were keen to oblige to our requests.

The singing was carried out on the bank of the river opposite the C-D side of the house. Their voices were not clear, most likely due to the effect of betel nut and lime upon the throat, tongue and teeth but their singing was far superior to the Kiwi chants I had heard on another occasion. On this particular night, they performed in the clothes which our carriers had already exchanged with the Aipki men, but the following day they danced on request in their traditional attire, namely the spherical gourds, arm bands,



bows and arrows, and head-gear.

The area used for dancing was about 15 yards in length on the river bank, and whilst singing they would either trot or walk back and forth over that area. They moved as a group two or three wide and three or four deep, but there was no definite pattern of grouping. They kept in step with the rhythm of their song fairly well except for one old man who could barely keep up with the others. All the men, including two lads of about 10 to 12 years took part. They used their bows and arrows both for display and to provide the only source of musical background other than their voices. They did this by holding one arrow, such as a pig or bird arrow in one hand, and clicking the lower end of it against the bow and arrows held in the other hand. We discovered that the Aipki did have jew's harps similar to the Dani's lu'nggik but they are much larger.

It became obvious that theirs is a song cycle and that the individual songs, numbering about half a dozen were repeated usually in the same sequence. The following day they used only two or three, and repeated those. There appeared to be one song leader who would introduce each song but from time to time a different man would take over the lead. There were pauses between the different songs and sometimes within the same song and it appeared that on those occasions they were wondering whether to continue with the same song or another, until someone went ahead with a lead. All manner of intervals were used, in both major and minor keys. The commonest intervals were the dominant seventh, perfect fifth, major third and second. In some cases the rhythm was very fine, with syncopated beats and the main word coming in at irregular intervals.

Clearly, in the space of such a short time only minimal data could be gathered on these people. It was arranged that the bilingual informant would later return to Kiwi so that more could be learned from him about the Aipki people. Unfortunately, to date he has failed to appear. Though few in

number and very scattered, the Aipki exhibit a number of features which would make a study of their culture of particular interest. It is hoped that at some future stage it may be possible to add substantially to the little data we have now been able to provide on the Aipki.

## DANCES OF THE ARSO PEOPLE

P.W. Rombouts o.f.m.

IKHTISAR :

Tarian2 adat didaerah Arso memainkan peranan yang penting dalam kehidupan orang2 Arso. Beberapa jenis tarian merupakan ekspresi dari perasaan kejiwaannya baik meliputi perasaan keagamaannya, maupun untuk melukiskan keadaan2 pada masa silam, juga tarian didaerah ini merupakan hiburan yang sangat baik bagi orang2 Arso.

Dances play a very important part in the lives of the people from the Arso area. Normally lazy and slow at work, yet they come to life when they dance. While on trek the bearers hum the dance melodies and as one approaches their villages one can already hear their dance songs from a distance. Though the mission has been there for ten years, yet some villages still persist in their old ways.

There are several reasons why the Arso people dance. Of great significance are the dances that re-enact historical events. It is said that when Narrowra and his friend Kunebuan were saved from the great flood he charged them to commemorate this event each year. There is a man in Arso by the name of Saban who is very diligent in performing this duty. He is said to be descended from Towjatuwa and his son Narrowra.

There are other dances that are performed to accelerate the coming of puberty for girls who are keen to marry. Others ensure that the children will grow up well and prosperous. There are also dances to ward off sickness.

However, not every dance is historically, religiously or socially significant. The Arso people dance for entertainment and relaxation for they have a great feeling for rhythm. Their dance melodies sound very beautiful in the forest where the canopy of the various trees provide ideal acoustics.

At the time I was working in the Arso area the people were forbidden to hold their traditional dance feasts. These feasts which were of three to four months' duration were sorely missed by the people who longed to hold them.



### The Secret of the Dance

Saban, in great confidence, told me the following which even many of the families in Arso do not know.

The dance is an expression not only of their religious ideas but also the pleasure in dancing for its own sake. If one wishes to categorize the dances, one could do so in the following way:

- a) Dances connected with their beliefs in the creation and intervention of Kwembo during the time of the violations perpetrated by the people of Sawja-Tami.
- b) Dances that depict what people were doing when surprised by the flood.
- c) Dances that imitate the behaviour of fish (movement) and of birds (hopping and sound).
- d) Dances which serve to teach the people something about the daily life (catching frogs, the distribution of good gifts, etc.)
- e) Dances which serve to deter people from wrongdoing (for example, the tmewor where one dances with a skull on one's back).

### Preparations

Every village takes a pride in carrying out their duties as their ancestors charged. A dance feast demands an enormous amount of preparation. In the first place, there must be a good dance house, the ja-tia. This is usually located at a short distance from the village. The place is taboo to women.

The head of the village, the kepala kampong, determines when the dance period will begin. This period may be of three to five months' duration. He has to ensure that there is sufficient to eat, not only for his own people but also, and especially, for the guests. Weeks ahead of time they are already busy beating sago. Before the war they used a sago beater with two small stone axes. This has now been replaced by a piece of sharp iron. The sago which has been beaten and washed is kept in a large pit,

about a metre and a half deep. The bottom and sides are covered with a type of leaf which does not decompose quickly and keeps the sago moist. The sago itself changes colour and becomes greyish but remains edible. Beating sago is women's work. The men see to the meat supply: pigs, cassowaries, cuscus, etc. The meat is smoked and put on sticks up in the leafy roof coverings.

### Location

The dance house which is more or less elliptically shaped is situated not far from the village. Inside it is dark. A low opening is the only entrance. Round about hang the dance decorations from years back. In former times, in a small separate chamber in the Arso dance house there hung the rain medicine as described in the account of the Deluge. In other villages a large scaffold is built in the middle. In Sawja-Tami this resembles a church tower with an aisle on either side. Here is where the holy flutes are kept. All other precious requisites for the dance are stored in the dance house. These the women are not allowed to see when there is no dancing.

The area around the dance house is reserved for the dancing. A large enclosure is built alongside the house with two openings on either side through which the performing dancers might enter.

### Decorations and Makeup

Ornaments are classed as precious which are used year after year, and less precious which are made afresh each year. After the dancing, the precious ornaments are stored in the dance house and guarded faithfully by the older men of the village as well as the bachelors who sleep there regularly. Not all these objects, however, are used in every dance. Different dances have different requirements.

#### 1. The most precious requisites

- a) The inkwi-tar. Literally, this means cassowary feathers. This is from the fact that the frame is completely decked with cassowary feathers.

It is about 1.60 m high. The frame consists of two cane rings, of which the lower one rests on the shoulders and the higher one comes to the temples. The two rings are joined by four pieces of cane, which are lashed together at the top forming a point. The cane is completely covered with cassowary feathers. At the very top a bird of paradise is the preferred decoration. To break the somewhat black effect of the cassowary feathers, here and there are placed the white feathers of the cockatoo and the orange fruit of another plant about the size of a small mandarin.

The Jety group has yet another head decoration. This is made of the fibres found in the sheath of the coconut leaf. It is a strong brown cloth which is also used for washing sago. Its length is around 40 to 50 cm. Around the temples there is a circle of cane which is covered with clumps of cassowary feathers.

- b) The ambora. This is a net made from genemon rope. This rope is made from the fibres obtained from the underside of the bark of the genemon tree. The women roll the fibres over their thighs until they obtain a strong, sturdy rope. The ambora is worn over the head under the inkwi-tar. The purpose is to hide the dancer's face from the women.
- c) The nor-tar. Translated literally this means bird feathers. It is a four-sided framework made from a soft wood. It is adorned with the heads of hornbills or the skulls of small pigs, according to the nature of the dance. In one particular dance, the tmewor, a human skull is worn in the framework. The number of hornbill heads varies from four to five. On top of the framework are a variety of small sticks, to which are fastened bird feathers. The nor-tar rests on the back.
- d) The kari. This is a decoration around the loins. It is a cord of pig bones. In a very primitive manner the hollow bones of the pig's feet are sawn into rings under water with the aid of a piece of bamboo. Apart from its decorative value, it also has a musical function.



When the penis gourd swishes against it, it gives off a jingling rattle.

- e) The ganta or penis sheath. This is a hard covering of a gourd-like fruit. The shape of the fruit varies enormously depending on the variety. Some are oval and others oblong. The fruit is not used exclusively to cover the genitals. They are also used to store water and the lime for betelnut. The colour is mostly light yellow, but after long use they become a handsome dark brown. Often, with endless patience, attractive designs are burnt in. For this heated coconut shells are used. During the dance, the penis gourd activates the kari.
- f) The kob. This is a type of shell, imported by the bird hunters. It is white and is usually the size of a large hen's egg.
- g) The bang. This is a leg band of genemon rope worn above the calf. It is decorated with dangling fringes or coral beads or the seeds of the sa, a certain type of reed with bluish seeds which are used in Holland for rosary beads (coix lacrima Jobi).
- h) The auwija. This is an armband similar to the bang but to this are also bound pig's teeth.
- i) The nokking. This is a very big net bag.
- j) Bows and arrows. These are generally very beautifully decorated.
- k) The sacred flutes. There are long and short flutes. The short ones are called the jinir and the long ones are known as the jinasse. Further, there is also an intermediate type. With these one can produce three tones. Mostly it is the older men of the village who blow the flutes at a dance feast. The medium size flutes are called the juwo. The jinir has the highest pitch, then comes the juwo and finally the jinasse which gives a really low tone: wó, óó, bú.

## 2. The less precious requirements

- a) The young leaves of various types of palm which are still white for lack of chlorophyll. These are teased and wound round the upper part of the body. This is the kos.

- b) Various types of multi-coloured leaves and fruits used purely for decorative purposes.
- c) Bird of Paradise feathers.
- d) Red cloth, a recent innovation.

### Introduction to the Dance

It has always been one of the wishes of the jejonggwai that the dance feast be opened by the deceased. In the late afternoon when the sun is already at a slant, the spirits of the dead are called to the dance. Not only the dead of their own village but those of other villages are also called. Thus, in Arso, the dead from the village of Jety are also invited to the dance. For those who understand the past Arso-Jety relationship this is very significant. Formerly, there was a running battle between the Arso and Jety people. Many fell victim to this fight. Therefore it is not out of friendship that the dead of Jety are invited to participate in the dance but out of fear of the enemy spirits who must be humoured.

The jimsa. In response to the call of the people, the jimsa (the souls of the dead) come from all around. They are not all equally finely adorned; there is a certain gradation. The main figures are adorned with the following: inkwi-tar, ambora, kos, kari, bang and auwija. In contrast to the other dancers, the jimsa are always painted the same. There is a choice of three colours: red, white and black. Painting is done over the entire body which is uncovered: from the kos to the feet, from the auwija to the finger tips.

The participants in the jimsa dance who are themselves also the deceased do not wear the inkwi-tar. Among them there are two types: the oebechitakwam and the koramoesmo. The oebechitakwam have an arrow in one hand and a beautifully decorated bow in the other. The koramoesmo have only an arrow in their hands. The arrow is held in both hands at temple height.

When the jimsa come out of the forest, the women are already present at the dancing place. Those women whose husbands have died in the preceding year usually remain at home, wailing as loudly as possible. These women often get the blame, for instance, if it rains at such a moment. The people blame them for the bad weather and may even give them a good beating for this. When the jimsa dance is almost over, the women have to go back to their houses. The dancers wash and then return to the dance house. Were a woman to see a jimsa washing, it would cost her her life.

A. The jagesajer. As soon as the jimsa dancers return, those that have to play the jagesajer (dance father) leave the dance and go a short distance into the forest. The jagesajer are the forefathers of the different families who were personally instructed by Narrowra to establish themselves in this or that village and to start a family (in the story of the Deluge). Later, various other people arrived. Each family in this way has its own jagesajer, some even have an appreciable number of them.

The order in which the groups return is as follows:

- a) the jagesajer
- b) the jejonggwai and their companions
- c) the kibai and their companions

Once darkness falls, one can hear the piping of the jimir, the juwo and the jinasse in the village. This is the sign that the dance fathers have left their duar tree. (The duar tree is the resting place of the deceased.) Close to the village, they put on their appropriate ornamentation. Around their waist they wind bark so that they are not wounded by the sharp leaves of the sago which they split and also wind around their waists, four or five in number. This is the nei. Further, around the neck, they wear the kos, a decoration of nibung palm which hangs down as far as the waist. Around their arms they have all kinds of shells (white and brown), pig bones and other objects whose noise resembles the jingling of bells. The women have to be well able to hear them dancing.



The women and children are told that the jagesajer spend the whole dance period in the dance house. Each family has a certain number of jagesajer. The first was the one sent out by Narrowra to found a particular family. Since then others have been added. Some are actual people, others the product of a dream. Various families therefore are required to prepare food for their respective jagesajer.

B. The jejonggwai. Later in the evening, the men begin to sound the flutes from the dance house. This is an invitation to the jejonggwai to come and participate in the dance feast. The jejonggwai answer the call by beating the winged root of a special tree with a piece of wood. This is a sign that the jejonggwai are going to leave their abode on the Sankria mountain for the duration of the dance and that they wish to settle in the dance house. They wear only noise-making ornaments: the kari, the ganta, the bang, the auwija as well as the kob. In their hands they hold a torch.

The jejonggwai arrive with their companions, the aoffrai, the jenggis, the akining and the kombonu. They enter the village singing. Each dance has its own set melody. The jejonggwai song is as follows:

2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1  
jè ì jè ì jè ì jè ì jè ì etc.

They dance for a moment and then go into the dance house.

C. The kibai. Shortly after the arrival of the jejonggwai, come the kibai with their retinue, the isomongker. Their decorations are the same as those of the jejonggwai, but their melody is:

7 6 5; 7 6 5; 7 6 5;  
wà è ì wà è ì wà è ì etc. for the kibai

and,

5 6 5; 7 6 5; 5 6 5; 7 6 5;  
ì è ì wà è ì ì è ì wà è ì etc.  
for the isomongker

After they have danced, they too disappear into the dance house.

### The Climax of the Dance

The dance of the jejonggwai. Between one and four in the morning, the people begin to get each other ready for the dance feast. Paint is applied to the body. The jejonggwai, the kibai and the jenggis have diamond-shaped figures, the akining have snake-like stripes on the body and the kombonu have triangles on the back, stomach and legs and spiral-shaped figures on the buttocks. The colours used for the body decoration are white, from a type of soil found at Bagia and the Sekanto; black, from charcoal; red from baked drift wood from the Tami.

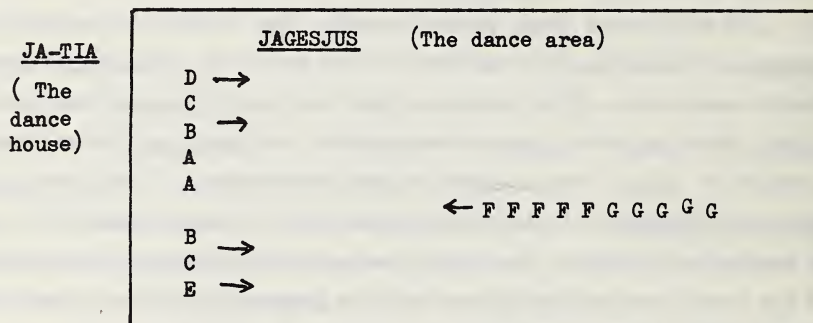
Those who are being painted stand. Just before the painting of the jejonggwai is finished, the candidate who is to be the jejonggwai begins to shudder and shake. This is a sign that the real jejonggwai has entered into him. That is to say, he is possessed by the jejonggwai. The "keeper of the tradition" (adat) then whispers in his ear the name of the true jejonggwai, Narrowra and Kunebuan. It is strictly forbidden for him to make this name known to the uninitiated. The latter are not anxious to know the name either as it has been impressed upon them that the moment they untimely hear the name, they will die.

Not everyong is considered eligible for the jejonggwai dance. Only those that excel in bravery, those who have distinguished themselves in hunting pigs and cassowaries qualify. As proof, the skulls and lower jaws of the pigs are strung up on sticks near the dance house. The aoffrai are not required to produce as large a number of pigs as the jejonggwai. The aoffrai bear the names of Nifirm and Mukunu.

Before daybreak, the dancers appear from the dance house and assemble in the dance area, the jagesjus. Between the dance area and the dance house there is a screen of sago leaves. The women are not allowed to appear this early at the dance area. An exception, however, is made for the very old women who have made themselves useful during their lives by raising

pigs. They now have the honour of seeing the jejonggwai and their companions dancing without the ambora. The rest of the women occupy a special place in the village. When the time comes for the other women and children to enter the dance area, all the dancers cover their faces with the ambora. No one must be allowed to recognize the dancers.

On this first day of the dance feast, as was already mentioned, two groups, the jejonggwai with the aoffrai, jenggis, aking and kombonu, and the kibai with the isomongker are the ones that dance. Following is a diagram of the dance house, the dance area and the composition of the dancers:



- A - the jejonggwai: Narrowra and Kunebuan
- B - the aoffrai: Nifirm and Mukunu
- C - the jenggis
- D - the kombonu
- E - the aking
- F - the isomongker
- G - the kibai

The arrow shows the direction in which the dancers move.

### The Different Groups

The jejonggwai. This group includes the aoffrai and the jenggis. They are very elaborately decorated. They dance very slowly and move their inkwi-tar from left to right. The movements are in complete harmony with the sound of the flutes. Their song is as described above. The aoffrai are the



two sons of Narrowra, Nifirm and Mukunu. Nifirm, the oldest son, was changed into the burung siang, the morning bird.

The akinging. The ornaments worn by these dancers are similar to those of the jejonggwai. The dance of the akinging does not depict historical events; it is merely the product of a dream. However, this is not to say that it is unreal. Dreams, according to the people, are an excursion by the soul. In the case of the akinging, the one who had the dream is the present head of the village of Wambes. In his dream he saw four people coming from the Mountain Jakarmba. In the stream they saw the small fish, the akinging, swimming. Inspired by the movements of the fish, they began to dance. An Arso man saw this dance in Wambes and found it so attractive that he brought it over to Arso. Because it depicts the movements of the fish, this dance is fast. Their decoration consists of white snakes.

The kombonu. This group consists of four people. They do not carry the inkwi-tar. These are the kepala pendek (short heads). There is a distinction between the kombonu Wambes and the kombonu Arso.

The kibai. This dance is a variation of the jejonggwai. The people of the village of Kibai dance the jejonggwai in their own way. This, in turn, has been taken over by the Arso people. Their song is as described above.

The isomongker. The same applies as for the kibai. The only difference is that they walk one behind the other. Mostly they stay in the same spot. Their song is as described above.

After sunrise, once the women have arrived, they are also permitted to take part in the dancing. Each group of dancers has a group of female dancers opposite. Their decoration is not as elaborate as that of the men, but is just as colourful. They decorate themselves with red flowers, yellow leaves and red material. Over their sarong they wear the traditional nei, the loincloth for women. Their heads are shaven except for a line of hair

running along the middle of the head from front to back. They have large rings in their noses. The dancing continues the whole day. Towards evening, the women are the first to leave the dance area and only then do the jejongwai also depart.

### Other Dances

There are other dances besides those already described above that are performed during the dance period. These include the following.

JENTO. This dance is performed by two people.

Once upon a time, during a heavy downpour, two children took shelter under the overhanging bank of the Tami. The bank caved in and the children were buried under the sand and suffocated. The two people in the dance portray the grieving parents. Very lamentingly they sing:

wà è wà è wà è wà è wà è  
 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1

This is followed by

- a) the begebja (two people)
- b) the nokma (two people)
- c) the jibareh (five people)

The begebja depicts a tjiktjak, a type of lizard. There is no song accompaniment to this dance.

The nokma depicts a bird with an onomatopoeic name. The dancers hop like the bird and sing

7 6 7 6 7 6 7 6  
 je i je i je i je i

The jibareh was inspired by a dream. It depicts a bird.

5 6 5 5 6 5 5 6 5  
 i wà jè i wà jè i wà jè

SKO. A man from a Sko village on the coast was out hunting with his dog. Others heard him calling his dog. This inspired the dance.

Decoration: complete

Song: 5 5 5; 6 5; 7 6 5; 6 5; 7 6 5;  
a a a e i wa e i e i wa e i

There are also the following dances related to the Sko dance.

- a) Gingguwatoba - an imitation of a small bird, seen by day and dreamed about at night.

Movement: very smooth, in goose formation

Song: 7 6 7 6 7 6 7 6  
wa e wa e wa e wa e

- b) Tokusjeije - also an imitation of a small bird.

Decoration: complete

Movement: very fast, in goose step

Song: 7 6 7 6 7 6 7 6 7 6  
e i e i e i e i e i

- c) Naukonnor - imitation of a sea bird, a strand bird.

Decoration: complete, with use of red, white and black paint (the colour of the bird).

Movement: running hard in a row, attempting to trip the slower dancers.

Song: very low, àà à à à à à à à à

- d) Turukwa: imitating a large fish.

Decoration: complete

Movement: the dancers remain in the same spot and jump about.

Song: none.

- e) Gufjawak - imitation of a seagull.

Decoration: complete as far as the inkwi-tar.



JETUWAR.

Origin: a man and three women were busy gathering sago. The women were washing the sago. They see the bird, keitakwa, circling around.

The circling movement is depicted in this dance.

Decoration: for the man, the decoration is complete, including bow and arrow.

For the three men dressed as the women, they are painted red all over.

They have breasts made from papaya and wear the nei.

Movement: they all walk in a circle.

NIBSIN

Origin: a whole family were catching frogs. In the end the woman falls sick and lies in the sun to die.

Movement: many people run in a mass over the dance area. There is only one adult male and one adult female in the group. The rest represent children. The name of the woman is Jabesau. She feigns illness and lies shaking in the sun.

This sequence is followed by:

a) Ormusombo - a dream.

b) Nigjeik - imitation of a small black bird which abounds on the banks of the Tami among the wild sugar cane.

Decoration: complete, with arrow, painted completely black.

Song: e i e i e i e i e i very deep at the back of the throat.

NOWÉ. Again this depicts a historical event. It is connected with the story of the creation according to the version from the Jety village. As it is told, the deluge occurred as a result of the killing of one of Ngurmi's pigs. Ngurmi was the first woman made by Kwembo. The name of the pig was Eikubuk, from the sow Nsaro. The man who shot the piglet was Woto who was the friend of Boffias, the son of Ngurmi. This dance describes what certain persons were doing when caught by the rains.

Decoration: as for the kibai.

Movement: While Woto is cutting up a pig, five others distribute the leaf gatal, a large stinging nettle, and sago worms.

Song: 7    6    5    7    6    5    7    6    5  
          wa   e   i   wa   e   i   wa   e   i

Following shows what various people were doing the day of the deluge.

- a) Woto - who killed Ngurmi's pig and who was also the friend of Boffias.

Decoration: complete, as far as the inkwi-tar. In the nortar are pig skulls, painted red.

- b) Kento - an obscene dance.

- c) Gurakif - an obscene dance.

Decoration: the kos and nei.

- d) Nekuruk - imitation of the morning bird, burung siang.

Song: 1    3    5    1    3    5    1    3    5  
          o    wo    we    o    wo    we    o    wo    we

- e) Segaifoi - tobacco collecting for the men in the dance house.

- f) Waruwa - two persons, one big, one small go through an opening, one after the other continuously. This confuses the women who see first the big man dancing and then the small and vice versa.

TMEWOR. This is a dance where the dancer has a skull on his back. This originated from Jety and its purpose is to frighten the women from adultery. In Jety it once happened at a dance feast that a woman tried to persuade her brother-in-law to have intercourse with her. The husband became suspicious and cut off her head. He threw the bloody head over his back and danced with it over the field.

The last day of dancing is again for the dance fathers, the jagesajer who, after a last farewell dance, take leave of the women and return to their abodes. The nei and kos are unrolled and hung up on the outside of the dance house.

The last day is also devoted to the jejonggwai who dance in their sago outfits. A few hours before sunset, they wave farewell to the village and its inhabitants. The women give them a farewell meal of pepeda (sago porridge). Now the women have to return indoors. The dancers return to the dance house. The kos of the jejonggwai is unrolled and hung up outside the dance house. The same is done with that of the aoffrai. These can never be used again. The next morning, all set out early on a pig hunt. The pigs shot are divided among the inhabitants of the village. Only then can life return to normal.



Peter Foster

ICHTISAR :

Cengkeh, mungkin industri pertama yang diekspor dari daerah tropis, mengapa dapat dengan berhasil dikembangkan disatu-dua Negara saja dimana dia secara rahasia diperkenalkan? Kapan dan bagaimanakah cengkeh mencapai Negara-negara Eropah barat dari Timur jauh ?

Menurut para ahli Patologi, produksi cengkeh di Zanzibar, yang adalah terbesar dari produksi sedunia, akan menurun bila tidak diadakan pengawasan terhadap penyakit disana, disamping segi-segi ekonomis dan politis mendorong dikembangkannya industri ini dimana saja.

Cengkeh dalam perdagangan ialah bunga tertutup dari pohon EUGENIA AROMATICA, satu anggota berukuran sedang dari keluarga Myrtuceae. Cengkeh berasal dari kepulauan Maluku, dimana aromanya yang begitu tajam telah dikenal oleh penduduk setempat jauh sebelum sejarah ditulis. Pohonnya telah dipelihara sejak sebelum abad pertama dan pernah diekspor dalam periode Han (220-206) ke Cina. Menurut catatan, cengkeh digunakan di Cina untuk mengobati kesukaran bernafas dari orang-orang, yang menurut Kai Lung, hendak menunjukkan kesetiaan mereka pada Raja yang bijaksana itu. Cengkeh diekspor karena faktor-faktor masakan, pengobatan dan keagamaan, karena hasil seponon saja mungkin 6 liter cengkeh kering - telah dapat mengharumkan nafas dari sejumlah besar petugas Raja. Telah dikenal lebih dari 2.000 tahun, cengkeh pula dapat dibanggakan sebagai hasil perkebunan pertama yang diekspor.

Cengkeh sekarang digunakan juga sebagai minyak yang didestilasi. Minyak digunakan untuk berbagai tujuan, termasuk mikroskopi, sumber utama dari vanili buatan. Dengan dicampur dengan tembakau, cengkeh digunakan dalam perusahaan rokok, dimana sebagian terbesar produksi dunia dihasilkan Indonesia.

Lada mencapai Eropah sebelum tarikh Masehi, tetapi catatan yang mula-mula, kemungkinan besar tentang cengkeh, dibuat oleh Pleny di tahun 77. Diperdagangkan seratus tahun kemudian (Tidbury 1949; Nutman & Roberts 1971) di Aleksandria. Masa itu dan ber-abad-abad kemudian tak seorang Eropahpun pernah melihat Negara penghasil cengkeh bahkan tak pernah melihat pohon cengkehpun. Pelayaran mengelilingi dunia membuat kontak pertama. Tahun 1497 Vasco da Gama mencapai Calicut, lalu Lisboa menjadi pusat perdagangan cengkeh yang sangat menguntungkan. Ludovico di Vathoma membuat penerbitan pertama tentang cengkeh dan cara penanamannya ditambah catatan-catatan oleh salah seorang anak buah Magellan. Hampir seabad lamanya perdagangan cengkeh dikuasai oleh bangsa Portugis. Belanda kemudian merebut benteng Portugis di Amboina ditahun 1605 lalu melaksanakan monopoli atas perdagangan cengkeh dengan cara-cara yang bila dipakai masih kini akan menimbulkan pertentangan hebat di PBB. Namun perdagangan gelap tetap berjalan, terutama disebabkan jarak antar pulau sangat jauh, juga penguasa-penguasa Belanda amat terbatas jumlahnya. Cengkeh hanya boleh ditanam di Ambon saja, selainnya dilarang dengan sanksi yang amat berat terhadap setiap pelanggaran. Tindakan Belanda menimbulkan rasa benci pada bangsa-bangsa lain. Ditahun 1770 Perancis mengirim suatu ekspedisi kedaerah yang jarang pen-

duduknya di Maluku. Mereka kemudian meninggalkan tempat itu dengan membawa bibit dan anakan cengkeh sambil dikejar oleh Belanda, bibit-bibit mana kemudian dibagi didaerah-daerah yang mereka kuasai di Samudra Hindia a.l. kepulauan Maskarene, Seychelles dan Madagaskar. Di Hindia Barat cengkeh tak berhasil. Inggeris memperoleh cengkeh pada waktu yang sama pula, dibawa oleh VOC ke Penang dimana hingga sekarang masih tetap memproduksi.

Kedua orang Sultan, masing-masing Said bin Sultan dan Bargash bin Said sangat berjasa terhadap industri cengkeh di Zanzibar yang telah menghasilkan sejak 1800.

Pohon cengkeh dengan tinggi k.l. 12 m. berdaun rimbun berwarna hijau tua bercahaya berbeda dengan warna merah muda dari pohon-pohon yang muda serta amat mempersonakan pemandangan jika dibanding dengan belukar-belukar disepanjang pesisir pantai.

Dalam tahun 1895 terjadi suatu perobahan dimana pohon mati dengan tiba-tiba maupun diserang oleh penyakit dieback, namun walaupun ada usaha-usaha untuk menyelidiki sampai dimana sebab-musabab penyakit tersebut, melalui pengambilan sebagian dari pohon untuk maksud ilmiah, usaha ini ditentang dengan keras. Zanzibar kemudian menjadi suatu daerah penyakit, dimana pohon-pohon dewasa mati berpuluh tahun lamanya. Perbaikan hanya dapat dicapai dengan jalan penanaman baru dengan didahului oleh meniadakan sumber-sumber penyakit serta suatu masa kosong. Hasilnya sebegitu jauh belum diperoleh.

Konsumsi cengkeh di Indonesia adalah sekitar 30,000 ton setahun. Dalam tahun 1971 didatangkan 32,094 ton, dari daerah seluas 86,000 ha diperoleh 14,070 ton sedang ekspor adalah sebanyak 30 ton.

Cengkeh memerlukan iklim sedang antara 25-30 °C dan hujan 1,500 - 2,000 mm. Tanah liat dan drainase yang baik pada ketinggian 300 - 500 m dan biasanya dapat terlihat dari pantai.

Hasil pertama diperoleh pada umur 5-8 tahun untuk memperoleh hasil tertinggi pada umur k.l. 20 tahun. Produksi sesudah 10-12 tahun k.l. 700 kg/ha, bertambah hingga 800 kg pada waktu mencapai kedewasaan.

Bibit cengkeh telah didatangkan di Irian Jaya dimana setelah melalui pesemaian, anakan telah dibagi-bagikan kepada para petani. Diharapkan Irian Jaya dapat membantu mengatasi kekurangan akan kebutuhan cengkeh dalam negeri.

Cloves were probably the first export industry of the tropics.

Why did the industry develop successfully in only one or two of the islands into which it was clandestinely introduced? How and when did the first cloves come to Europe from the Far East?

Pathologists think that clove production in Zanzibar, which produces most of the world's cloves, will decline unless constant efforts are made to control disease there but political as well as economic considerations seem likely to encourage the development of an industry elsewhere.

The clove of commerce is the dried unopened flower-bud of the tree Eugenia aromatica, a medium-sized member of the family Myrtaceae. It is indigenous to the Moluccas, and its strong aromatic properties must have been known to the earliest human inhabitants of these islands long before recorded history began. The tree was apparently brought into cultivation at a very early date, for it was exported to China during the Han period (220-206 B.C.) According to records, it was used by the Chinese courtiers to combat halitosis and thus to avoid, in the words of the inimitable Kai Lung, the giving of offence to the broad-minded and sagacious Emperor. As there were plantations at that time, the export trade must have been based also on culinary, medicinal, or religious uses, for the product of a single tree, perhaps six litres of dried cloves, would have sufficed for the breath sweetening of a very large number of courtiers. Thus the antiquity of the industry is known to be over 2,000 years, and it very probably existed long before that. Consequently, a very good case could be made for its being the first cultivated export crop.

Modern uses for the clove, apart from culinary purposes, and the small amounts used in medicine and dentistry, include the production of clove oil by distillation. This oil, used for various purposes including microscopy, is the main source of artificial vanilla, the eugenol being converted into vanillin by comparatively simple chemical processes. The main use of cloves now-a-days, however, is in admixture with tobacco for cigarette manufacture, and the bulk of the world's production is used in Indonesia for this purpose.

Pepper came to the West before the Christian era, but the first record of what was probably cloves was by Pliny in 77, and we know that 100 years later, they were being bought and sold in Alexandria (Tidbury 1949; Nutman and Roberts 1971). During all this time and for centuries later, no European, in all probability, ever saw a country where cloves were grown or a clove tree. It was not until the time of the circum-navigators that actual contact was made. Vasco da Gama reached Calicut, a district in India, in 1497, and soon after the clove trade became centred in Lisbon, where it was



highly profitable. The first description of the clove tree and its cultivation was published in 1506 by one Ludovico di Vathoma, and this was supplemented by a description given by one of Magellan's men.

The clove trade remained a monopoly, or a near monopoly, of the Portuguese for about a century. The rapidly expanding Dutch empire then came into the picture, and by 1605, they had captured the Portuguese fort at Amboina. They then set about preserving the monopoly they had acquired, using methods which would certainly have provoked comment in the U.N. today. Merchants of other nationalities were captured, imprisoned, tortured, and sometimes killed (Barlow 1703). Such methods could not, of course, completely stop trading in spice over the vast distances involved in countries where the Dutch administrators were almost certainly few; and where, in all probability, there was every temptation for clandestine and lucrative trading. The Dutch met this situation by enacting that cloves were to be grown on the island of Amboina only; that all clove trees elsewhere were to be destroyed; and that clove cultivation outside the permitted areas was to be visited by the severest penalties. These regulations were strictly enforced and were apparently successful, for the clove trade remained a Dutch monopoly during 17th and 18th centuries.

This valuable monopoly was coveted by other nations, while the rough handling of their nationals provoked resentment. The French sent an expedition to the less populated part of the Moluccas in 1770. They came away, chased by the Dutch, with seeds and seedlings, and from these, most of the French possessions in the Indian Ocean were supplied: the Mascarene Islands, the Seychelles and Madagascar. Clove cultivation was also tried in the West Indies. In none of these islands, however, did a viable industry develop. The English must have obtained clove seed at about the same time for they were brought to Penang by the East India Company, and a clove industry still flourishes there.

The largest producer of cloves is, however, Zanzibar to which the plant was introduced in about 1800. The local tradition has it that one Harameli bin Saleh was banished by the Sultan of Zanzibar for the crime of

murder, but was pardoned when he smuggled some clove seed into the country from Mauritius. There seems to be no ecological reason why a viable industry should have developed in Zanzibar rather than in the other islands to which the clove had been introduced, and the reason why the industry became established is undoubtedly attributable to two of the sultans. The first, Said bin Sultan planted the first clove trees near Zanzibar town, and from these established some 4,000 trees in one of the plantations. By 1835, they were doing well, and he then determined to establish the industry on a wider basis. He achieved this by the simple and effective means of ordering the confiscation of the property of all those who did not develop clove plantations. Accordingly, large areas were planted up, and the industry expanded, flourished, and produced vast profits.

All went well until 1872 when a hurricane, rare in East Africa, struck Zanzibar and destroyed almost all the clove plantations with only a few pockets of trees escaping. This, in spite of the clove tree being firmly rooted and with extremely tough wood; it is difficult to uproot even with modern tree-pulling equipment.

The son of Said bin Sultan, Bargash bin Said, was then reigning and was as energetic and despotic as was his father. He ordered immediate re-planting, and it was soon done. In Zanzibar, and more particularly in Pemba, vast acreages of the land were clothed in dense clove forest.

The clove tree is beautiful, 40' in height, its foliage is dense and evergreen, with dark shiny schleropyllous leaves, contrasting with the striking and beautiful pink colour of the juvenile foliage. The shade in a mature plantation is dense enough to inhibit most ground vegetation, and the contrast between the uncultivated bush of the coastal tropics and the cool darkness of a stand of these magnificent trees is very great. The roads of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba are avenues of clove trees.

Around 1895, a change took place. The tree began to die by a cause unknown and described as sudden death. Nutman and Roberts (1953) have published an account of the various attempts which were made between 1895 and the end of the second world war, not only to investigate the disease, but to

initiate investigation into it. The people had come to venerate the clove tree, and when research was carried out, to obtain permission to fell a tree for scientific study was difficult and often impossible, and even the removal of part of a tree for pathological examination was often resisted, and always resented.

Sporadic deaths of mature trees had been taking place for decades, and these were undoubtedly caused by sudden death. Investigation and control of the disease was stolidly resisted, and the island of Zanzibar became one vast disease complex. After many difficulties and long studies, it was determined that the dieback was caused by two species of fungi. The finer ramifications of the root system are destroyed, and the ultimate cause of death of the tree is lack of water. Young trees planted as replacements succumbed after about eight years. Very young trees are immune to infection. Dieback probably causes greater loss of crop than sudden death.

Control of sudden-death in Zanzibar so far as the present stand of trees is concerned would seem to present an insoluble problem. It would seem that the only ~~chance~~ of re-establishing the industry is by extensive replanting, under conditions in which the chances of replants becoming infected is at a minimum. This could only be achieved by the extensive removal of sources of inoculum over considerable areas, followed by a fallow period before replanting. Plans were implemented in 1953, but since then, it is not known what activity has taken place, and there is no information on the results of many trials being carried out at that time.

The consumption of cloves in Indonesia is probably in the region of 30,000 tons per annum. In 1971, 32,094 tons were imported. Production in 1971 from 86,000 ha was 14,070 tons. In 1971, 30 tons were exported.

Cloves prefer a mean temperature of  $25^{\circ}/30^{\circ}$  C, a rainfall 1,500 mm/2,000 mm, a well-drained sloping loam soil at 300/500 m altitude, by tradition, a habitat "within sight of the sea". Although, as with coconuts and cashew nuts, the last is probably fallacious.

Cloves first produce  $5/8$  years from planting and reach maximum yields in about 20 years. Production after 10/12 years is about 700 kg/ha rising



to 800 kgs by trees reaching maturity in 20 years. Considerable casual labour is required seasonally for harvesting.

Clove seed has been imported into Irian Jaya, and nurseries have been established at agricultural stations in Jayapura, Biak, Manokwari and Sorong. Seedlings are being distributed to farmers, and if these produce well, there is reason to suppose that, in years to come, this Province will contribute substantially to Indonesia's clove requirements.

## UNIVERSITY AND INSTITUTE NEWS

Resignation of the Director of the Institute for Anthropology

The Director of the Institute, Drs. Anwas Iskandar, has resigned in order to take up a position in Jakarta with the Department of Higher Education. Drs. Iskandar who was also the Secretary of the University had spent almost ten years in Irian Jaya and was largely responsible for the development of the Institute and for founding the University museum.

Drs. Iskandar's duties have been assumed by Drs. Samuel Patty who is now Acting Director of the Institute.

Rockefeller 3rd Fund Grant

The Rockefeller 3rd Fund, New York, has granted the sum of US\$3,500 to assist in the costs of the Asmat research now being undertaken by the Institute for Anthropology. In acknowledging this grant the Rector of the University and the Acting Director and staff of the Institute wish to express their appreciation for this generous assistance.

## RESEARCH IN IRIAN JAYA

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Linguistic Research on Bahasa Indonesia in JayapuraICHTISAR :

Pemakaian bahasa umum dianggap sebagai prasarana utama untuk memperlantjar hubungan masjarakat untuk keperluan pembangunan. Bahasa umum ini Bahasa Indonesia. Bahasa2 daerah jang banjak djumlahnja merupakan salah satu sebab timbulnja masalah komunikasi bahasa. Penelitian dan pemakaian bahasa2 daerah disekolah diakui manfaatnja. Tetapi dengan kebutuhan dan kemampuan jang ada, penelitian bahasa jang ada hubungannja dengan bahasa Indonesia selajaknja diutamakan. Kalimat pertama diatas mendjadi hipotesa penundjang pengutamaan ini. Sasaran penelitian jang dilakukan di Irian Barat dapat antara lain untuk menemukan faktor2 jang menentukan pemakaian dan penghindaran pemakaian bahasa Indonesia. Indeks komunikasi dapat djuga ditemukan. Hubungan penelitian sematjam ini dengan perkembangan ilmu pengetahuan bahasa nampak pada kemungkinan sumbangan data2 baru. Penemuan2 mengenai keadaan kebidjaksanaan perentjanaan bahasa, pengadjaran bahasa, dan pemakaian bahasa merupakan sarana untuk merumuskan usaha2 pembaharuan dan inovasi sebagai sumbangan pada program pembangunan.

An essential function of language is communication. Linguistic communication implies an exchange of human experiences, ideas and understanding all of which is necessary for mediating social interaction. It follows then that the use, or rather the appropriate use of a common language is a prerequisite to successful communication.

In Indonesia the question of which common language was to be used was resolved by the leaders of the youth independence movements in 1928, seventeen years before the proclamation of independence. As a matter of fact, Indonesian, or Bahasa Indonesia (BI) has now become more than the political rallying point it was in 1928. Explicitly stated in article 36 of the Indonesian constitution, BI has been the language of the nation since 1945.

With regard to West Irian, although the question is not limited to this province alone, it seems appropriate to ask whether BI has successfully



functioned as the common medium of communication. This question is crucial, at least in the view of one writer who states: "Of the various social and technical problems which beset the new and developing nations in particular, a sizeable number turn out to be directly related to language in some way" (Stewart, 1968: 531).

Despite the lack of quantitative verification, research that has been carried on the language indicates that notwithstanding its constitutional status, BI has yet to achieve appropriate success as the sole common medium of communication for the development of modern Indonesia. The lamentations of teachers as to the poor level of BI of their students, who in turn also complain of the inadequate BI of their teachers, is no longer a secret—an indication that something is amiss with BI. A few years ago an Indonesian professor even expressed his dismay that one would have difficulties in using BI for scientific purposes. Serious conferences and seminars on BI have always brought to the fore the frank admission that BI is in dire need of straightening out. There have also been resolutions on the part of authorities on the language to make efforts to develop BI and enforce its standardization.

Another important factor which has a bearing on this matter is the existence of so many autochthonous languages in Indonesia. Literature on this matter is enormous and still growing (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1965; Uhlenbeck, 1967: 847-898). Much research has been carried out on these languages although the sheer volume of research that needs to be undertaken is beyond the capacity of domestic scholars. With regard to West Irian, research needs are pressing in that however resistant many of the societies may be to external development programmes, the "blessings" of progress are likely to bring pollution, so to speak, linguistically and otherwise to indigenous life at an ever-quickenning pace. Since education is pivotal to progress, the relevance of research on local languages to determine the possible use of the vernacular in education is obvious. It is also evident that in West Irian the idea of making use of the vernacular in education has serious advocates (Ellenberger, 1971: 28-32).

However, the success of a development programme, especially when one

considers the conditions that obtain in Indonesia, must depend upon the setting of priorities. With regard to linguistic research in West Irian priorities also need to be decided upon--at least from the viewpoint of the government's purse. It is argued that linguistic research which has bearing on the dissemination of BI should be given first priority. To the best of the writer's knowledge, this kind of consideration has not yet been a part of the overall development programme of West Irian since 1962. It should also be added that there has been no research by Indonesians on the local languages of West Irian at all. Presumably the multiplicity of languages that need to be studied, the costs involved and the lack of qualified personnel have been responsible for this neglect.

Now, with the establishment of the National Centre for Language Development, an institution directly responsible to the Minister of Education and Culture, linguistic research on the problems inhibiting communication in BI in West Irian deserve serious encouragement. One research project now in progress on a modest scale is of importance for a number of reasons. First of all, it does not seem invalid to suggest as a basic hypothesis that the use of BI is a fundamental prerequisite to an over-all programme to develop West Irian to a position where it is more or less equated with the relatively more developed parts of Indonesia. Conversely, it can also be proposed as a hypotheses that a low degree of communication by means of BI is likely to hamper development programmes in the area. This is certainly not begging the question in that a low degree of communication in BI may also be observed in Central Java. But because Central Java is linguistically homogeneous, it is always possible to resort to the local language and thus maintain a high degree of communication without BI.

Many areas in West Irian could qualify as locations for research on the use of BI but for the preliminary stages Jayapura is particularly suitable. As Labov has pointed out, linguistic data may be used as indicators of change that is in process in a society (Labov, 1966). Jayapura, which to a certain extent reflects the achievement of the development programmes of the Indonesian Government, is expected to abound with these indicators. The fact that

Jayapura is highly heterogeneous linguistically, especially now that it is in the process of rapid urbanization, and the place to which many immigrants are being attracted, allows us to test another hypotheses, namely, that Jayapura is likely to require more use of BI than the more homogeneous areas. The changes taking place in the outlook of the population through their exposure to modernization must be reflected in some way in the emerging variety of BI --in itself this is a rich ground for dialect study.

Following the above the problems to be researched may be stated. If it is true that programmes of development in West Irian will be facilitated by effective communication by mean of BI between the government and the people, then we need to discover what factors aid or hinder the communication process. The discovery of factors determining the use of the non-use of BI is clearly of significance. Rubin's method of discovering the social variables which influence the use of language may be applied with appropriate modifications (Rubin 1968:512-530).

Another problem to be researched is the level of communication. Even though BI has been used in this area as a medium of communication for a considerable time (formerly it was known in the area as Malay) the question is whether there is a high or low degree of communication. This calls for a comparative study, or at least the devising of some means of measurement. One method which is now being followed is to measure the speech performance (in the common sense as well as in that of Chomsky, 1965) by means of test-like questionnaires and interviews. Another possibility is the quantitative measures proposed by Greenberg (1956:109-115). Greenberg's last measure, i.e. to find H, or the index of communication, is expected to reveal the communication level in Jayapura, which presumably will be different from that in other places. The meaning of H is simply "the probability that if two members of the population are chosen at random, they will have at least one language in common (Greenberg, 1956:112). It is possible through research to find out whether the H is high or low in Jayapura.

The relevance of the research to current disciplinary concerns is clear. The need for developing a sociolinguistic theory within the framework



of interdisciplinary studies in linguistics, as idealized by DeCamp (1970-157-173), is expected be partly met by the research. At least some of the findings are expected to enrich the repertoire of data.

The relevance of the research to the implementation of development programmes in West Irian is also clear. From what is learned about the level of BI among the local population and the effectiveness of the present educational programme in the language, proposals can be made as to how communication in BI can best be facilitated.

I. Suharno  
University of Cenderawasih  
Jayapura, Irian Jaya.

#### Emerging Forms of Leadership among the Asmat

This is the focus of the second phase of an on-going study in the Asmat being conducted by members of the Institute for Anthropology. Research, which is expected to continue until June is centred in the villages of Saowa - Er, on the Pomatsj River. The study is one of culture change in general but in particular it is hoped to be able to discover some pattern in the forms of leadership that are emerging as a consequence of the cessation of warfare, the presence of the government and the influence of the Christian missions.

Malcolm T. Walker Ph.D.  
Professor of Anthropology,  
University of Cenderawasih.

#### Schooling in the Asmat, Irian Jaya

A two months survey to study the effectiveness of the school system in the Asmat is being undertaken as a part of the Institute's research project in that area. The survey will be completed early in March. It is hoped to discover the particular difficulties facing schools in the region and whether or not

the present form of schooling and the curriculum followed is meeting local needs. In the report to be submitted on the survey recommendations will be made as to how schooling might be brought more in line with the peculiar development needs of the Asmat region.

Drs. Subari  
Lecturer,  
Faculty of Education,  
University of Cenderawasih.

#### COMPLETED RESEARCH:

##### A Socioeconomic Survey of the Asmat Region of Irian Jaya

This survey was carried out from mid-October until mid-December, 1973, by members of the Institute for Anthropology. Those who took part in the survey were Drs. Samuel Patty, Johsj Mansoben, Arnold Ap and Dr. Walker. Miss. Joanne Rompas accompanied the team as typist but contributed much data as well. The research was funded by the Irian Jaya Joint Development Foundation.

#### PUBLICATIONS:

Institute for Anthropology, University of Cenderawasih: Produce Markets and Sources of Supply in Jayapura. Research Report No. 3. (Oct., 1973; 59 pps. mimeo).

Institute for Anthropology, University of Cenderawasih: A Socioeconomic Survey of the Asmat Region of Irian Jaya. Research Report No. 4. (Jan., 1974; 55 pps. mimeo).







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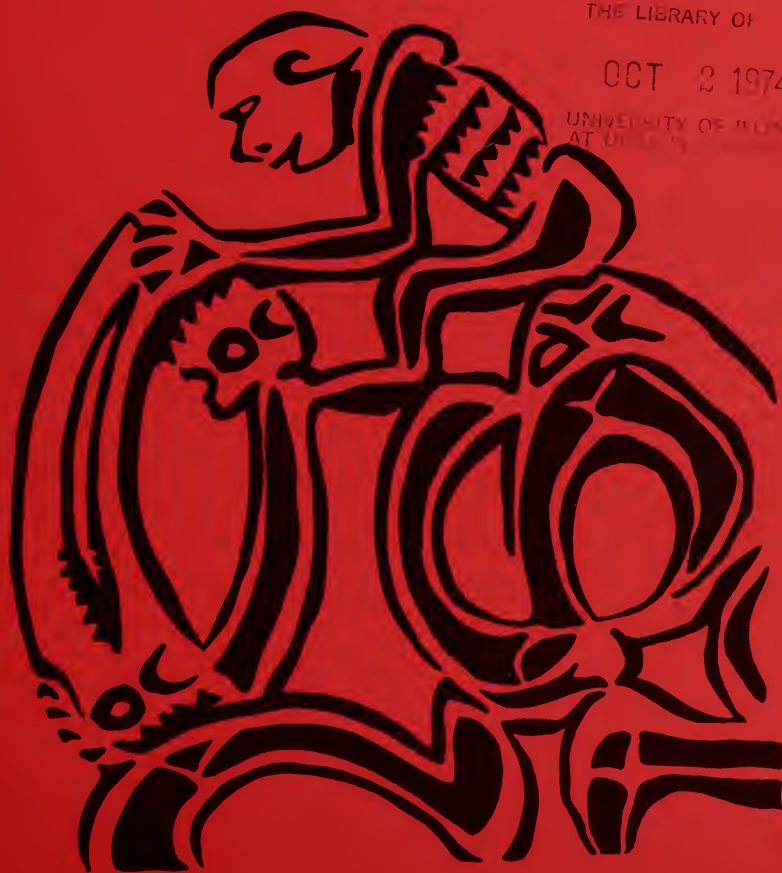




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THE "LORD OF THE EARTH" CULT AMONG THE ASMAT:  
PRESTIGE, POWER, AND POLITICS IN A TRANSITIONAL SOCIETY

Peter W. Van Arsdale and David E. Gallus

IKHTISAR :

Sejak 1966 kampung Asmat Ewer, telah mengalami suatu rangkaian pernyataan kepercayaan akan Tuhan Tanah, sampai empat kali. Selama delapan tahun kepercayaan itu ada, terjadilah perubahan2 secara lambat laun dalam maksud-tujuan kepercayaan tsb., tapi segala perubahan dapat dimengerti sebagai bagian dalam rangka "gerakan seribu tahun" (millenarisme) suatu rangkaian perbuatan2 yang direncanakan untuk menyebabkan beberapa perubahan pokok dalam cara hidup; setelah itu, peserta2 "terpilih" akan menikmati anugerah2 istimewa, seperti: menerima pengaruh (gengsi) kuasa, kekayaan dan kebahagiaan.

Tahap pertama, dibawah pimpinan Marsellus Bewormbij, ditandakan oleh ilham2, bahwa roh yang larim "ndembero" (Tuhan Tanah) akan menganugerahkan harta benda, kemerdekaan<sup>1</sup> dan kulit putih kepada mereka yang meninggalkan cara hidup yang biasa kepercayaan tebal akan kekuatan doa dan akan Gereja Katolik perlu juga. Mula2 ilham2 dilengkapi dengan barang yang secara diam2 dicuri dari misi. Kepercayaan ini berhasil disebar luaskan, dan orang menghentikan pekerjaannya, tapi peletusan ini dicegah terutama oleh usaha seorang penduduk kampung, Gabriel Eweripitsj.

Tahap kedua, ketiga, ke-empat terjadi dibawah pimpinan Sotor Baptes. Ia mempertahankan dan memperluas tata cara kepercayaan semula, tapi fungsi2-nya yang sesungguhnya berubah. Sedangkan Eweripitsj telah menjadi wakil dari pemerintah Indonesia, dengan diangkat menjadi penjabat tertinggi di Ewer; berlaku sebagai sahabat misi dengan pekerjaan dan usahanya bagi mereka; dan seorang yang membaharui kampung dengan proyek2 pembangunan, dan karena itu sangat dihormati dan disegani (seseorang yang berwibawa, "man of power"), Baptes menjadi seorang pengatur, seorang dukun yang penting dengan kekuatan yang dianugerahkan oleh Tuhan Tanah, seorang yang pandai berbicara (seseorang yang berpengaruh, seorang Orang Besar secara adat Melanesia). Masing2 orang termasuk "fam" atau kelompok suku tertentu, yang berjuang untuk merebut kewibawaan atas kuasa dikampung. Kepercayaan Tuhan Tanah menjadi jalan yang membawa wibawa kepada kelompok suku Bewormbij dan Baptes, dan menyebabkan Baptes menjadi Orang Besar dengan pengaruh terkuat di Ewer. Dari sudut pandangan orang Asmat, wajarlah secara intelektual dan rasionil, percaya kepada Baptes dan kepercayaan yang diwakilinya lebih daripada percaya kepada Eweripitsj, wakil dari susunan kekuasaan yang dipaksakan dari atas.

Banyak pemuda2 sekarang sudah kurang percaya bahwa Tuhan Tanah akan menganugerahkan barang, kemerdekaan, dan kulit putih. Namun pengaruh Baptes

<sup>1</sup>Merdeka = kemerdekaan diantara orang2 Asmat yang berbicara bahasa Indonesia.

berlangsung terus, terutama berdasarkan kemampuannya sebagai seorang dukun yang penting dengan kekuatan ajaib. Tata cara kepercayaan ini telah berkembang menjadi susunan tetap, dengan Baptes sebagai tokoh dan wakilnya. Para pemuda lebih2 mencari jalan lain untuk menjadi orang berpengaruh, Orang Besar, daripada mencari kuasa yang diwakili oleh Eweripitsj. Beberapa telah memilih pekerjaan dengan upah disebuah perusahaan yang mencari minyak dipedalaman daerah Asmat. Sekembalinya dari pekerjaan mereka diakui oleh penduduk kampung sebagai orang yang berpengaruh. Kesempatan2 ekonomis yang demikian dapat memberi jalan yang bisa diterima oleh penduduk kampung tokoh2 perubahan.

Since 1966 the Asmat village of Ewer has undergone a series of manifestations of cargo cult behavior<sup>1</sup>. The latest was during the latter part of 1973, with lingering effects still being felt in early 1974. This paper details the developments surrounding the four major Ewer cult manifestations, and then analyses this behavior in terms of (1) progressive functional transformations of a relatively stable cult structure, with a decreasing interest in cargo and concomitant increasing intra-village struggle for power; (2) Big Man activity as broadly manifested throughout Melanesia; (3) economic and development problems in the Asmat region. Following LaBarre (1971: 26-7) we recognize that it is doubtful if any single explanation for cult behavior will suffice. Rather, a cargo cult can best be interpreted as a complex of cultural responses to multicausal factors.

### Analytical Background

In categorizing the activities in Ewer, we follow Meggitt (1973: 1): A millenarian movement involves a series of actions designed to bring about certain existential changes, after which "the elect" participants will enjoy special benefits such as the acquisition of power, wealth, and happiness. A millenarian (or cargo) cult is that kind of millenarian movement which emphasizes and employs religious - magical doctorines and rituals to explain and achieve its purposes.

Hence it is crucial to recognize that a millenarian movement in its broadest interpretation can follow either Western-recognized processes of political and economic development, or non-Western yet locally recognized processes for achieving the same development status. Lawrence (1967: 274-5)



states that an improvement in economic opportunities may lead to the acceptance of development as a satisfactory alternative to cargo cults. Similarly, Finney (1969: 59-60) has found that cargo cult actions and market-oriented activities can be conceptualized as competing ways open to New Guineans to obtain wealth, and that where favorable preconditions exist commercial activities with their demonstrable returns may well be preferred to cargo cult activities. Vriens (1972: personal communication to Trenkenschuh) has made similar findings among peoples of southwest Irian Jaya, including the Marind and Mappi. As will be shown, for many of Ewer's adult males such commercial and economic opportunities have not been readily accessible. In its earlier stages the cult members chose what to them seemed a more viable alternative: ritualistic methods to attain economic and even ethnic parity with whites. These ritual insights were offered by a few men striving to increase their own power and prestige.

Such a choice was intellectually viable as well. It followed traditionally accepted Asmat practice. Lawrence (1970: 238) follows his earlier work in reiterating the importance of analysing cargo cult behavior along rational - intellectual lines found in the society itself, rather than applying purely sociological analysis. This can be contrasted to the opinion of Burridge (1960: xviii) that cargo cult participants act via their emotions rather than their intellect. In his comparative study of two New Britain societies Counts (1971) provides further data supportive of Lawrence's "ethno-intellectualist" thesis. Kandokans believe, consistent with a philosophy toward the value of certain long-term activities, that cash cropping and council activities will bring eventual development. These are "something true", whereas Kandokans assume cargo beliefs to be intellectually false because of the troubles which result. Bibling Range villagers, on the other hand, following established religious - intellectual lines of reason found in their society, wanted immediate material satisfaction and saw cargo cult activities as the most viable alternative. Asmat behavior regarding traditional economic opportunities and exploitation of resources is intellectually directed along these same short-term guidelines, and their initial cargo activities were

a logical consequence. After repeated failures to achieve their goals and the desired cargo, the cult leaders gradually modified the functions of the cult toward more political and ndembero (traditional curer) ends.

#### Other Millenarian Cults in Irian Jaya and Asmat

By far the large majority of millenarian cults in Melanesia have been reported in those areas east of Irian Jaya. Yet this seeming disparity in numbers may well be an artifact of research opportunities and reports available. Millenarian activity is probably as wide-spread in Irian Jaya as elsewhere in Melanesia, as evidenced by a relative increase in recent reports. The Biak area is most heavily represented in this literature (Kamma 1972;<sup>2</sup> Pouwer 1970; Worsley 1968: 2, [map]; Marjen 1967), but other regions are also covered (e.g. Pouwer 1970; van Baal 1969).

Some of Irian Jaya's earliest millenarian cults appeared in the Lake Sentani region in the 1920's (Worsley 1968: 98-9). These were in response to the combined effects of mission and government penetration. For southern Irian Jaya, to date but few published reports have appeared. Van der Kroef (1959) mentions Messianic movements among the Muyu, and Gerbrands (1967: 8) briefly notes a cargo cult among the Asmat of the village of Amanamkai apparently dating back to about 1960. Gerbrands himself was taken to be the reincarnation of an important chief, who had predicted his own return after death with an unlimited supply of white man's goods.

Trenkenschuh (1974: personal communication) has provided the authors with unpublished information and letters relating to millenarian cults in several areas of Irian Jaya<sup>3</sup>. These include cults among the peoples of Kinam, Muyu, and Mimika. In the case of Muyu manifestations in the area near Mindiptana, these began as early as 1949 with a festival whose singing was aimed at changing fruit into shell money. The shell money was then to be used for Western goods. There have been several other somewhat unrelated cult activities in Muyu since then.

Millenarian cults have appeared in several villages of Asmat, although in most cases detailed information is lacking. In addition to that in

Amanamkai, prior to the 1966 outbreak in Ewer, cults were reported in Sjur, Jepem, Amborep, Manep, and Jamatsj. Based on reports from neighboring villages the influence of Ewer's cult has been more powerful than that of any other village. Yet Ewer people first became acquainted with cult activities from people in the other villages mentioned. Subsequent to 1966 cults have been reported in Atsj and Ayam. The latter, the cult of the Crocodile Woman, has been described by Trenkenschuh (1970), as have the first three Ewer manifestations.

### Kepercayaan Tuhan Tanah: The "Lord of the Earth" Cult in Ewer

PHASE I: During October of 1966 a 27-year old man named Marsellus Bewormbij broke into the Catholic pastor's storeroom in Ewer. As the pastor was frequently in Agats, the administrative center of Asmat some 10 kilometers away, he did not initially miss the tobacco, money, and clothing which were stolen night after night.

Bewormbij began dividing these goods (barang) with others in Ewer, telling them he had received the supplies from Tuhan Tanah, the "Lord of the Earth". Tuhan Tanah had appeared to him and presented a secret key, with which he was able to unlock a hole in the ground from which the barang appeared. It seems the people began to believe his story, and gladly accepted his gifts.

Our informants say that initially no one knew Bewormbij was stealing the barang. He thus was able to gather a group of followers about him, all relatives, most of whom belonged to jeu (Asmat fam, divided into two moieties) Jower. Central figures at that time included Marcus Jupip, who was Bewormbij's younger brother, Sotor Baptes, Donatus Doperas, Daniel Paitesi, and Jacobus Jemis. All were young men, and most in the probable position of desiring to enhance their own power and prestige, as member's of Ewer's most powerful jeu at that time.

Bewormbij did in fact become a Big Man, a man of influence, in Ewer. His story was expanded to say that Christ, Mary, and the angels were giving him advice. They had also informed him that on a certain date there would



be a great happening. All believers in Tuhan Tanah would become white, each becoming a tuan<sup>4</sup>. They would receive merdeka (freedom), and the hole would supply even more barang than before.

All these things would happen if Ewer's people believed in Tuhan Tanah, and rejected all that is traditionally Asmat. Bows, arrows, spears, etc., must be burned, proclaimed Bewormbij. No longer were they to use body paint or the traditional woman's garb (fiber awêr). When each became a tuan with white skin such things would be unnecessary. Any such items hidden and not burned would rot; and since their food would come from cans, hunting and gathering would be unnecessary also. There was even a plan to cut down many of the sago palms as they would not be needed<sup>5</sup>.

These events all hinged, said Bewormbij, with the sincerity of the people's beliefs. As a majority of villagers were already baptized Catholics, they were to obtain rosaries and pray fervently each Sunday. In response church attendance shot up, many items were burned, work and sago chopping ground to a halt, and drumming and dancing began. About this time Bewormbij began to wear a starshaped pin he had stolen. The people began calling him "President".

Also at about this time, Gabriel Eweripitsj returned to the village from the southern coast where he had been working for the Catholic mission. This man is presently Kepala Desa of Ewer, the village's highest government-appointed position. Even then he was conversant in government activities and widely respected by outsiders as a potential innovator for mission and government programs. It is also extremely important to note that he is a member of jeu Jowijof, Jower's chief rival for power in the village during the past decade. Eweripitsj heard of these activities and decided to investigate, as did the pastor who finally had discovered the missing supplies.

While the pastor was unable to pin down the thief due to lack of evidence, Eweripitsj had more success. He hid under the store room and caught Bewormbij stealing more supplies to supplement his revelation that the Virgin Mary would walk through Ewer later that night. Bewormbij begged Eweripitsj to allow him to perform fellatio, the traditional Asmat custom binding one to

secrecy. Instead, Eweripitsj reported the incident to the pastor, the head teacher, and government officials in Agats. Bewormbij was arrested for theft and jailed in Agats. The pastor demanded that the people who had received the barang return it; slowly it was brought back.

Making one last attempt at retaining his prestige and power as "President", Bewormbij escaped from jail. He told the people that he had simply "reappeared" in Ewer. Some of the villagers believed him, and festivities quickly began again. However, several people found his canoe in a small river not far from Ewer, and traced his footprints back through the mud. Bewormbij was re-arrested, belief in the cult diminished, and he has since never regained any power or prestige whatsoever. He presently leads a non-descript life, occasionally bringing pig meat to sell to the pastor (not the same man present in 1966). When questioned during November, 1973, one informant stated that people thought it was foolish that Bewormbij had stolen the mission barang. However, this professed attitude has probably developed only recently.

PHASE II: During July of 1968 the teachers and new pastor of Ewer began to notice the villagers remaining home more than usual. Drumming was on the increase, and work was again slowing down. Being unwilling to leave the village, Ewer men refused to paddle the teachers to Agats or bring them food.

It was learned soon after that a middle-aged man named Leo Baitjitji had been speaking to the villagers from a comatose state-macam gila (as if crazy). He was probably an epileptic, a condition further compounded by a case of Malaria Tropica. Among other things Baitjitji had told the people to listen to his cousin Sotor Baptes, one of the ranking members of the faction Bewormbij had built up. Baptes, a cripple since his youth, was able to attract a following owing to his previous association with cult, his close family relationship with jeu Jower (discussed more fully later), and his position as a ndembero (traditional curer) with special contacts to the spirit world.

Through a series of dreams Baptes reported an old bearded man had appeared to him, and offered a key leading to numerous kinds of barang.

The old man also revealed that merdeka was imminent. Other dreams were of dead people, which he not only reported to the villagers but to the pastor. Although the pastor told him dreams were not to be feared, like other primitive peoples Asmaters believe dreams of spirits and the dead to be extensions of reality.

For fear of missing the promised freedom and barang no one dared leave Ewer. However, Gabriel Eweripitsj had by this time become Kepala Desa. He heard rumors of the cult's re-emergence and again quickly reported it to the government in Agats. Before the situation could develop further Baitjitji and Baptes were called to Agats and warned of the consequences of such talk. The village seemingly returned to normal, although secretive talk continued until the next outbreak occurred.

PHASE III: Actually a delayed continuation of the events of 1968, this phase of the cult surfaced in July, 1969. At this time Eweripitsj left for Surabaya, Java. Apparently his presence had kept talk underground because shortly after he left both Baitjitji and Baptes began talking of Tuhan Tanah more openly again. Baitjitji instructed the people: "What I got from Tuhan, Mary, and Jesus is in the hands of Baptes. Later Baptes will open everything and you will have much barang, white skins, and Ewer will become a big city". At this point Baptes began revealing his dreams again.

During early August, participation in the fish cooperative ceased, and pig hunters no longer brought in pigs. Further belief in the cargo cult was probably enhanced when Baitjitji died on August 16 due to complications surrounding his chronic Malaria Tropica. Baptes quickly emerged as the sole cult leader, strengthening his position by proclaiming that Baitjitji had not died at all but would return when Tuhan Tanah opened the hole in the ground for the emerging barang. Traditional Asmat mourning calls for prolonged wailing and rolling in the mud by close relatives, women in particular. Hence it was a marked contrast when, due to Baitjitji's supposed return, no such mourning occurred at his burial. When questioned by the pastor, several people responded that they had learned from the Catholic religion not to cry at a funeral, but to pray.



Shortly after the burial, Baptes changed his tact and declared that he was more powerful than Baitjitji had claimed. Through a dream he revealed that he had been taken on a world tour. In Surabaya he had learned Eweripitsj had been shot and killed. Baptes then said: "See what happens to people who don't believe me. Whoever does not believe will get the same". This convinced many people even more strongly that Baptes' power was real. Each Thursday they began to meet at his house to hear further revelations.

Informants reported the following Baptes monologue from one of these meetings: "We must stand by ourselves. Tuhan says that if we stand by ourselves, our lives will be changed and much better than now. We will undergo a great change. Our skins will become white and we will have all types of barang. This will happen only if you believe. Whoever does not believe will become pigs, or dogs, or fish, or snakes. Also, we must keep this secret. Whoever reports this to the pastor or to the government will become water". During other meetings he added that the Asmat must be free of Indonesian influence, and that all the people of Irian Jaya must be prepared to fight for their freedom<sup>6</sup>.

It would therefore be necessary for Asmat to have its own government, and so the following offices were established: President of "Free Asmat", Sotor Baptes; Vice-President, Donatus Doperas (one of Bewormbij's original faction, a close relative of Baptes, and reputed to have special powers from the spirit world); Governor, Amandus Aman (former Ewer leader, presently a jeu leader); Bupati, Mattias Sateu (acting village leader during Eweripitsj's absence). Other offices, all following the established Indonesian government heirarchy included K.P.S. (Kepala Pemerintahan Setempat), Kepala Distrik, secretaries, and translators. Since Baptes spoke to the people in Indonesian, which not all villagers could understand, the latter were deemed necessary.

During October and November, 1969, belief in Ewer's millenarian cult reached an all-time high. This amount of fervor has not apparently been attained since. There was drumming every week, the pig and fish cooperatives were dead, people refused to leave the village except when absolutely necessary to get food, children showed no enthusiasm for school, teachers were

brought no food, and according to Baptes' orders the church was filled each Sunday.

There was a great deal of other activity in the Agats - Ewer area during this period, as Catholic and government officials were making plans for the ordination of Father Alphonse Sowada, O.S.C., as first Bishop of Asmat. It was general knowledge that many dignitaries would be arriving in Asmat for the ordination, and numerous supplies were arriving by air. The central coastal region of Asmat has only one airstrip, that being the one in Ewer opened May 15, 1967. The bi-monthly flights over the past two years probably had increased the people's interest in barang, although ironically no statements to this effect were made by our informants. It does seem that this mission activity contributed to the high pitch of cult enthusiasm.

Baptes proclaimed that after the November 23rd feast of ordination a "great happening" would take place. He would approach the Archbishop of Merauke when he stepped out of the plane at Ewer, and at that moment Asmat's flag would arise from the ground. Its colors would be red, white, and blue with a cross. Immediately the ground would open and factories, machines, automobiles, airplanes, clothing, electric generators, boats, medicines, food, and kitchen utensils made from gold<sup>7</sup> would appear. Each person would become a tuan at that moment, and from then on would never work again. The barang would then be sent to the village of Ayam, which would become capital of Asmat.

Word of this revelation spread to other villages, the coastal village of Owus apparently becoming especially convinced of the truth of the reports<sup>8</sup>. Ayam was notified of the role it would play, although why it was chosen is not clear. It may have been an orchestrated attempt to improve upon the animosities between Ewer and Ayam which stretch back to pre-contact headhunting times.

A few days prior to November 23, Eweripitsj (reported by Baptes to have been killed in Surabaya) returned to Ewer. Baptes, Aman and Sateu quickly went to Agats and asked the government to remove him as Kepala Desa. When their request was refused rumors began spreading of a duel which would

result in Eweripitsj's death. The more that Eweripitsj investigated the cult activities, the more vigorously the cult's leaders lobbied against him.

A great deal of excitement accompanied the November 23rd feast of ordination, but when Baptes' revelations were not realized he twice rescheduled the "great happening". However, during December the government demanded a full report on the cult. This was provided by Eweripitsj and two other villagers. The members of the cult's Asmat "government" were called to Agats and warned of the consequences which continued cult activity would bring about. Baptes merely declared he had been aiding the Catholic mission by promoting better attendance at church. Yet this pressure by the government was enough to diminish enthusiasm in Kepercaya'an Tuhan Tanah once again.

PHASE IV: Due to the fear of government reprisals and the continued presence of Eweripitsj in the village as Kepala Desa, little information surfaced about the relative strength of the cult from 1970 through 1972. However, enough information was obtained to indicate that cult beliefs persisted. Baptes was regularly consulted as one having special contacts with spirits, and was called on in his role as a ndembero to divine and cure illness. While the structure and organization of the Ewer cult has remained essentially the same since 1966, it is in the increasing power and prestige gained by cult leaders in their developing roles as ndembero that functional transformations are evidenced.

Near the end of May, 1970, the wife of one of the villagers who had helped Eweripitsj prepare his report for the government died. Some recalled Baptes' earlier statement that anyone revealing cult secrets to the government would die. Others reported that an increase in illness in Ewer at that time was due to Eweripitsj's continued reporting of the people's secrets to the government.

During late 1970 and 1971 an informal program of maternity aid was attempted in Ewer. The wife of the pastor's assistant, a Kei Islander, volunteered to assist Ewer women with childbirth. As part of the program she trained teenage Asmat girls to assist in preparation, delivery, and disposal of the afterbirth.<sup>9</sup> Eweripitsj also assisted. Shortly after one afterbirth



had been buried, a teenage assistant became ill. Baptes quickly spread the word that this had resulted from her work with the afterbirth. He added that Eweripitsj never became ill because of his special relationship to the Catholic mission and the various pastors he had helped. The girl soon thereafter quit as assistant, and despite Baptes' proclamation that this resulted from her fear of the illness, it is likely that being a member of jeu Jower she was pressured into quitting by Baptes' supporters. Because of these incidents and a general lack of enthusiasm for the program, it was discontinued.

Even less information was available about cult undercurrents during 1972. Yet in some neighboring Asmat villages the phrase "kepercayaan Tuhan Tanah" had been heard by 1973, and has recently been heard in connection with cult activities in the Muyu and Kimam areas. The emphasis in Ewer, although still paying lip-service to barang, has narrowed down to a power struggle between certain members of the three jeu Jower, Jowijof, and Darkau; the emergence of a new generation of Big Men; and a general dislike for outside intervention by the government, missions, and non-Asmat teachers.

As a member of Jowijof, it was apparent by February, 1972, that Eweripitsj's position as Kepala Desa was still under bombardment by Jower. But only through hindsight can the connection be made with cult rumblings since the spokesman for Jower was Jacobus Sakarpitsj. Serving as Kepala Kampung he had never been linked to the cult although he had been openly resentful of Eweripitsj's authority. He had been a powerful headhunter, in contrast to the younger Eweripitsj, and had retained prestige as a tesmajipic (traditional man of importance) because of his war feats. During an open meeting Sakarpitsj said that Emmanuel Jiminpitsj, a Jower man who had recently died unexpectedly, had been working too hard as a result of Eweripitsj's harsh orders. "All the people" wanted a younger, more flexible Kepala Desa who would truly listen to everyone and consult them prior to giving orders, he said<sup>10</sup>.

Such complaints continued, but further information about the cult per se did not surface again for fifteen months. Then on May 10, 1973, much

to the teacher's surprise, three students openly revealed to the class the new members of "government" in the cult. Sotor Baptes remained as President, with a new man named Didimus Dokom as Bupati. Donatus Doperas had now assumed the title Kepala Desa, with another new name being that of Julius Jirman as Wakil Desa. A list of members had been drawn up which included the names of teenage boys, and children. It was stated that after years of unfulfilled revelations the group wanted results. Hence an asphalt airstrip would be needed, with young Ewer men becoming pilots<sup>11</sup>. How this would be accomplished went unstated. It was also said the school must be made of cement, with a zinc roof.

The latest manifestation finally came more clearly to the surface during August, 1973. A man named Pojuru from the neighboring village of Per died suddenly after a jungle trip. Before he died he told of a snake he had met in the jungle. The creature had a book and a key (both symbols used by cult leaders in Ewer during the three previous phases). The snake threatened Pojuru with death if he did not take the book and key, but as he was afraid he refused. Because of his death as the snake had predicted the story quickly reached Ewer. (One Asmat man who helped spread the story is a Catholic catechist and teacher in Per, who originates from Ewer.)

During August and September, 1973, the non-Asmat teachers again reported that villagers were not bringing them food. The pastor's Kei assistant was also not receiving the food which he normally purchased from the villagers. By October it was noted there was a general lack of enthusiasm for village projects and work. Some people believed the pastor should pay them for cleaning up the village, and others mentioned their desire for non-Asmat teachers to leave. Men complained that zinc roofing should not go on the new teacher's house, but on the Desa office instead (for a variety of reasons this request was met by the government and implemented in January, 1974). One evening after a small fight between the Kei assistant's son and an Asmat boy, the latter's father threatened the Kei boy and told him: "outsiders are not wanted in Ewer".

Clamouring for a new Kepala Desa peaked again in October, and once again in November. One of the men mentioned to fill Eweripitsj's office was Paulus Potes of jeu Jower. It seems his name had been picked somewhat at random, as he himself had not been in Ewer for some time. He had deserted his wife (as Asmat teacher) to hunt crocodiles, and although he later returned it was general belief even among the villagers that he was hard to get along with. Those pushing for Eweripitsj's removal stated Potes would be able to argue for higher prices for native products sold in Agats. Eweripitsj was always pushing for government projects and hard work, but was not able to arrange things to suit the people. He also does not know how to read or write, they pointed out, and does not sit in his office enough. Yet in November, when there was the opportunity for a village-wide vote to replace Eweripitsj, the overt Jower/covert cargo cult faction could not muster enough support for any of the men it had variously proposed.

On September 28, 1973, fifty Ewer men had gone to Agats to sign up for wage labor with an oil exploration company that had recently opened operations in the interior Asmat region. Although these men repeatedly prepared to leave to begin their contract, they were time and again forced to wait owing to various company delays. Yet enthusiasm for the wage labor continued at a very high pitch. However, none of the cult's leaders signed up, nor expressed much interest in the possibilities of such work. When in early October a group of Ewer men returned from an unsuccessful crocodile hunt to the Mimika region, they were further frustrated to learn that they had missed their chance to sign up for wage labor. Baptes told them not to worry, as they would soon receive barang from Tuhan Tanah.

It was also during October, 1973, that Baptes spoke with Paulus Potes' wife. He told her that, although he appeared to be a cripple, the pastor had recently seen him with two perfectly good legs, walking normally. Thus the theme of the power of the church and the pastor, which was prevalent in the earlier cult manifestations, is still present.



## Analysis and Conclusions

PROGRESSIVE FUNCTIONAL CULT TRANSFORMATIONS: Over a period of eight years Ewer's millenarian cult has remained viable. Its four major manifestations indicate that belief in the cult has remained generally widespread, extending at times beyond the village. As of 1974 Sotor Baptes has become ever increasingly a strong Big Man, a man of influence. Several informants, both in Ewer and its sister village Sjurru, state flatly that Baptes is now the most influential man in Ewer. All this has taken place despite the fulfilment of not a single revelation, and despite the continued presence of Eweripitsj as Kepala Desa. We propose that this can be explained in part by the progressive functional transformation of the cult while its structure and organization have remained essentially the same.

The first cult outbreak occurred in 1966. Jeu Jower and jeu Jowijof were the two most powerful of the village's six fam at that time, but Jower had the edge. Its man held the highest government-appointed position, and both Sukai and his son Jacobus Sakarpitsj were considered extremely influential based upon their war feats prior to 1953. Jowijof definitely wanted to increase its own power, but was unable to do so until Eweripitsj became Kepala Desa in 1968. It is our contention that the inter-jeu power struggle which has become increasingly pronounced since 1968 is one facet of the cargo cult's functional transformation.

But in 1966 this was not the motivation behind the cult. Bewormbij is a member of Jower. Hence by first gathering a close-knit group of supporters from Jower and his own extended family he was in the ideal position to capitalize upon his membership in this fam. He has no particular Asmat-recognized charisma nor special attributes, so it is probable that were he a member of another fam the cult's success would have been uncertain. That the people were extremely hopeful of receiving the promised barang was, of course, another factor in his favor.

Baitjitji and Baptes took over control of the cult at the most crucial period in its eight years existence. Belief in Tuhan Tanah as the provider of barang was still present, but after his failure of 1966 Bewormbij

had no other personal attribute or influence with which to continue mustering support in his drive to become a truly Big Man. It is probably no coincidence that shortly after Eweripitsj became Kepala Desa, shifting the balance of power toward Jowijof, that Baitjitji and Baptes revived interest in the cult. From the viewpoint of cult leadership the functional transformation was in full swing, because not only did Baptes want to become a Big Man, Jower was now in a secondary power position. From the viewpoint of the villagers the cult's structure (and apparent function) was the same as before.

Evidence is circumstantial but it appears that Sakarpitsj may have been behind some of Baptes' maneuvers. Both are members of the same extended family and Baptes' wife is a member of Jower. Throughout Melanesia it is rather unusual for a man as young as Baptes (c. 25 years) to command such widespread influence; the older men often pay little attention to "young upstarts". This would seem to be particularly so among the Asmat since feats of war and headhunting are no longer alternatives by which a young man can gain prestige. With Sakarpitsj' support Baptes would have been assured of solid village backing, and not merely among younger people or Jower members. (Some members of Jowijof could also be included here since Sakarpitsj' influence reaches across jeu lines into that fam as well.) Furthermore, as became obvious during Phase IV Sakarpitsj would very much like to see Eweripitsj removed as Kepala Desa.

Jeu Darkau, although not as powerful as Jower or Jowijof, commands a unique position in the village. It has a large membership, among those Baptes himself and Donatus Doperas. Its importance in the inter-jeu power struggle can best be understood by digressing long enough to explain the basic kinship organization pattern in Asmat. It can be termed Hawaiian in that it is broadly classificatory and generational, hence can be conceptualized horizontally rather than vertically. Lineages and clans are not recognized. A dualistic worldview is found in many aspects of Asmat life, including the division of each fam into moieties and the idea that each fam is represented by a spirit world fam of the same name whose membership must be kept in balance with the real-world fam via the proper number of births

and deaths. Another aspect of dualism and balance was the primary element of revenge in traditional warfare and headhunting raids.

Complementing both the classificatory kin system and the dualistic fam system is a spatial orientation regarding fam membership. In part this means that, although one generally retains the ascribed membership in the fam and moiety of one's father, this can be altered if the total village fam system is perceived to be out of balance. The houses of any one fam tend to be grouped in the same part of the village. However, a man of a different fam can usually build his hut in a different fam's section if he has family ties there, strong friendships, or intentions of improving his own position in the village. Over time such a spatial orientation can be translated into a change in fam membership. By requesting permission from the respective fam leaders (who consult each other as well as spirit world fam leaders) a switch can be made. Informants tell us that Baptes has come close to switching from Darkau to Jower on several occasions, and his hut is located in Jower's section. Yet by maintaining Darkau membership he is in a better position by which to solicit extensive support from both Darkau and Jower.

It is among the younger men of Ewer that the balance of power is being actively fought over, much of it by means of Kepercayaan Tuhan Tanah. What is reflected as power at the fam level is the result of striving for influence at the individual level. Those belonging to Jowijof are less active than those of Jower and Darkau. Yet influential older men such as Sakarpitsj, Eweripitsj, and some of the fam leaders play a strong role in what power shifts actually do occur.

Politico-economic explanations for cargo cults have in recent years been overshadowed by the status- and relative-deprivation theories advanced by Burridge, Cochrane, and Aberle (the latter regarding peyote usage among certain American Indians). The intellectual versus emotional aspect is yet another approach as has already been mentioned, and will be detailed regarding the Asmat in the next section. Yet as Strathern (1971: 255) points out, in many parts of Melanesia status actually depends on success in political and economic ventures. Worsley (1968; 1957) is the principal advocate of politico-



economic explanations. He makes several points which are applicable to the present analysis. Cults usually occur among peoples divided into small, separate, narrow, and isolated social units (1968: 227), for the Asmat this being the village and its fams. Since such a highly segmented society is incapable of offering large-scale resistance to outside influence or take-over, a millenarian cult is one way by which this segmentation can be overcome and a common front presented. Worsley believes such millenarian movements usually take religious forms because jealousies and inter-segment rivalries can be more easily overcome if the leader projects his message onto a supernatural plane which transcends the effects of segmentation (1968: 237). Sotor Baptes has skillfully maneuvered his own fam membership such that inter-fam politics are working in his favor and against Eweripitsj. This political leverage has enhanced his own status not only as cult leader but as an "organizer". In the latter role aspiring Big Men among the Asmat need not necessarily have their organized plan or activity implemented each time. It is often enough that other men listen to them and respect them. Specific economic factors relating to these political considerations are discussed in the final portion of this section.

Political protest per se was clearly manifest during Phase III; as an alternative to Indonesian government cult leaders offered their own "Asmat government" and a plan to attain merdeka. Dalton (1973: 471-3) and Smelser (1963: 32, 43-5) clearly illustrate that under the pressure of imposed development and modernization processes degenerative or dysfunctional changes in socio-political organization will occur unless acceptable alternative forms are provided by the change agents or the society itself. An acceptable alternative was Kepercayaan Tuhan Tanah and the leadership offered by Baptes and his "government". While certainly not succeeding with their plan these organizers were able to unite most of Ewer in a common front. This in itself provided a measure of success, and is one element in the cult's successful functional transformation.

A classic example of the progressive functional transformation of a social movement, while the structure and organization remained essentially the same, is provided by Messinger (1955). In the United States in the 1930's the Townsend Movement was begun to provide national pensions for the aged as a mechanism for alleviating economic dislocation. But within a few years social issues shifted such that the movement was deprived of the conditions necessary to continue operations. In order to maintain membership and perpetuate the organization itself (not the Townsend Movement per se) new functions were introduced. Ever's cult leaders have done the same. During Phase III barang and merdeka obtained through Tuhan Tanah were stated functions of the cult, as were they during Phase IV but to a lesser extent. A progressive functional transformation has actually occurred, however, since Baptes first assumed control. Intra-village politics, traditional curing by ndembero, and the concomitant rise of Baptes and Julius Jirman as Big Men have emerged as primary functions. The following structural characteristics have remained essentially the same: The offices and titles held by the cult's leaders; the use of certain symbols, such as the book and the key<sup>12</sup>; the special role of the Catholic pastor, prayer, and the church; dislike for outsiders and outside intervention; the belief in Tuhan Tanah as cult inspiration and provider. The continually stated functions of obtaining barang and merdeka have become fixed structural rather than functional characteristics; the cult thrives despite a general belief today among younger people that Tuhan Tanah will not provide barang nor white skin, and that Bewormbij was a fraud.

THE ROLE OF THE BIG MAN IN ASMAT: We have used the term Big Man in a broad sense, as it has been applied to many Melanesian societies by various fieldworkers. Viewed broadly within the framework of transitional Asmat Society a Big Man is a man of influence, an organizer. Sahlins (1968: 164) summarizes the characteristics of a Big Man, stating that in order to obtain the obedience of his followers he must "demonstrate that he possesses the kinds of skills that command respect--magical powers, gardening prowess,

mastery of oratorical style, perhaps bravery in war and feud. Typically decisive is the deployment of one's skills and efforts in a certain direction: towards amassing goods ... and distributing them in ways which build a name for cavalier generosity ....". In Ewer various of these traits apply to Bewormbij, Baptes, Jirman, and Sakarpitsj.

Gabriel Eweripitsj does not display any of these skills. He commands respect not because of traditionally recognized attributes or acts but due to the office he holds. It is the missionaries and government officials, moreso than his fellow Asmatters, who respect him for his Christian lifestyle, dedication to job, persistence in carrying out government instructions, and hard work. He is a man of power in that he is representative of power. This in itself serves to clarify the interface between traditional and imposed leadership patterns that he represents. It also points out that despite the strong leadership he has offered it is only external to traditional Asmat values. Power, as Wirsing (1973) states, is an aspect of institutionalized political heirarchies and functions best where information and authority pass through a chain of internal command. Such does not exist in Asmat other than that imposed by change agents; the chain of "internal" command is in fact only internalized in the administrative center of Agats. Hayano's (1973: 306) generalization about the changes occurring among highland New Guinea's Tauna villagers is applicable to the transitional Asmat as exemplified by Eweripitsj: "Perhaps the term 'Big Man' is no longer appropriate for men whose political power and economic wealth extend far beyond traditional boundaries ....".

It is useful to briefly compare some of the types of Big Men studied in other Melanesian societies. For the Tolai Epstein (1972: 42-3) has summarized the main characteristics of the traditional Big Man system:

- (1) absence of established political offices;
- (2) achieved socio-political status, deriving in large part from the Big Man's accumulation of shell money;
- (3) well-rounded political expertise, the Big Man often having to be a successful organizer, manager, arbitrator, innovator, financier, and war



leader all rolled into one; (4) egalitarianism, so that while a leader the Big Man can still convince others he is one of them; (5) thriftiness versus generosity, such that resources are managed well yet generosity shown when necessary; (6) parochial powers, the Big Man's rise dependent upon the support of a loyal faction. Later expansion of influence was dependent upon effective utilization of established social and economic relations with individuals and groups outside his own faction; (7) nature of personal powers, such that regularized political groups and hereditary succession to political power did not develop. Elements of all seven categories have appeared in the development of Ewer's cult and leadership system, this particularly worth emphasizing since Epstein's article focuses on the Big Man system, not millenarian cults. Hence the real value in this comparison is the illustration of the Ewer cult as a vehicle for the rise of transitional Big Men.

A theory presented by Cochrane (1970: 11-14, 152-4) further clarifies the relationship of the Big Man to society. Traditionally he was a microcosm of his society and as such his status was a matter of concern for everyone. His status was their status. But with European contact such status was destroyed. Cargo cults, writes Cochrane, are attempts to remedy this situation by making Europeans and other change agents recognize these traditional status concepts. Furthermore, Europeans were to recognize that Big Men were their equals, this being far more important than actually acquiring European goods. To this we would agree regarding the Ewer situation but must add two needed clarifications. First, the perceptions of the cult's leaders and the cult's followers are very different, as are their motives for participation. Status recognition among the cult's leaders is far more important to them than it is to their followers, and conversely the accumulation of barang is more important to the followers than it is to leaders. The former is a traditional felt need while the latter is an induced need; accumulation of wealth among the Asmat was not generally present nor a means by which one could gain prestige. Second, the Ewer cult is not only

aimed at obtaining the proper recognition of change agents, it is more importantly a viable vehicle by which some men can attain Big Man status in a transitional society. Other villagers have chosen wage labor by which hopefully to attain such status, as is detailed in the final portion of this section.

As Ewer's most influential Big Man Sotor Baptes does not accumulate and distribute wealth. His "cavalier generosity" is manifested in a very different and, for the Asmat, more important manner. Baptes is a ndembero, the village's most influential curer, and in this role actively distributes advice and cures. To understand the ndembero is to understand a portion of the Asmat system of spiritual beliefs. The traditional Asmat universe, not surprisingly, is filled with a variety of spirits (ndat). Those of the spirit world jeu have been described and there are numerous others associated with sago grounds, fishing areas, etc. But in the coastal region near Agats the most important spirit is the ndembero which is associated with the village as a whole. This spirit dwells in the earth. When rendered into Indonesian by Asmaters themselves it is called Tuhan Tanah--the Lord of the Earth<sup>13</sup>.

In precontact times as today the ndembero was the provider of valuable advice (among other things), especially regarding ways to secure medicinal substances from the jungle and administer them. Such advice is transmitted to selected people at night when the spiritual ndembero chooses to enter the home. The first visitation is particularly important since prior to that night the person supposedly has no knowledge that he or she will be selected. While under a trance or in a dream the person is told of his role and receives some of the necessary information. At that point he becomes a ndembero himself although the spiritual ndembero does not enter his body. He will retain this role for the rest of his life in most cases. Sometimes subsequent visitations are frequent and sometimes years may pass before the spiritual ndembero returns to give further advice. In the interim the person is free to practice traditional cures (and apply curses as well, but this is not restricted to ndembero).

At any one time in a village there are several ndembero. Ewer presently has about six to eight, its sister village Sjurru fifteen. Each has varying degrees of knowledge, ability, and experience and each has a concomitant degree of prestige which is recognized generally throughout the village. Baptes and Jiriman are recognized as the most prestigious of Ewer's ndembero at present, this going hand-in-hand with their roles as cargo cult leaders. Each role has served to solidify the other, and it seems certain that if either man were not prestigious in both roles he would not have become an influential Big Man. Were he to have relied solely on prestige derived from the cult Baptes may have met the same fate as Bewormbij after repeated unfulfilled revelations. Were he to have relied solely on prestige derived from his role as ndembero he would not have been able to attain the type of Big Man status previously afforded tesmajipic (war leaders), e.g. women can also gain prestige as ndembero.

The belief in Tuhan Tanah as provider of barang and merdeka is therefore a belief in the spiritual ndembero's ability to extend his powers such that not only advice but goods and freedom are provided from a hole in the earth. Following Lawrence (1970: 238) this is indeed rational - intellectual from the Asmat point of view. Further, the belief in a spiritual ndembero is complemented by a belief in the curing powers of the village ndembero. Baptes followed Bewormbij's lead by strongly advocating prayer and church attendance, therefore blending traditional and Christian spiritual beliefs into the cult's structure. He has also stressed the special powers held by the pastor. The Catholic church is recognized as a potential threat to the cult's existence as well as a source of belief (or power) with which to unite the village's segmented social order. While minimizing the threat by more fully incorporating elements of the church, Bewormbij and Baptes were able to gain also access to elements by which to better maneuver in their drives to become more influential. The entire cargo cult belief complex is a rational, intellectualized, and orderly system. Traditional and non-traditional elements neatly complement one another.



The road for Baptes has not been lined entirely with wine and roses. He perceived the maternity aid program as a real threat and was instrumental in its loss of popularity. Eweripitsj and the Indonesian government have threatened the cult numerous times. As a cripple he has made extravagant claims of health ("the Pastor saw me walking normally with two good legs") countered at other times by explanations for his crippled condition. One informant from Baptes' fam, Darkau, related that his initial desire for cult leadership was a result of wishing to avenge his crippling. A man named Daumbui from jeu Toso, along with his daughter Kakawer, secretly entered the house one night when Baptes ( a young boy at the time ) was sleeping. Both were powerful ndembero and without disturbing him rubbed his legs with a jungle medicine. The next morning when he awoke his legs ached. Supposedly it was not long before they withered to their present shape. Whether Baptes later enacted a curse or applied malevolent medicine to anyone of fam Toso is not known, but the element of 'revenge in order to restore balance is common among ndembero. Baptes likely invented this description of his crippling at a much later date and used it, in part, to justify his expanding ndembero and Big Man influence.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PATHS AND PROBLEMS: Baptes and Jiriman have strengthened the role of the Big Man in Ewer. Prestigious attributes of a traditional nature are showing a resurgence. Village unity has been strengthened. But the functional transformation of the cult in this direction has left increasingly little room for accommodation to development programs and integration with mission and government policies. Furthermore, while it is now apparent that many young men in Ewer would prefer to become men of influence rather than men of power, very few can take the path chosen by Baptes. There is "little room at the top". The cult has become oriented toward maintaining its own leaders in positions of influence.

With the arrival in Asmat during August, 1973, of the I.S.S.A. (Indonesia Surveys S.A.) oil exploration company a viable alternative for attaining potential Big Man status was presented. Through a labor

subcontractor I.S.S.A. on September 28 began registering men from Ewer and most other central coastal villages for proposed three-month labor contracts in the interior. Many more wanted to be placed on the labor rolls but only 50 from each village were initially permitted to register. Once listed the men were told to return to their villages and wait to be called.

We surveyed the situation in four villages including Ewer, and sampled attitudes toward the proposed labor activities. Nowhere did the enthusiasm for the labor reach the feverish pitch attained in Ewer. Despite unforeseen delays that forced most of the various villages to wait over two months before many of their men could leave, Ewer's enthusiasm remained extremely high. Most of the Ewer men, in contrast to other villages, moved into small bivouacs in Agats to be as close to the source of labor information as possible. With this feverish enthusiasm came numerous rumors, particularly regarding the amount of money to be earned and the reasons for the delays. Of 16 Ewer men sampled at random from the list of 50, four expected to earn 500 to 1100 rupiah (U.S. \$1.22 to \$2.68) per day. Actual starting pay was 125 rp. per day. All expected to be able to buy far more than even their wage expectations would permit. Blame for the delays was most frequently placed upon Eweripitsj for "not being able to arrange things with the company". In reality Eweripitsj had been granted no hand in such matters.

Labor positions were available for only nine Ewer men during October. Each of the men who went has been identified as a younger man (less than 35 years) who had been previously striving to attain a position of influence and who had already succeeded to some extent. The 50 men decided among themselves who would fill these positions, hence these nine used their prior influence to override the others. Due to problems with equipment and supplies a cutback was made by I.S.S.A. in December, and the nine returned after completing only two months work. The men were paid only upon completion of the labor, each receiving about 8000 rp. (U.S. \$19.50) cash. They also brought back mosquito nets, tennis shoes, towels, and blankets which had previously been deducted automatically from their wages.

Despite the discrepancy (recognized by many of the men) between their expected and actual earnings, all professed pleasure with the amount received. However, it was in the reactions of the villagers to the termis shoe "badges", and the brash and boisterous manner by which the nine walked about the village, that their increased prestige could be observed. All had participated in a unique economic activity in a distant location, in itself a prestigious event (Hayano 1973: 305-6). We believe that at least one, and perhaps two, of the nine men has subsequently become widely recognized as a Big Man in Ewer.

Baptis, Jiriman, and the other "officials" of the cult did not participate in the wage labor nor show interest in it. They have chosen a successful though alternate path toward becoming Big Men; many of those who engaged in labor are hopeful of achieving similar results. In the analytical background to this study we presented findings from other research (Lawrence 1967: 274-5; Finney 1969: 59-60; Vriens 1972; Counts 1971) which indicate that viable economic alternatives frequently are chosen over potential cargo cult activity. The problem for change agents concerned with integrating these people into the mainstream of development, a path irrevocably chosen by the Indonesian government for the Asmat, is in recognizing the pivotal position occupied by the Big Man in traditional as well as transitional society. Granted that cargo cult activity is not an acceptable alternative from a change agent's viewpoint, whereas wage labor is. Both alternatives share common ramifications which must be understood. The requirements for becoming a Big Man have not changed, nor should they necessarily, and we hope that our study has clarified the alternative paths available to the Asmat people at whom development is aimed.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Both authors have had first-hand contact with the cult and its members, one (D.E.G.) through mission activities and the other (P.W.V.) through anthropological fieldwork.

<sup>2</sup> Kamma's book is based on his original pioneering study of 1954, De Messiaanse Koreri Bewegingen in het Biaks - Noemfoorse Cultuur-Gebied (The Hague: Voorhoeve). As quoted by LaBarre (1971: 32) Oosterwal states that Kamma provides ".... a model anthropological study on cargo cults .... especially the element of time .... and the important 'mythological' explanation ...." (emphasis Oosterwal's).

<sup>3</sup> We are indebted to Father Frank Trenkenschuh, O.S.C., for his valuable insights and encouragement in the preparation of this article.

<sup>4</sup> As simple Indonesian was widely understood in Ewer even at that time, it is very doubtful if confusion occurred between the two similar sounding words Tuhan and tuan. In local usage tuan is a term of respect applied to whites with the same connotations as the "masta" (master) used by Pidgin-speaking peoples of Papua New Guinea (q.v. Finney 1969: 65). But tuan is also used to refer to any Asmat man who is in charge of a household, fishing area, or sago ground--all areas of economic strength in Asmat society.

<sup>5</sup> Fortunately this was not done, as no scheme of reforestation is employed by the Asmat, and the sago area under control of Ewer (a relatively large village with a population of 774 at that time) are less plentiful than those of neighboring coastal villages. Such an action would have caused a severe and prolonged food shortage since new sago palms do not mature for about six years.

<sup>6</sup> These declarations were delivered just prior to Pepera, Irian Jaya's "Act of Free Choice", in August, 1969. Pan-Papuan, anti-Indonesian sentiments were strong in some areas of Irian Jaya at that time.

<sup>7</sup> During early November a gold-plated paten was stolen from the Ewer church, along with a small gospel book and confessional stole. All were returned two weeks later. Some people later reported Baptes had wanted to practice with these items, which he claimed to have received from Tuhan Tanah, since after the "great happening" Asmat people would be needed as pastors.

<sup>8</sup> When questioned in November, 1973, one informant in Owus said only that he "had heard" (sudah dengar) of those activities of 1969.

We invariably found that informants initially responding this way knew a great deal of specific information, which they were willing to reveal after rapport had been established.

<sup>9</sup> This program was deemed vital because stringent Asmat taboos prevent childbirth in the home. Except for those who give birth in Agats' hospital, women give birth in the nearby jungle, frequently unassisted. The afterbirth is believed to be very dangerous. Among those Asmaters who speak Indonesian it is referred to only indirectly, as kakak (older sibling).

<sup>10</sup> It is more likely that Sakarpitsj was maneuvering for his own advantage, recognizing that younger men do not have his advantage of being a tesmajipic. The full extent of his deception was not uncovered until November, 1973, when we learned that Emmanuel Jiminpitsj's death was commonly attributed to a curse cast by a powerful woman ndembero from jeu Jowijof, not to "overwork".

<sup>11</sup> At about this same time a teenage boy who had graduated from elementary school in a neighboring village came to the pastor in Ewer. He presented his diploma and asked that he be enrolled in Ewer's new Asmat pilot school.

<sup>12</sup> The snake which spoke to Pojuru is a new symbol in the cult complex. One informant told us he believed it to be Tuhan Tanah or perhaps another spirit. Meggitt (1973: 23, 28-9) cites examples where snakes have served as aids in achieving millenarian goals. Worsley (1968: 55-6) states that snakes have widespread importance in Melanesian cult doctrines, being commonly believed to be reincarnations of spirits of dead persons.

<sup>13</sup> Informants clearly have repeated that Tuhan Tanah and the Christians' Tuhan Allah are not related. They are separate spirit entities.

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## THE ASMAT BIS POLE: ITS BACKGROUND AND MEANING

Abraham Kuruwaip\*

IKHTISAR :

Tulisan ini adalah ringkasan dari paper yang berjudul Arti dan Latar Belakang Falsafah Patung Mbis Suku Asmat, yang disusun oleh Abraham Kuruwaip untuk memenuhi Kurikulum S.T.T.K. untuk dapat dinyatakan lulus ujian akhir Sekolah Tinggi Theologi Katolik di Jayapura.

Kata mbis berasal dari mbiu atau ndat, yang berarti arwah orang yang telah meninggal dunia. Mbis adalah perwujudan kenyataan daripada mbiu yang tak kelihatan.

Menurut kepercayaan orang Asmat, arwah orang mati, terutama arwah Kepala perang dapat ditemukan kembali melalui pengukiran dan upacara patung mbis. Patung mbis diukir dari kayu fisak dan semkan. Patung itu diresmikan dan disucikan dalam suatu upacara dengan darah seorang musuh yang telah dipenggal kepalanya. Kemudian patung tersebut dicat dengan warna putih yang dibakar dari siput, warna merah dari batu kapur, warna hitam dari arang.

Dasar, arti dan makna patung mbis dan ukiran lain dalam dunia Asmat, berpangkal pada keyakinan dan pandangan yang telah berakar dalam dirinya.

Sesuatu yang diyakininya itu merupakan jawaban<sup>2</sup> atas pertanyaan<sup>2</sup> manusia yang existensiil tentang dirinya sendiri. Pertanyaan<sup>2</sup> itu timbul dari pengalaman peristiwa hidup se-hari<sup>2</sup>, yaitu "Dari manakah dan kemanakah manusia itu, dari manakah keselamatan, sengsara dan maut".

Semua pertanyaan itu dirumuskan sebagai jawaban dan diyakininya sebagai sesuatu kekuatan Ilahi yang berada diluar batas kemampuan manusia. Kekuatan Ilahi itu disebutnya Samu atau Namu.

Samu itu mempunyai hubungan yang sangat erat hubungannya dengan mbiu atau arwah orang yang telah meninggal dunia. Mbiu, dengan bantuan samu mempengaruhi seluruh kegiatan hidup manusia. Karena itu, bila manusia mau hidup bahagia, ia harus mengukir sebuah patung manusia (mbis), agar arwah orang yang telah meninggal dunia itu datang dan membahagiakan manusia.

Patung mbis itu sesudah diukir diberi nama, sesuai dengan nama orang yang telah meninggal dunia. Dengan demikian patung mbis mempunyai arti dan

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\*This is a slightly abbreviated translation prepared by Rev. F. Trenkensschuh, o.s.c. The original is entitled, Arti dan Latar Belakang Falsafah Patung Bis Suku Asmat. The paper represents the results of research carried out between January and August, 1973.

In translating I have always rendered the Asmat word Mbis as Bis. The "M" is a linguistic expression used in writing Asmat and only confuses those not acquainted with the Asmat language. Also I have not included footnotes in the text as most of these are from the Indonesian literature listed in the bibliography at the end of the paper. - Translator.



pengaruh yang besar dalam masyarakat Asmat :

1. Mbis sebagai lambang kehadiran nenek moyang. Arwah nenek moyang ditemukan kembali melalui mbis dan mendapat pengaruh yang nyata dalam masyarakat.
2. Tanggung jawab dan balasan. Orang yang masih hidup harus mengukir mbis dan membunuh seorang musuh sebagai ganti saudaranya yang telah meninggal.
3. Lambang kekuatan hidup. Dengan mengukir mbis, orang memperoleh kekuatan hidup rohani dan jasmani.
4. Tanda kesuburan. Patung itu memberi kesuburan, justeru karena nenek moyang berada dibelakangnya dan memiliki benih2 kehidupan. Karena itu sesudah upacara mbis, orang membawa patung kedusun sagu sebagai pupuk.
5. Keindahan dan kenangan. Untuk mengungkapkan perasaan keindahan dan mengenangkan kembali serta meniru jejak hidup daripada kepala perang dan leluhur yang telah meninggal dunia.

Kesemuanya ini hanya mempunyai satu tujuan, yaitu memperoleh hidup yang lebih bahagia.

#### Part I. The general basis, meaning and function of Asmat carvings and art

Although it is true that Asmat carvings have their own unique basis, meaning and function within Asmat society, it is just as true that their art shares the basic principles of art found anywhere in the world (e.g. they also follow the "canons" of beauty, the art also serves to evoke images from the mind and memory of the observer, etc.)

Various factors are at work in the urge for artistic expression and creativity. The most obvious element is simply a desire for self-expression and self-satisfaction of the artist himself. This can be said to be a basic human drive since without it man's life has no purpose as human, as unique from lower animal forms of life. The need for self-expression is uniquely human and therefore common to all mankind.

A part of this need for self-expression (and therefore an urge for self-fulfillment or, in other words, a desire for happiness) goes deeper than merely material forms. The creative drive finds its expression in the creation of myths. A myth, here, may simply be defined as an attempt of man to answer

for himself and his fellows pressing questions which arise from the stark reality of life and death. The myth externalizes in artistic form the internal cohesion man evolves relative to his own existence. It is with "myth making" that men express their own understanding and grasp of their existence as finite and extremely limited.

In Asmat we find that there are two myths which encapsulate both the artistic urge and the painfully evolved awareness of their jungle existence. These are the myths concerning the origin of the Bis (as carving and as feast) and the Fumeripits Myth or the story of human creation. These are intimately related to Asmat's conception of life and death and their own cultural norms for present and ultimate happiness. It is possible to find in these stories the foundation for their culture and an expression of personal and communal awareness of the Asmat People.

Briefly this awareness is an expression of their conclusion that there must be something which transcends their own human limitations and adds power to ordinary existence (especially at the "crisis points" of existence such as birth and death). This transcendent power is attributed to their long-dead ancestors. It is believed that the souls of the ancestors remain present and active in daily life and so deserve and expect respect and attention from those still living in Asmat.

There is in the Asmat belief system an awareness that their ancestors (as described in their myths) are involved in every aspect of human existence: economic, social, political and religious. They express their reverence for the mythical (and, to them, real) ancestors by means of their carvings, their art. By their art they make a concrete act of faith in the abiding presence of the ancestors.

With this background it is obvious that they turn their artistic attention to material things basic to the daily existence of the Asmat people — the drum, the spear, the war shield, the large canoe and its paddles. If the ancestral world is involved in every aspect of mundane existence then their art testifies to this presence. For purposes of this general introduction I would like to briefly add six general comments :

- 1) Asmat carvings are symbols of the real presence of the ancestors in daily existence.
- 2) Carvings are signs to the ancestors and to the living that responsibility for un-avenged deaths has not been forgotten. They signify to the ancestors that they have not been forgotten and so avoid punishment by un-avenged ancestors. From this it is clear that their art is also part of their general "military strategy" of planning for warfare and revenge.
- 3) Asmat carvings are memorials to dead heroes which pay respect to these cultural heroes (especially the great war leaders) of the past.
- 4) Carvings promote both spiritual salvation and physical security of the Asmat people — since it is by means of these physical carvings that the ancestors are spiritually present and exercise their power to the advantage of the living.
- 5) Asmat carvings are expressions of beauty — intended by the artist to please the eye of the ancestral observers and so solicit their protective presence.
- 6) Carvings express the inner emotions and feelings of the Asmat people as well as their intellectual awareness of ancestral presence. This is especially clear in times of suffering, fear and joy when the emotions find concrete expression in artistic form.

#### Asmat Carvings as Symbols

Above I use the expressions "symbol" and "sign" which should be clarified for this discussion. If much of our conclusions hinge on the symbolic value of Asmat carvings and art it is essential to distinguish these symbolic concepts from the more common-place signs.



Briefly, and simply, a sign is always obvious in its meaning which is often not directly related to the sign itself. Red is a sign of danger. A red flashing light is a sign of danger on the highway. These, however, are arbitrary signs since red, in its essence, need not signify danger and does so only by convention. Natural signs are more obvious and essentially linked to their meanings ... smoke is naturally a sign of fire, the sun is naturally a sign of light.

Symbols are quite different. A concrete symbol is indeed visible and open to the five senses but what is symbolized is not obvious in itself and often difficult to discern. Usually a symbol's meaning is drawn from personal awareness and so has deep resonances. Briefly: A symbol is an expression of meaning without obvious relationship to its often hidden meaning.

Asmat art or carvings are in many ways signs but they are also symbolic expressions or symbols. What is produced has immediate sign value. The carving of a hornbill signifies that bird. What the carver symbolizes, however, is the fact that the year-bird (i.e. hornbill) eats fruit the way the Asmatter eats human flesh. The hornbill is therefore a symbol first of all Asmat (i.e. humans) and secondarily by application, a symbol of the war leaders. To grasp the signified meaning is easy. To grasp the symbolic concept the observer must be immersed in the daily existence and cultural dictates of the Asmatters who alone possess and define this symbolic value. Understanding of the symbol requires no less than grasping the culture, the personality and the basis of living shared by those who "own" the symbol.

A non-Asmat example may help to illustrate this meaning. To the Christian the cross is a symbol because Jesus Christ died on the Cross. In itself the cross, to those knowing crucifixion as a way of punishment or death, is a sign of death but to the believer in Christ, the cross symbolizes the Christian conception of life and death. Another example from the Christian tradition is the sharing of a meal — which in itself is a easily recognizable sign of fraternity. Only the Christian understands the symbolic value in the "breaking of the bread".

The same application within Asmat culture may be made of Asmat art and carvings. Like the Christian Cross, what is symbolized has sacred implications and is power-filled ... not so much in itself as in its relationship to or with the sources of power. This is true whether we speak of the Christian God or (in Asmat) the presence of the Ancestors.

## Part II. The Bis Pole or Bis Ancestral Carving

### The meaning of "BIS"

The Asmat word "bis" is derived from the word mbiu or ndat which is generally translated as the spirit or soul of the dead (this will be amplified later in the discussion of the Asmat concept of "spirit"). Bis itself defines a carving made of a person who has fallen in battle or even someone who has died under more normal circumstances.

In the Asmat belief system, the bis is the focal point for renewed contact with a dead person. In this sense the bis can be called a substitute for the dead person, thus associating the two words bis and ndat ... or mbiu. Extending this sense, the word bis also comes to mean the identification of such a memorial with the dead person himself.

The Asmat language lends itself to such multiple interpretations of a single word because the verb forms are often identical to noun forms. Thus, to illustrate, atakam is the verb "to speak". It also defines language (Asmat Atakam = Asmat language). It is also the noun form for "word". In a similar way the word ban means both "hand" and "to hold".

Within the cultural framework of Asmat, the Bis is defined as a memorial carving and a symbol of the abiding presence of the spirit(s) of the dead which effects a relationship between still-living and already-dead. Physically the Bis consists of several figures of humans, animals and objects carved one atop another with a large protruding wing carved from the "flying" root of the tree used for the carving itself. The lower portion of the bis is tapered in order to facilitate planting it in the ground upon completion. The bis can reach an impressive height of six to eight meters although smaller ones are made (especially now for commercial rather than religious purposes).

If the Bis is classified by its external appearance or size there are two types:

1. The large/temporary bis

The very large bis (as above mentioned, it can be up to six or eight meters in height) is considered to be temporary due to its brief use within the village or men's house. Shortly after the feast is finished the bis is removed from the village site to be placed to rot in the sago areas of the people and so to impregnate the sago with health through the power of the represented ancestral spirits. Occasionally such a pole is retained in the men's house (yew) which is the focal point of all village activities.<sup>1</sup>

2. The small/permanent bis

Usually smaller versions of the bis are carved to be used in the village itself, especially in the men's house (yew). This is called "permanent" because it is retained inside the building rather than placed outside where the soft wood quickly rots. In this capacity it is called upon to obtain the assistance of an abiding spirit, especially in times of need such as before a battle, before the hunt, etc.

Each of these two types share the basic meanings within the Asmat culture. It is possible now to stress five points of meaning associated with the bis.

1. Symbols of Ancestral Presence

As will be more clearly developed throughout this presentation, the awareness of the continued and active presence of ancestors among the Asmat people gives rise to the bis feast and the bis carving or bis pole. The actual physical carving (in human form or animal representations such as year bird, kuskus, crow, etc.) symbolizes this belief. Such symbols are also found in the carvings on more ordinary objects of daily usage such as the canoe and its paddles, etc.

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<sup>1</sup>YEW is the Asmat term for the Men's House or Bachelor House which also serves as ritual center. These buildings have been forbidden by the government since 1963. (Translator).



## 2. Reminder of Revenge-Obligation

Asmat society places great importance upon the obligation to revenge any death but especially the death of one killed in battle. The people feel a deep obligation to avenge a death by killing an enemy and so restoring the balance of their society. Failure in this obligation (especially in the cannibalistic feast following the killing) involves rendering the spirit impotent in his obligation to the on-going renewal of life among the Asmaters. Death becomes the seed of renewed life. This belief and sentiment is present especially in the carving and feast of the bis.

## 3. Physical and Spiritual Health

As mentioned above, the spiritual and material welfare of the Asmat people is associated with the presence of the spirits of the dead, especially the presence of mythical heroes among whom Fumeripits is the most important since he is the human creator of the visible world. The carving of the bis, associated with revenge killings and the cannibalistic feast, opens the relationship with the spirit world (the ancestral world) and so assures physical and spiritual security. The various decorations on the carving testify to this relationship. The praying mantis, year bird and crocodile figures represent fruit and meat eating animals which come to symbolize cannibalism and its involvement with life-renewing forces.

## 4. Fertility

Fertility is not merely central and important to human continuity (i.e. to the Asmat or "humans".) but is also essential to the animal world, to the sago areas and the abundant supply of sago within the trees. This association with fertility can be seen from the following:

- a) In the bis-cemen and the bis cen with literally means the penis and vagina of the bis.
- b) At the closing of the bis feast a general "celebration" of sexual intercourse is held by everyone participating in the feast.

- c) The bis is transported to the sago areas after the feast and implanted there to assure fertility of the sago trees.
- d) The turtle is frequently represented in the carvings .... since to the Asmatter the abundant turtle eggs symbolize ultimate fertility.

## 5. Beauty

As mentioned earlier the beauty-aspect of the carving appeals to the human need for beauty. In the bis, however, the elaborate painting and decorating of the finished carving (often imitating decorations common to the ancestor being recalled by the carving) also attracts the attention and full compliment of spiritual powers so assuring the desired security and warding off non-desired evil forces.

### The Distribution of the Bis

According to researchers in the Asmat area, the Asmat people form at least three large groupings: the Bisman, the Simai and the Serao. The bis takes its origin from the Bisman group which lives between the Unir and Ewta rivers including the villages of Ewer, Sjurru, Yepem, Per, Wus, Biwar-Laut, Atsy, Amanankai, Yow, Ambisu, Damen, Atambutsy, Omanescep and Ocenep. The word bis, as above mentioned, translates into both the carving and the spirits represented by the carvings. The word man means "to make" or "to work at". Bisman = Carvers of the Bis.

Although linguistically obvious, as well as clear from other factors, that the bis originates with the above mentioned villages, the bis and its feast also been adopted by the Simai groupings as well as the Serao peoples of the deeper interior. Due to differences in these territories there are also some variations in both the carving itself and the concomitant feast. In the latter two groups a different type tree is used and the feast (and the carving itself) is explained by different mythical tales.

The diffusion of the bis probably arises from the expansion of the Bisman people into the territories of the two other groupings through warfare.

On the other hand it seems clear that the people of the interior, usually of smaller villages, often came into contact with the coastal Bisman when they came to the sea to reap the more fertile area's bounty.

Although it is clear that the bis has now extended to the villages of Yaosakor, Kaimo, Os, Awok, Beco, Fos and Warkai, this diffusion process still requires further research. Such investigation would be of great value since we have been trying to demonstrate how clearly the bis is an indicator of Asmat cultural patterns, beliefs and customs.

### Two Myths on the Origin of the Bis

Although there are many variations in the Myth of the Bis, I intend to use two main variants in this study. The first is that most closely associated with the villages of Atsj and Amanankai and the second originates from the villages of Ewer and Sjurru. The first story is told by Bai (of Atsj) and basically repeated by Powos, Yopoka and Namsempak (of Amanankai) as well as Omanmak (or Oma nesep).

#### BIS ATAKAM: The Story of the Bis. (from Atsj area)

On the Siretsy river there was long ago a place called Sitan where a man named Beworpits and his wife Tewateraut and their two children lived. Far away from Sitan, at the mouth of the Siretsy river, there lived two brothers whose names were Tewel and Seitakap. They lived in a difficult place where there was hunger and sicknesses as well as constant warfare.<sup>1</sup>

Seitakap was a very outgoing and cheerful person who enjoyed causing excitement. Since their village was always in a real state of danger from attack, his brother Tewel constantly advised him to be more quiet. One day Tewel had hardly finished admonishing his brother to be quiet when both of

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<sup>1</sup>The Siretsy River derives its name from the word Surku which is a place of paradise without hunger or want. Beworpits is living in paradise while Seitakap does not.



them were confronted by the sudden appearance of a stranger. Beworpits had left Sitan to go hunting for some human flesh. As Beworpits quietly approached the two brothers he carefully observed his surroundings and knew that the village was empty except for the two brothers. At once he threw his spear and killed Seitakap. Tewel quickly escaped. Without delay Beworpits cut off Seitakap's head and sliced up his body. He loaded the head and the meat into his canoe and returned home toward Sitan. As he approached Sitan his wife saw him and welcomed him with great joy ... throwing white lime into the air to demonstrate her excitement.

From all ends of the village the people came running. Everyone accompanied the head of Seitakap to their men's house and began the feast of human flesh. They carefully divided the meat and threw Seitakap's bones into the fire to burn. They then began beating their drums and dancing.

Suddenly they heard a strange voice coming from the bones of Seitakap which were burning in the fire. The voice asked Beworpits about the songs that they were singing as they celebrated. Beworpits replied that they were singing the Daiso Song which celebrates the successful hunt. Seitakap then told Beworpits that from now on they must sing as he would teach them. Beworpits said that he was ready to learn the new song.

Seitakap began explaining that he was really not dead but that he had already made the canoe trip to the village of his ancestors to live with them. The place was to the west beyond the sea. He told them that he had taken the trip by way of the river Ayi<sup>2</sup> and so arrived in the place of his ancestors where everyone lived in peace and happiness.

The Ancestors had instructed him, he explained, to return and give to the people a new custom, a way of life which would keep them in relation with their ancestors. He explained that he was bringing a way of life which

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<sup>2</sup>The River Ayi mythically connects the present world with the place of the Ancestors.

must be followed to assure happiness. He also brought a new song which should be used at the feast of human flesh:

SEITO - SEITO MBARA-MBARE  
 AYIA MBARA, MBOSEA MANO-MANO  
 SIREPA MBOSEA MANO-MANO

Seitakap-Seitakap, you have been lost  
 You went by way of the Ayi River  
 You have returned, you have returned  
 For me you have returned

Seitakap explained that the song was strictly taboo and could only be used by male adults and then with great reverence. He promised that the ancestors would always aid, protect and strengthen those who remained on earth so long as they would prepare a place or means of meeting with these ancestors. To do this they must make a carving of those who had died and give it the same name as that of the dead. If the dead man's wife and children are also dead, they too must be included in this carving. This would be the Bis.

Following the directions of Seitakap, Beworpits immediately cut down a tree and began making the first Bis carving. As the carving progressed all of the women went into the main house and began drumming and dancing. When the men had returned from the jungle with the tree all of the women resisted their entry into the village just as they would ward off an attacking enemy. In this way did the large log enter the village and the men's house. All of the men were then instructed to sing another new song before beginning their work on the bis.

MBIS NDIA IPA MBISA WAYA FAIMATSYI  
 YAKA NDIA IPA MBIS MBA, NDIA IPI WASAI NDIPIA  
 FININDIA IPA FEONA FARSYA NDIA IPI YEU BANE-O

Bis ! Dance and hide with a peaceful heart  
 Bis ! You have preceeded me and are now hidden  
 You dance the dance that comes from your heart  
 The hair on your head moves and there is a union between seen and  
 unseen.

When they had sung this song they began to rough out the carving using only a stone axe. They first carved Beworpits' father who was already dead. Now on the command of the ancestors, Seitakap ordered them to sanctify the carving with human blood which they had drawn from the head and the body they had eaten. Seitakap told them that it was only with blood that the bis would become powerful and to their advantage.

From that day to this day the Asmat People have always made carvings of the dead and named them bis. They also make other carvings of men but these are not called bis but Kave or Kawenak.

From the village of Ewer an alternate myth explaining the origin of the bis was told by Gabriel Ewerpits and Saharpits. This account basically agrees with versions of the same story told by several carvers (i.e. wow ipits) of the village of Sjurur (David Simni, Wof, Safanpo, Yakai and Seicem).

#### HIS ATAKAM II: The Story of the Bis (Ewer-Sjurur area)

On the upper reaches of the Siretsy River there is a place called Kaimo. Long ago in Kaimo there lived a man named Darew and his wife, Mbis. They lived a contented and happy life. Mbis was an exceptionally beautiful woman who was very friendly and very kind. On the other hand, Darew had a terrible personality. Darew was very jealous and spiteful man who had a quick temper and was always angry. Darew married Mbis and from the first day of their marriage he, out of jealousy, absolutely forbade Mbis to leave their house. He covered his wife with a large sleeping mat and whenever he left the house he blocked shut the door.

Mbis' parents were named Beworpits and Taweraut. Darew had forbidden Mbis' parents and relatives even to visit the house. Mbis' family and even



everyone in the village resented this prohibition.

Mbis never was allowed outside the house. Darew himself went hunting and went out searching for food. He even prepared the food and gave it to Mbis. But in a short time Mbis grew more and more thin. Her health got worse and worse. The village people kept their distance from Darew and Mbis — partially because of this strange behavior and partially because Mbis' body was now terribly dirty and had a very foul odor because she could not go out to wash herself. The villagers advised Darew to change his ways but Darew merely gave them a cold shoulder and refused to pay any attention to them.

One day Darew went out fishing with some of the other people of the village. As usual Mbis had been left alone behind the closed door. Jumping at this occasion Mbis' relatives quickly opened the door and set her free. When they saw how very thin and weak she had become they all began to cry for her. Then they took her down to the river and gave her a good bath. Then they took her to their own house and gave her some new clothing.

After Mbis had eaten some good food they took her to the upper regions of the Siretsy river. For the trip they took along their fishing supplies and covered Mbis with a large sleeping mat on the floor of the canoe so that nobody could see her. An observer would suppose that they were going fishing. Mbis' family paddled the canoe as swiftly as possible in the hope that they would not meet any others who were out fishing.

They continued rowing until they reached the mouth of a small river called Sitan. Mbis got out of the canoe and began walking along the shore of the Sitan river. Without any delay her family set out to return to their village.

When her family had gone Mbis continued to walk until she was suddenly confronted by a large cassowary bird. She asked the bird, "Will you be my friend?" The Cassowary replied, "Yes, I will lead you and I will become your foster-mother .... I will lead the way and you will follow me". So Mbis and the Cassowary began their journey together.

By now Mbis' relatives had returned to Kaimo and saw that Darew had preceeded them to the village. From his canoe Darew saw that many trees had

just been cut down. He jumped out of his canoe and saw that the door to his house had been forced open. He was very excited and most unhappy. Slowly he entered his house and was surprised that Mbis was gone. He began to scream and to cry very loudly. Everyone heard his mourning and gathered around his house. They asked him what was the matter. He cried that his wife had gone and he didn't know where she was. The people began to mock him saying: "It's your own fault! Why did you lock her up in your own house?"

Mbis' family had come ashore and now told Darew that they themselves had set Mbis free. They told him that they had taken her upstream and released her at the Sitan river. After that, they told him, they had no idea where she had gone. Darew made no attempt to reply and merely continued his weeping day and night. Finally he became very sick and his voice left him (because of his crying). He died in his house and the people left his body there to rot.

All this time Mbis and the Cassowary were walking day and night. Mbis began to feel very hungry and finally asked the bird for some Sago. The Cassowary offered some Sago to Mbis but refused to eat anything for itself. They then began to walk again until they heard some sort of a weak noise such as that made by a large boat. The sound was not clear but Mbis and the bird began walking toward its source. (They later found that the noise came from a man called Pupurpits who was blowing a bamboo horn).

Mbis and the Cassowary rested for the night but at dawn they began to search for the source of the sound. They went for three days and for three nights and finally they knew that they were near to the source of the sound. They saw that it was coming from the top of a very tall Yimenbot tree.

Near the tree they saw a man and his wife who were the parents of Pupurpits. They were gathering firewood. As Mbis and the Cassowary saw this, Mbis hid behind a tree as the Cassowary approached Pupurpits' parents. Teweraut saw the Cassowary and yelled to her husband who at once tried to spear the bird. The Cassowary fled into the jungle but then again returned and showed itself to Beworpits, Pupurpits' father and his mother, Teweraut. Beworpits again tried to spear the bird who again ran into the jungle for a second time. Beworpits tried to circle behind the cassowary.

As soon as Beworpits had gone in search of the bird, Mbis showed herself to Tewateraut and told her that her name was Mbis. The woman replied, "My name is Tewateraut and my husband's name is Beworpits. He isn't here now. He is hunting a cassowary". A second time Mbis said, "My name is Mbis. My mother's name is also Tewateraut but she is from Kaimo. The bird your husband is trying to kill is my foster mother".

At this Tewateraut called to her husband and when he came she explained everything to him. They all sat down together and cried. Then they returned to their house. When they arrived in the village Tewateraut and Mbis remained in the canoe while Beworpits went toward the house. Everyone asked him, "Beworpits ... where is your wife?" He replied, "She is sick and stayed in the canoe". Then the people left him alone and Beworpits called to Tewateraut and Mbis telling them to come ashore. They left the canoe and went straight into the house where they concealed Mbis beneath a sleeping mat.

Then they went and called Pupurpits for the evening meal. When Pupurpits came down from the tree Beworpits replaced him and continued to blow the bamboo horn. As Pupurpits sat down to eat, his mother suddenly threw back the sleeping mat and exposed Mbis to his view. Thus Pupurpits and Mbis were married.

That night the village people continued to hear the sound of the bamboo horn. They knew that whoever was blowing the horn it couldn't be Pupurpits but had to be someone else. The next morning everyone gathered by Beworpits' house and started to ask who was blowing the horn last night. Pupurpits replied that Beworpits had been blowing the horn. At the same time he announced that his parents had given him a bride. She was a young beauty from the village of Kaimo whose name was Mbis. At once several women from the village who had hoped that they would marry Pupurpits came out and tried to drive Mbis from the village. Pupurpits drove them away from his house.

Some time later Mbis decided to go fishing. Pupurpits remained home and dreamt about the face of his beautiful wife. He tried to think of a way that this beautiful woman could always remain near him. To fulfill his wish, he found a piece of wood and carved a statue which looked just like Mbis.



He named the carving Mbis.

Everyone who saw what Fupurpits had done at once began to imitate his actions. They all carved statues of those who were not present at that time. They called these carvings Mbis although each carver also gave a particular name to his own carving, recalling the name of the person remembered by the Mbis.

From that day to this very day the Asmat people carve the Mbis.

If we try to evaluate these two myths and view their respective differences, it seems clear that the first story is a more direct answer to the existential questions of the Asmat people. It seems to apply more concretely to the reality of the situation which confronts the Asmat people: it answers their fears, explains enemy situations, provides concrete regulations, provides for social cohesion and offers hope for the future of the people.

Obviously Seitakap is attempting to initiate and provide a tradition. He sets down regulations for a feast which is, at base, to provide a linkage between contemporary Asmat man and the ancestral world. In other words the bis and its feast intends to provide a transcendental relationship with the non-visible world.

If this is true than the first myth (Atsj-Amanamkai) is for the Bisman group a central myth which provides a succinct formulation of man, his place and his life in this world. The second myth (Sjuru-Ewer) is interesting but seems to be superimposed on an already existing pattern and so is not concerned with the definition of that pattern — which is the case of the first myth.

#### The Bis as a Human Figure

Within the complex of Asmat art we find many motifs such as recurrent animal themes, physical objects, etc. It is, however, in the human figure itself that we find Asmat art's central motif. It is in the bis itself that both the external and internal expressions of "Asmat Anthropology"

become evident. The actual human carving and its decorations is merely a testimonial to superficial evidence. There is, however, an implied meaning associated with the carving which is not externally or obviously present. This is, as said above, the symbolic meaning, the integrated reply to the existential questions arising within Asmat society. This is, of course, more obvious in the actual execution of the carving and the essential celebration of the concomitant feast. The feast interprets the meaning of the concrete manifestation of the feast ... the bis itself.

Within the complex of the feast the Asmather affirms that man does indeed rule the world - both physical and spiritual. It affirms the relationship of these (i.e. spiritual and material) and the relationship or continuity of the present with the past. The feast is an exposition of these tenets of Asmat culture.

#### Identification of the Bis and its Various Parts

The bis pole or carving consists of three distinct parts: the bis-anakat or main body of the carving; the bis cemen or penis of the bis (the wing-like projection) and the ci and bino or canoe and base portion used to "plant" the bis in the ground. Each of these three main parts have many minor parts:

- I. Bis Anakat or body of the bis which is the central figure or theme of the carving. Its most distinctive parts are :
  - a) Fin or body hair including pubic regions as well as head-hair. This is always painted black (charcoal) associated with the color of many birds as well as the color of the Asmather's skin.
  - b) Wakanbai — the mark or ridge delineating the hair from the forehead. This is usually red in color.
  - c) Umnubiyof — the decoration of the nasal area.
  - d) Bipanew — wood or shell as nasal decoration.
  - e) Uwi — ear decorations, usually made of the leaves of the sago palm.

- f) Sep — this designates the arm itself but the word itself actually means the upper bone of the arm.
- g) Kanter — the feet of the bis carving.
- h) Kiki — lines carved and colored to represent the location of the bones in the human body.
- i) Yirfopin — semi-circular cuts which represent the breast/chest area.
- j) Cemen — penis.
- k) Cen — vagina.
- l) Yipa — carving of a child placed above the main figures on the bis.

Each of these, unless otherwise described, is usually painted red color (water mixed with red clay). The remainder, i.e. largest body portions, is made white by application of wet lime.

## II. Bis Cemen or Penis of the Bis

This entire section, which appears as an ornate "wing" protruding forward from the top of the figure is called the Bis Cemen (literally the carving's penis). It is basically a phallic/fertility symbol as the source of life-enriching forces. This is heavily decorated with human figures, birds, human heads, etc. Its various parts are :

- a) Yir-Mbikokom — the head/beak of the Yearbird (Hornbill).
- b) Okon — the lowest section of the "wing" which is usually triangular in shape.
- c) Bua — the mouth which appears either as a circle or as a square (in which case it is called Bianam).
- d) Doukus — human head; often many heads are included in the carving, probably representing the enemies who were killed by the represented war leader.
- e) Asukfofsi — the tail of the Kuskus (marsupial opossum like animal), the spine of the crocodile or fish. These represent the bravery of the war leader.



- f) Yanmak — ears which are represented by carved circular figures.
- g) Yanpo — the lower portion of a bird's neck — usually carved in triangular form with the point upward.
- h) Tanampo — the opposite side of the yanpo (cf. above).
- i) Yamsenkam — the point of contact between the main body of the carving (i.e. bis-anakat) and this penis section (bis-cemen).

### III. Ci and Bino — The lower portion and canoe figure.

The word ci means "canoe" while bino merely designates the sharpened lowest portion of the bis which is stuck into the ground to hold the bis upright. Often within the small canoe (ci) a sago bowl is carved (suumkus) as an offering of food to the ancestral world by the family of the newly deceased.

### The Bis-pokmbui or the Feast of the Bis

The Bis-pokmbui or Bis Feast is celebrated at the request of a war leader and the concurrence of the family of the recently deceased in whose honour the feast is to be held. The feast develops in stages and usually lasts six or seven months from beginning to end. The stages of the feast are associated with the various phases of progress in the actual carving process of the bis. Using these phases the feast can be divided into six more or less distinct units:

#### 1. The Opening of the Feast

The feast actually begins at the time when there is agreement that a bis should be carved. At that time the war leader blows the bamboo horn and gathers all the males together in front of the yew (men's house). He commands all the men to decorate their bodies and to re-paint their canoes. After this has been completed all of the men go into the jungle to search for the proper tree to be used for the carving. They depart from the village amid much shouting and excitement just as if they were going into battle. The women remain in the village and, contrary to normal times, enter the men's house to drum, dance and sing. The dance at this stage is called Ndi.

When the men have found and agreed upon the desired tree, they are divided into three groups. One group is sent to the sago area to gather young sago leaves. The second group goes ashore near the tree and begins to clear out the undergrowth in the area around the tree. The third group remains in their canoes to act as guards.

When the first group has returned with the bunches of young sago leaves, they begin to tie these leaves to the trunk of the tree. Once the tree is properly decked out in these leaves the men return to the village site where the war-leader orders everyone to go into the jungle to cut down sago trees which will then fill with sago grubs (i.e. the larvae of the capicorn beetle ... from the time the tree is cut until the larvae are properly developed takes from 30-40 days. Translator). This terminates the first phase of the feast.

## 2. The Transport of the Bis Tree

The second phase of the feast begins when the villagers have returned to the village from the sago areas. Again amid the din typical before a battle and with full body decorations the men leave for the spot where the tree has been prepared. The women return to the men's house as soon as all the men leave the village and again begin drumming and dancing as before.

When the men have arrived in the place where the bis-tree has been singled out and decorated, some are again sent out to fish, others to gather more sago leaves and still others to hunt the bird Baka-peor (which is a type of yellow sparrow). The rest of the men who remain are further divided into two groupings coinciding with the two sections of the men's house. One group goes ashore to prepare to load the log and the others remain in their canoes in preparation for mock battle with those who will later load the log into the canoes.

These who have gone ashore approach the tree as if they were approaching an enemy. The war leader, who is carried on the shoulders of his relatives, on a sign from his in-laws and relatives, climbs onto the tree.

He then lists the name of six enemies that he has personally killed. He then makes a few chops at the tree and comes down. He is immediately replaced by another war leader who recounts the name of five enemy that he has killed. He also chops at the tree with his axe. This process is repeated until the tree finally tumbles down.

Once the tree has fallen, those ashore simulate battle with those who have remained in their canoes. This "battle" continues until those who have gone fishing and hunting return to the site. At that time they place human and cassowary bones on the log and some spears. They then decorate the log with the sago leaves and tie the fish and birds to the log. When this decoration is completed the main war leader measures out the log for the bis carving and so determines at this point the carving's ultimate length. Another war leader then begins cutting at the designated spot but then stops and enumerates several more enemies who he has slain. The cutting is then turned over to another war leader who finishes the cut. Before they take a rest they cut off a portion of the very top of the tree to use in carving a small canoe and a sago dish (ambasos).

### 3. The Return to the Village

After a brief rest period they drag the log to their canoes to carry it back to the village. If the bis will be a small carving it is placed inside the canoe itself for the trip. If it is to be a very large pole it must be tied to the canoe and towed to the village site. When they near the village they approach very quietly and slowly.

### 4. The Reception of the Bis in the Village

All during this period the women have remained drumming and dancing in the Yew. When they hear the approach of the men some of the women run from the men's house and hide themselves behind the reeds along the river bank. Once they see the men approaching they run from their hiding places and return to the yew to report to those who had remained drumming. Everyone grabs for weapons (spears, knives, sticks, etc.) As the men approach the shore in front of the men's house the women initially pretend that they are unaware of



their arrival but finally they begin to throw ashes and lime into the air.

The war leader sees this display and shouts at the women, "Who is in our place?" The women refuse to answer and so the war leader repeats the question a second time. One of the main women comes from the yew and asks, "Who are you? This is the place of our ancestors!" When the men hear this reply they begin to beat the sides of their canoes with their paddles to frighten the women with the resulting din. The men withdraw a bit and allow the women to leave the men's house and then they come ashore. As they leave their canoes they are met by a fierce attack of the women using their sticks, spears, etc. During the "battle" some of the men frequently receive serious wounds.

When the attack has ended the women return to their own houses and the men drag the pole into the men's house and place it on the bark of a tree called yimenbot.

#### 5. The Carving Process within the Men's House

After properly positioning the log on the bark mat, the war leader himself begins to chip at the pole to form the rough outline of a human figure(s). He then enumerates ten enemy he has personally slain.

Once the rough outline of the figure(s) is finished the actual carving is turned over to an expert carver or carvers. The process of finishing out a rough outline of the finished project is then completed by these artists. When this phase is completed the log is carried into a specially prepared room partitioned off within the yew (men's house) which is called the ecawor. It is in the relative privacy of this room that the finishing touches are made section by section. Each section has its own ceremonial observances associated with the progress of the carving.

#### 6. Rituals Observed During the Carving Process

Since the bis is divided into three main sections, so there are separate rituals associated with the carving of each of these sections:

#### A. Ritual for the Bis-Cemen

The first area to be finished out is the bis-cemen (i.e. phallic section). At this point all of the men gather to give a proper name to the bis itself. The name coincides with the name of the victim or dead person who is commemorated by the carving and the feast. When the formal name has been given all of the carvers and the guards are fed by the family of the person in whose honor the carving is being made.

When the naming process is completed the artists then finish the cemen-section in its final form. During this time the family of the remembered person hunts for a pig and brings it into the men's house. The women are invited to share the meat. This again becomes an occasion for a mock battle which lasts far into the night.

To close this portion of the feast the villagers go out to gather fish, sago, sago grubs, etc. The food is divided throughout the village and the cemen-phase of the feast is terminated.

#### B. Ritual for the Bis-Anakat

The trunk of the carving (i.e. bis anakat) is the next section to be completed. This usually consists of several carved human figures, both male and female. As the trunk nears completion the war leader summons the men to announce that the village should prepare for war. The men then leave in search of an enemy and the carvers continue to proceed with the final section of the carving (ci and bino).

When the warriors return to the village with human flesh and the human heads taken in battle, they draw off all the blood from their victims and "sanctify" the entire carving by rubbing it with human blood. Special attention and care is given to the vital organs of the carved figures: eyes, mouth, sexual organs, etc.

When this feast is completed the war leader again orders everyone to the jungle to cut down more sago trees to prepare for sago grubs. From this time to the termination of the feast there is drumming and dancing everynight. As before, from the time the tree is cut until the grubs are "ripe" takes 30-40 days. This determines the duration of this phase of the feast.

### C. Ritual for the Ci and Bino

This is the closing phase of the entire feast. The war leader sends the people into the jungle to spend four days preparing sago. They return to the village and gather all the food inside the men's house. The next day the women return to the sago area to "harvest" the sago grubs from the trees which had been cut a month earlier. These grubs are taken first to the individual homes and wrapped in the towusbirim leaves and then carried into the men's house.

On this same day as the grubs are being gathered the men finish the bis and paint it with the red, white and black paint, as described above.

Toward evening of that day everyone gathers in front of the yew and all the food is divided and carried back to the private homes. All again return to the men's house.

At this point the bis, newly completed and brilliant in fresh colors, is carried from its special room (ecawor) into the main section of the yew and placed on the floor. Several men rip off a section of the roofing of the house and partially elevate the pole to display it to those gathered in front of the yew. This results in a general mourning for the dead who are commemorated by the carving.

When the crying has stopped everyone returns to their houses to get their drums. They begin dancing and singing and drumming until daylight. At this time everyone has sexual intercourse.

After daybreak and the end of the drumming and intercourse session the bis is taken from the men's house and moved to its predetermined spot in the sago area. Before the men return to the village after erecting the bis in the sago grove, they break off the hand of the carving so that the bis will be unable to obstruct anyone passing near the spot in his travels.

When this group returns to the village the feast of the bis is considered finished without further ado.



### Part III. Interpretation of the Bis and its Background

#### Interpreting the Myths of Origin

When we generalize and say that the bis is a portrait of the over-all plan of the life and death of an ancestor, we also generalize and say that the bis myth is a portrait of the origins, life and destiny of man himself. As we have seen above, this is true because especially in traditional societies the myth is firmly implanted in the consciousness of the society and provides basic answers to the questions of man's limited existence.

In comparing the two bis myths (i.e. from Atsj area and from Ewer area) we concluded that especially the first (i.e. Atsj area's) myth most clearly attempts to confront existential questions. Although we cannot point to or posit a scientific approach within the myth (i.e. the myth does not provide a systematic, sequential and logically patterned answer) we can conclude that the myths do embody an Asmat philosophy or anthropology. In "interpretation" of the myths we are really looking for the Asmat's life views: his cosmological, ontological and anthropological insights.

Initially it can be said that Seitakap and Tewel, in the first myth, symbolize or represent all mankind. The earth itself is man's abode which, according to the Asmat conception, has existed for men from eternity. Man arrives in an already existing universe. Man simply appears from Safan through the cooperation of three forces: parents, ancestors and generalized life-giving powers (which could also be called "creative energy" or absolute power .... which will be discussed below).

Safan is the world of those who formerly inhabited the earth (i.e. lived in Asmat). It is also the "kingdom" of the ancestors which is situated simply across the sea, to the west. The cyclic existence is clear: man is born in Asmat, he grows and dies to enter the stage of ancestral existence from which he returns in guise of "life giving power" for those still in Asmat.

This is a continuous and cyclic process: man is born, lives and dies. At death he enters a second level of earthly existence previous to settlement in the place of the ancestors. Movement from this plane of existence

(intended to be temporary) depends upon the activity of those relatives who still live. They must celebrate a special sharing of food, etc. so that the departed soul can continue its journey through to the ancestral abode.

Once the soul has arrived in Safan he is "made complete" by the action of the ancestors and so is enabled to return to the first level of existence at the time of the bis celebration. This return from the third level of existence to the first or earthly level of existence enables him to enrich and assist those still living. If no remembrance is made, no bis celebration is held, new life and happiness cannot flow into human existence from the ancestral world.

Interpretation of the background of the bis and its mythological setting leads us to conclude that for the Bisman there are three levels (or phases or places) of existence:

### 1. The Contemporary World or Place of the Living

The world is typified in the myth by the place of Seitakap and Tewateraut (Tewer = Tewateraut) which is located near the mouth of the Siretsy river. This is typified as a place of fearful existence, war, suffering, and finally death as the ultimate threat. These difficulties arise from the second level of existence which can be overcome by aid of those in the first and third levels of existence. However difficult a place this world may be, it is also a place with a potential for happiness due to the assistance of the ancestral beings.

### 2. The World of the Dead

The world of the dead is intended to be a very temporary place depending on the concern of a few people who continue as relatives at the first level of existence. Within the myths this is Sitan, the home of Beworpits, which is considered an evil place. All spirits who are forced by neglect of the living to remain permanently in Sitan are considered dangerous — the cause of all the suffering and difficulties on level I (i.e. the contemporary world). These permanent dwellers also try to prevent new spirits from leaving, from progressing to the final level or the ancestral abode.

This shows the importance of the common meal which must be celebrated by the relatives in order to allow the dead to make the transition as swiftly as possible.

Death is personified by Beworpits. Death is always present in the world. This is represented by the arrival of Beworpits at the place of Seitakap and Tewel. Death can be avoided or resisted only through the assistance of the ancestors. Man with his own means and efforts is helpless in the face of death. As Beworpits follows Seitakap's directions to celebrate the bis feast, the myth tells of the subjection of death to the higher powers of the ancestors who communicate the essential life forces for continued existence.

In the bis celebration, as in any communal feast, individual man must put aside his personal concerns and join with his fellow men — here to obey the commands of the ancestors. Although not directly found in these myths of the bis, it is clear that this communal effort does release life-forces in the myth of creation, the Fumeripits Myth (cf. below). Fumeripits cannot be seen or sensed by man's five senses, but is represented as the sound of wind or the air around us (as described by his name ... fum = wind or sound; ipits = man). Fumeripits is the personification of the soul of man.

### 3. Ancestral World: Surku

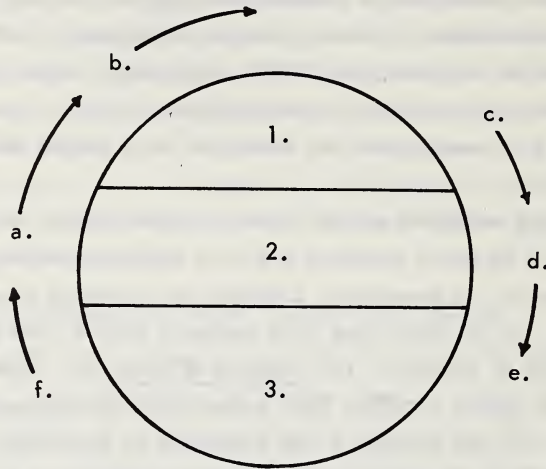
The ancestral world is to the west across the sea. It is a place without any deprivation, without suffering or death. It is a place of permanent peace and happiness. All men are intended to enter this place but in order to reach the goal they require assistance of the life-forces accessible only through contact with those living in the ancestral world. This contact is made through the recent dead who act as mediators of this life-force. This is most clearly achieved through the bis feast.

The two myths recounted above contain, in addition to the pattern for the feast, the basics of an "Asmat Ethics". Simply stated, all Asmaters (i.e. humans) must resist evil and seek what is good. For that reason whatever occurs during the bis feasting cannot be considered evil, although from outside standards there may be elements which are considered evil.



This ethical view will be further developed later, but for the present it is important to observe that the bis is part of the search for goodness, part of the means to the ultimate end.

To summarize the Asmat view of the world this drawing may be of some assistance in understanding graphically their conception:



1. The world of the living
2. The world of the dead
3. The world of the Ancestors
- a. Man is born into this world
- b. The Progression of life in this world
- c. Death - terminating human existence

- d. Life, usually temporary, in the world of the dead (may be permanent)
- e. Entry into the world of the Ancestors
- f. Relationship with the living by means of the recent dead.

2 + 3 "The other side of the sea"  
or safan.

Although most of the above conclusions are drawn from the first myth, it is also possible to see basically similar beliefs typified in the alternative account of the origin of the bis (i.e. concerning Mbis and Darew). These two personify again good and evil. The initial view of their situation

is a happy one until their marriage where Darew comes to personify evil and Mbis to personify goodness. Darew has a proud and possessive attitude which excludes and is mindless of others and their rights. He also desires goodness but, in fact, he resists its achievement by his own actions ... demonstrating that good and evil are mutually exclusive.

Bis is the personification of goodness. As the story opens it appears that evil could be a way to happiness (i.e. for Darew in keeping Bis to himself). But it quickly becomes apparent that Darew's grasp on Bis is impossible to maintain. Goodness, which was suppressed in Bis's imprisonment, comes to the fore and triumphs over evil (Darew). It is Darew and not Bis who dies of unhappiness. The moral is obvious: do not live as Darew did, but follow the example of Bis.

The story also demonstrates that goodness can be achieved only after initial suffering. The place of happiness is distant but with communal effort and assistance (i.e. the Cassowary Bird) it is possible to arrive there. Pupurpits and his distant horn are symbolic of the call of all that is good ... which Bis achieves in her marriage with Pupurpits.

To perpetuate this lesson the second myth enjoins the making of the bis. When someone wishes to seek happiness, the story says, let them carve a bis which will be an effective symbol of happiness. It is an effective symbol because it will attract the interest of the ancestral world which will make the goal possible.

### The Bis Carving

As repeated above, all mankind questions human existence. No single or complete answer can ever be formulated (not even from our sciences) that will be universally and entirely satisfactory. The questions are asked by all men everywhere and, accordingly, the answers vary from one group to another. Gradually answers emerge within any given area or grouping which are generally accepted and so enter into the cultural framework. The bis carving and its feast is part of Asmat's answer in their quest for an intelligible universe.

The celebration of the bis feast is religious in character. It provides an opportunity and occasion for the Asmatter to see himself as clearly as possible. During the feast the Asmatter's human identity, physical and spiritual, is again promulgated and clarified.

To help clarify the Asmat outlook it would be helpful to consider briefly the role of the Fumeripits myth within the general framework of which the bis is integrated. The Asmatter believes that Fumeripits, their "creator" is the primary source of life-giving power. It is Fumeripits who shares some small portion of his personal powers with the "lower" ancestors at the time of bis celebrations. A brief summary of the basic Asmat creation myth is as follows.

The first men were created from wood by the creator whose name is Fumeripits. At that time there was nobody on the face of the earth. Fumeripits saw this and then gathered together his tools to carve wooden figures of human form ... both male and female. He then placed these carvings in a yew which he had personally built. He then sat down again and carved an em (drum) which he began to beat as he danced to and fro in the men's house. At the beat of the drum all his wooden carvings began to move and finally to follow the dance to the beat of Fumeripits' drum. As these carvings danced they began to become flesh and blood, to become Asmat or Human Beings. These first humans became the original ancestors of the Asmat people. They moved to the sea and still live there in a place of happiness and continue to assist in the process of creation of new human life.

To understand this continual process of creation -- in the context of the bis and Fumeripits myths -- it is important to understand Asmat's "psychology" or analysis of the soul-life principle.

In Asmat analysis man consists of the visible, solid, matter. He also has a soul (nDat) and a human "essence" which is samu or nDamu/namu. The body is formed by intercourse of male and female partners. The body becomes the focal point of unity between ndat and ndamu (soul and essence). The body also serves as the visible point of contact with the ancestors. The human body is considered no more than matter and so can be identified with a tree. This is clearly related to the Fumeripits account which attributes the



origin of the human race to wooden figures.

At death of this material body, life, for the Asmatter, continues in the form of a shadow or spirit called ndat. The ndat depends upon a deeper principle of life which is designated ndamu or samu. There is a more commonly used word juwus which roughly translates as life principle-life essence just as ndamu or samu. To simplify the discussion I will use the more common term, Juwus, for this life-essence

Only human beings have Juwus as well as ndat. The uniqueness of the human being lies not in the ndat but in the co-existence (with ndat) of juwus in a living human being. Material things and other creators do not possess juwus. Although man is identified with a tree, especially the sago palm tree, the tree is never considered to have juwus.

All living and growing objects (such as a tree) have their own spirit (ndat). They do not have, or are exclusive of the presence of juwus which differentiates the human from non-human forms. The increase and decrease of ndat in non-human forms follows its own rules so that the death of such an object (animal or plant) occurs as ndat decreases and finally is "used up".

Following another set of rules, the same increase-decrease principle is at work in human beings. A man is said to be healthy when there is a strong bond or relationship uniting the juwus and the ndat. When the relationship weakens or is totally broken for brief periods of time a person is said to be sick. When juwus completely leaves the body for a long period, and so confuses the ndat, a person is said to be unconscious. Finally, if Juwus leaves completely and manages to extract with it the ndat, then a person dies. Juwus rejoines a generalized "life force" from which it originated and ndat becomes the shade or spirit. It is this spirit (ndat) which is contacted by means of the bis feast. Juwus cannot be represented in carvings by man or reached by means of these carvings.

Juwus seems to be but one small part of the "generalized life force" which is transcendent, which cannot be approached by humans (not even by the powerful ancestors). This provides another reason why the bis cannot assist in contacting the juwus. The inaccessibility of Juwus explains why it is

technically impossible for the ancestors to raise from the dead someone who has already died.

Juwus and ndat are united only in the process of conception. When a woman has already conceived -- i.e. is obviously pregnant -- the ndat and juwus join together and enter the woman's body by way of the vagina under the guise of a spirit. They take up residence in the body already prepared in the womb of the woman. The Asmatters believe that this spirit (i.e. ndat-juwus combination) come from the spirit world -- for example, from the jungle where many spirits are in daily evidence.

Although not immediately evident from the above, it seems that the principle that from death there emerges life is also active in this understanding of the "soul". This becomes clear in daily Asmat life as they interpret it. When a breadfruit fruit rots or a bean dries it becomes seed. The planted seed which has "died" become the occasion for new life. It is with this line of reasoning that the Asmatter concludes the bis feast with human killings -- through death to gain strength and receive life. This concept shoots through all of Asmat cultural understanding.

What is evident to the Asmat people is that life does seem to grow and then to diminish, to weaken and finally to disappear. The principle of life can be strengthened -- as in the bis feast and in the killing and cannibalistic feasting - increased and intensified.

Although the above is not unique to Asmat and some such belief is shared by many traditional societies, they do see the heirarchy of life. Life is multileveled. Man holds the highest form of the life forces. Other living and also inanimate objects hold lesser grasp on these life forces.

### Bis Pokmbui: An Analysis of the Bis Feast

To understand the bis-feast there are two areas of analysis possible -- first the rituals or celebrations themselves and secondly the bis as a portrait of man's ongoing struggle.

## 1. The Celebration-Rituals of the Bis Feast

The Ancestors have two main obligations in their relationship with the living. They must maintain the spiritual bond existing between the living and the dead and they must protect the continuity of the people and their way of life. It is because of this relational obligation on the side of the ancestors that the people approach the feasting with serious and reverent attitudes. To disregard the cultural regulations would place in jeopardy the existence of the world by threatening the relationship with those whose obligation it is to maintain existence.

Since the word religion comes from religio -- basically relationship -- this is a religious attitude. In some instances the request for aid from an ancestor takes on an almost prayer-like character. Their songs and dances also have many prayer-like characteristics. These formulations are directed to the ancestors. The accompanying actions (feasting) makes possible the real contact and so become religious ritual.

Ritual is defined as sacred actions which bring man into a relationship with a power which he believes in, in order to obtain favors or grace in his search for happiness. Dr. J. Verhaar defines ritual as "A sacred action of religious man with which he receives invisible grace hidden in visible signs". The Asmat feasting, especially the bis feast, is such a religious ritual of religious man.

The bis feast is extremely long and actually consists of a series of rituals or celebrations. Within these related (temporally and thematically) rituals the Asmat express their belief in the ancestors as the source of health and happiness -- and actuate the relationship which makes this possible. The central ritual or its meaning is (in a liturgical fashion) one of praise and honor for the ancestors which will elicit their favour.

## 2. The Bis as a Portrait of Human Struggle

By interpretation of the various phases of the feast and the groupings involved (and their interactions) we are afforded an insight into the Asmat view of the human struggle.



The first primal grouping is that of male and female. When the men go to the jungle to find the log for their carving, the women move into the men's house (yew). They both come to represent the two principles found in every society and every individual: good and evil. The men represent the good elements while the women represent the evil. Good always strives to resist evil but it is an ongoing struggle. This identification of woman with evil is not unique to Asmat since, again, many of our traditional societies make this equation. Woman is dangerous, insignificant and lacking in all real ability.

Several times throughout the feast the women simulate battle with the men. They act out this struggle between good and evil. The men who represent the good in man and the world approach the women, retreat again, fall back, attack again. Ultimately it is the men who win and who force the women to retreat. One loss is celebrated for evil and one win is celebrated for goodness.

When the women have been defeated, progress on the carving begins. This is progress on the "road to salvation". It is because of the men's victory that the feast can continue. As if to demonstrate that one victory is not the final victory over evil, other mock battles do the celebration as reminders that the struggle must be constant. Through men's life and the history of the world the struggle continues. The ultimate completion of the bis forshadow the ultimate victory.

In contrapoint to this motif is the theme that from death life emerges. This is clearly the case in the final intercourse. Victorious man (good) unites with killed/defeated women (evil) to bring forth a new generation of mankind. This is also associated with the Asmat belief that the continuity of the society depends upon the death of the enemy. It is in the defeat of evil (death) that life is possible.

#### Part IV. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

From all the above it is sufficiently clear that in this one feast and its mythical basis the Asmat people encapsulate their outlook on life and their own limited existence. The explanations that the Asmat people offer

through the bis feast are actually the result of deep reflection and are clearly rooted in the concrete reality of the Asmat's daily existence. By confronting the real world the Asmat people gradually evolved conclusions which became formulations of belief. These formulations, in myth and ritual, entered into the cultural dynamics to form the nucleus of their way of life.

In the above study I have attempted to demonstrate that the bis (ceremony or feast as well as resulting carving) is a concrete answer to existential questions concerning man's nature, his life, his sufferings and death. The answers emerged only gradually, it is presumed, but did eventually emerge in their own history to form a fundamental outlook and system of belief.

This system of belief includes the central concept of a universal life force which is the origin of all which lives, all that is good, and of all strength and health of the living. This is the Juwus. This life force, associated with the continual support from the ancestral world, is worked into the framework of daily Asmat life by way of laws and customs. So is Asmat continuity and survival assured.

Thus was Asmat when outsiders arrived 20 years ago. It is important that we outsiders be aware of this background. The Asmaters are not a blank page on which we are "invited" to write. They have a complex cultural pattern which has worked for them and which has guaranteed their continuity. If we seriously hope to offer the Asmat people a new system of education, a new type of economic system, a new religion and basis for daily existence and a new world-view, then we must try to do so on the basis of what they have personally and painfully evolved and believed.

Our methods of communication should be in harmony with their view of a universal and supreme life force. This must be so because it is by means of their belief in this power-force that they are judging us and our teachings. If we choose to ignore their fundamental beliefs in our attempts at innovations, then the Asmat people will, in their own wisdom and insight, and most secretly, define their own way. The result will be that we enlarge the chasm already exists between ourselves as non-Asmat and the Asmat people.

If, on the other hand, we try to act on the level of the existing cultural substratum (as the basis of our relationship, then the Asmat people will deepen their awareness and belief that whatever we offer from "outside" is basically on the side of goodness and is part of their own struggle as well as ours. If what we offer is recognized as already existing in weak images in their own beliefs, the possibility of rejection is obviated. If they see no relationship between their beliefs and our contentions and introductions, they must resist us for they would be, in their view, accepting evil and endangering continuity of their existence if they accepted us and our beliefs.

When this is a matter of Christian evangelization we know that God himself is the core of truth, goodness, strength and power. He has sent his Son to bear witness to this truth and to the greatness and power of his Father. To the Asmat the core of truth, goodness, strength and power is a supreme life power. It is inconceivable to a Christian that anything which is good and true could arise from some evil source or from a source isolated from God's presence. Thus we can accept the good in the Asmat beliefs.

With this background it is possible to teach that the Asmat belief in a supreme source of life -- which seems to have many of the attributes of the Christian God -- is in fact a revelation of God himself. This provides a focal point which makes possible a dialogue between the Christian and the Asmat.

Again it is a Christian belief that Christ came to earth to forgive sin and to set all men free. This does not mean that he came to forgive sin and relieve man only in a spiritual sense. In fact his task was to set free all of creation. He came to bring a wholeness to the universe and to man himself, spiritually and materially.

Their own beliefs sought this goal. If we are to bring the "good news" to them we should help them to understand that the intention of God for them is just as they understood in their own culture ... but with new emphasis and new dignity and new understandings. Thus we help them search for the health and salvation of body and soul. We help them stand on their own feet, emerging into our contemporary world with Asmat contributions and Asmat



dignity. This will obviously be a great contribution not only to Asmat but to our Indonesian nation.

There are many concrete suggestions which I could make as one personally interested in the development and Christianization of Irian Jaya and, in particular, in the Asmat area's successful integration into the Christian and Indonesian world. I am of Irian Jaya myself and so I know this is important and that it is my task and vocation -- as well as that of all who are interested in Irian Jaya and Asmat.

To the missionaries I suggest that we delve more and more into the fundamental beliefs of the Asmat people. In this we will find the deep basis of their beliefs so that we can teach them how to relate to the human and Christian norms ... many of which are existing in germ-form in their own culture. This means that we must intensify our efforts to pay real attention to the daily life of Asmat and the background/explanations from their society for their lives.

This means that we must go to the people with real respect. Often we must accept their whims and activities and then search for their own explanation for their behavior. Through this we can isolate focal points of truth central both to Asmat beliefs and the Christian Gospel and tradition. From this basis of agreement we could begin again in evangelization, could publish our own catechism, etc.

The Catholic Mission is responsible for seventeen grade schools and the junior high School in Asmat. This is an obligation given to the mission by the government of Indonesia and it is a deep obligation. We must see to it that we provide a system of education which is practical and which will actually prepare the students for village life. We should try not to isolate their education from the realities of their social life, from the hard economic facts and from Asmat culture itself. It is true, however, that those in the high school who are candidates for higher education must be related to differently ... better preparing them to see beyond Asmat limitations and so on.

To assure that this is realistically possible it is suggested that in such areas as mathematics (which is one of the most difficult subjects for the Asmat) the teachers accompany their students to the village cooperatives to work with these men in concrete problems (e.g. calculating cubic meters, salary payment, etc.). We should strive to draw the local and regional cooperative leaders into this educational process.

The schools should also try to inculcate respect for traditional art forms. Parents and artists should be invited into the schools to explain traditional forms, the meaning of motifs, etc. This not only relates to village life, but also helps the parents really become co-responsible for the education of their children.

Although beyond the scope of the Mission's responsibility or ability to intervene, business and trade development in Asmat should not be an obstacle to human development and dignity but should promote this no less than education does. Those involved in work here in Asmat as businessmen should not tolerate a situation where their efforts degrade the Asmat people and result in a degeneration rather than growth.

In the logging/lumber industry now being promoted (e.g. Atsj, Yow, Komor, etc.) there has often been a total disregard of the rights of the Asmat people. Wives and children remain for long periods without their fathers or husbands. Education suffers. The sick are left without assistance. This only destroys future hopes for the Asmat people and the Asmat area. There are real questions as to just payment for logging and for work. These are problems which must be confronted by those in responsible government positions.

For our part, again, we must always have a completely open and honest approach to every developmental project and effort (co-operatives, schools, etc.) realizing that these are matters of supreme importance for the people and that, accordingly, they have every right to know what is being done and why.

Those trusted with dissemination of information as well as the Health Officials and teachers should make every effort to promote

understanding of the advantages of hygiene, cleanliness, the purpose of hospitals or clinics. The health of the body is an essential ingredient to the health of soul and the total development of the people.

While we eventually continue the search for diversification of developmental projects (e.g. gardens, fishing co-operatives, etc.) we should also see that mentality building is co-existent with these efforts. Our preaching in church, for example, should be related to actual projects which are underway in the area.

If these efforts are made then, and with this paper's minor contribution, it can be hoped that the development of the Asmat people will be along balanced and healthy lines which will benefit all of Irian Jaya and all of the Indonesian nation.



## GLOSSARY OF MAIN ASMAT OR INDONESIAN WORDS RECURRING IN TEXT

ANAKAT	Body of carving (i.e. bis anakat). Also used for stalk of bananas, etc.
ASMAT	(Aslo spelled Asamat) Human Being. The name of the people and area in central south coast of Irian Jaya between Mimika and Mappi areas.
ATAKAM	Word; to speak; language. Bis atakam = The Story of the Bis.
BAN	Hand.
BIS	(1) Tall elaborately carved pole representing those relatives who recently have been killed in battle or died normally. (2) The Mythical Heroine of the Bis Myth. (3) The Spirit represented by the bis carvings. (4) The Feast surrounding the execution of the bis carving.
BISMAN	Largest grouping of the Asmat people -- mainly coastal or along rivers near the coast. From BIS and MAN (to make), therefore termed the Bis Makers.
CEMEN	Penis; Bis Cemen (lit: The Penis of the Bis Pole), the complex carved wing-like protrusion upward from the uppermost figure on the bis-pole.
ECAWOR	Special room prepared in the Yew for the carving of the bis pole during the bis feast.
FUM	Wind. (Cf. text on FUMeripits ... the Creator in Creation Myth).
IPITS	Man; male; FumerIPITS - the Creator in Asmat Mythology.
JUWUS	Human Life principle flowing from common source. Coexists in man with <u>ndat</u> till death when it returns to common source and <u>ndat</u> survives as human shade.
KAVE	Ancestor; human being; ancestral carving.
KUSKUS	(Indonesian Language). Small marsupial (in Asmat, <u>Fac</u> ) opossum-type, used for decorations (the fur) especially for hat-like apparel.
KAJENAK	Alternative for "Asmat" or human being.
MBIS	Alternate spelling for <u>BIS</u> .
MBUI	(alternate = <u>Bui</u> ) Water. Interpreted by author as spirit in sense of <u>Ndat</u> as well as root word for <u>BIS</u> .

NDAMU	(cf. <u>Juwus</u> ) Life principle for human beings.
NDAT	(Nat) Spirit of all living things. The element of human beings which survives after death (departure of <u>Juwus</u> ) but disintegrates at death of non-human forms.
POKMBUI	Feast or celebration. <u>Bis Pokmbui</u> = Bis Feast.
SAFAN	World of those who formerly lived on earth (ancestors). Found to the west, across the sea.
SAGU	(Indonesian Language). A Type of palm tree (sago palm). The food (a starch residue) prepared by washing the pith of the sago palm. The basic staple of the Asmat Diet. In Asmat ( <u>amos</u> ) also a generic term for all food.
SITAN	Mythical site in <u>Bis</u> story where Beworpits lived; an evil place.
SURKU	(Probably borrowed from Indonesian SURGA = heaven). The Asmat word for paradise ... probably only since contact with missions.
WOWIPITS	Artist; Asmat wood carver.
YEW	Men's or Bachelors' House which serves as the focal point of the social structure and is used as the center for all planning, as well as a feast house. Usually women are excluded from the <u>Yew</u> except on especially determined occasions. The building of the <u>Yew</u> has been prohibited by the Government since 1963.

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## THE PARTS OF THE BISPOLE

The whole bispole is divided into three parts :

1. Bisanakat or the body of the bis

Anakat means the flesh of a fruit or core of ironwood. But anakat also means the stem from ground to top. So, bisanakat means the whole manfigure from feet to head. On anakat and other parts of the bispole, we could find lines, scratches or incisions made by biscarders.

a. Fin or hair

Fin means the hair of the head and the body. Fin is paint with black colour. Black is the symbol of headhunter. That's why, every black, fruit eating bird is a symbol of headhunter. Black must be the bird predominant colour, because the Asmat himself is dark skinned.

b. Wakanbai

Wakanbai means clean shaven circle around the head. This round circle is usually paint with red colour.

c. Umnubiyof or nosepin

This nosepin is made of wood.

d. Ripaneu

Ripaneu is made from pieces of the shell, worn in the nose. We can call this noseornament.

e. Uwi or earornament, made from green sago leaf.

f. Sep or arm

Sep is the arm of the bis. Sep really means the both bones in forearm.

g. Kanter

Kanter is the leg of the manfigure of the bispole in its entirely including the foot.

h. Kiki. These are straight incisions or scarifications on the bispole. Also means figure produced on the skin by incisions or scarifications.i. Yirfopin. These are incisions in the form of comma or half circle. With these signs the cheek, breast are shown.j. Cemen or penisk. Cen or vagina. Cemen and cen are symbols of fertility.l. Yipa. This means the figure of a child on the shoulder of a manfigure. This the meaning of bravery of a warleader, who ever had carried a living anmy at his lifetime, specially during the war. Yipa is also a figure of a child alone, not including a part of bispole.

The whole bispole is always paint with red, white and black colour. White colour is made from ash of burned shell. Red colour is made from a kind of red coloured stone and black colour is made of charcoal.

2. Biscemen or penis of the bis

The whole biscemen is a symbol of fertility. Biscemen consists of some figures of animals as symbols of headhunter, warleader, strength atc. Biscemen itself into :

a. Yirimvikokom or the head of hornbill.b. Okon

Lower cheek bone of hornbill. Okon is shown by making a triangle with the top to left or to right.



c. Bua

Bua is a figure of mouth of human or animal. Bua is shown by round circle or square. The people from southern Asmat called this round circle bianam or buanam.

d. Doukus or the skull

How much skull must be carved, hang up the numbers of animies were been kilt by the man, whose figure is carved.

e. Asukfofsi

This is the tail of a snake or another animal, but also means the backbone of crocodile or fish. Asukfofsi is a symbol of the strength and bravery of a warleader.

f. Yannak or the ear.

It is shwon by dubble round circle.

g. Yanpo is the lower part of neck.h. Tanampo is the uper part of the neck.i. Yamsenkam

This is the meeting point between bisanakat and biscemen.

3. Ci and Bino

a. Ci means the cano. Ci is carved as symbol of relationship between this world and the world here after (ancestor world). In this cano usually made suumkus or an. Suumkus or an is the same thing as trough.

b. Bino is the lower end of the bispole. With this part the bispole is put into the ground.

c. Suumkus or an is the same thing as trough, within food, specially sago been put.

Shield (Yemes)[Asmat].

Wood, paint. Sago leaves and rattan leaves.

Height: 107 cm. Width: 43.5 cm.

Donated by John D. Rockefeller 3rd Fund.

Collected by Herman Renwarin

This shield was probably used in the shield feast to remember the ancestors killed by enemies or died naturally. The figure on the top of the shield represents the ancestor of the owner of the shield. The three double "S's" form represents other close relatives. The colors of this shield are white, red and black.



Shield (Yemes) [Asmat] .

Wood, paint.

Height: 195.5 cm. Width: 46.5 cm.

Donated by Kabin Permuseuman Perwakilan  
Departemen P.D. & K. Propinsi  
Irian Jaya.

This type of shield is used in fighting. The five double "E" form figures are symbols of the flying fox and represents the ancestors and relatives of the owner of this shield. The colors are white, red and black.





Shield (Yemes)[Asmat] .

Wood, paint. Sago leaves.

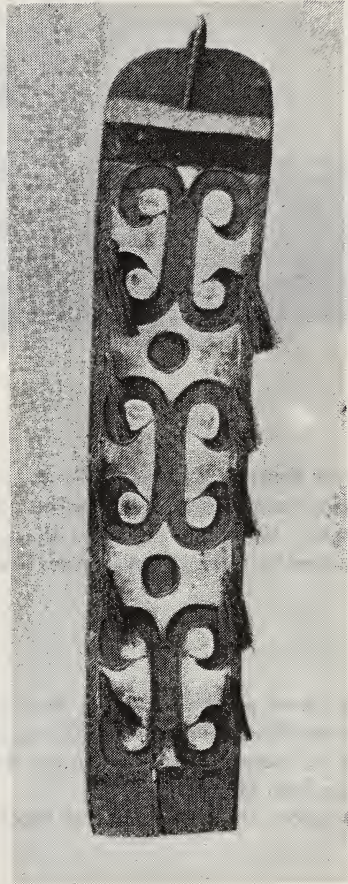
Height: 181 cm. Width: 36 cm.

Donated by Kabin Permuseuman Perwakilan

Departemen P. D. & K. Propinsi

Irian Jaya.

Collector unknown.



This shield was probably used for shield ceremonies. The figure on the top represents the ancestor of the owner of the shield and the upper figure represents the penis of ancestor. The three double "C's" are a symbol of nose ornament (*bi pane*) and represents people and the two dots represent human heads. Usually in the Asmat culture these figures represent the relatives and ancestors of the owner of the shield. The colors are white, red and black.



Canoe Perahu (Cicemen) [Asmat].

Wood, paint. Cassowary feather, grass sheet and fibre.

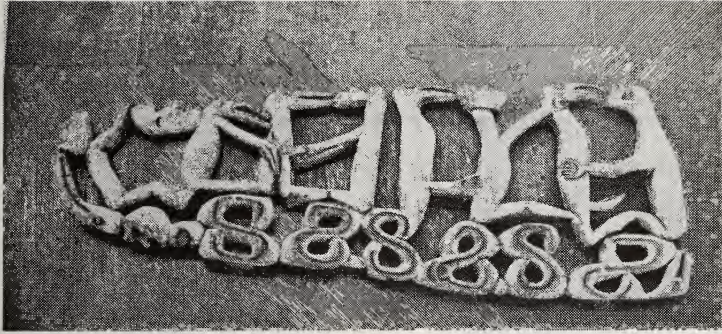
Length: 126.5 cm. Height: 35 cm.

Donated by Kabin Permuseuman Perwakilan Departemen P.D. & K. Propinsi Irian Jaya.

This canoe perahu is used as decoration of the front part of a canoe.

The two human figures usually represent the ancestor of the owner of the canoe. The two "E" forms are symbols of the flying fox. The other figures are a cockatoo's head and a horn bird's head.

The colors are white, red and black.



Canoe Perahu (Cicemen)[Asmat].  
 Wood, paint.  
 Length: 104 cm. Width: 36cm.  
 Donated by John D. Rockefeller 3rd Fund.  
 Collector unknown.

The figures of this canoe perahu represent birds, men and the other "S" forms symbolise men.  
 The colors are white and red.



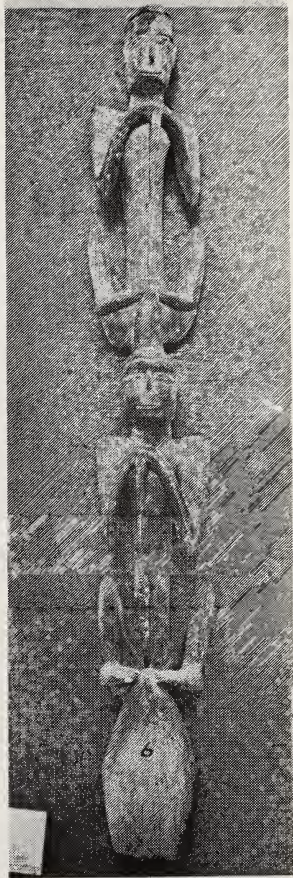
Woman skirt (Awer Ansenem) [Asmat].  
 Sago leaves, pandanus and rattan leaves.  
 Height: 90 cm. Length: 112 cm.  
 Donated by John D. Rockefeller 3rd Fund.



Belt (Awer) [Asmat].  
 Sago leaves, pandanus, rattan leaves  
 and grass sheet.  
 Donated by John D. Rockefeller 3rd  
 Fund.  
 This belt is especially used by women  
 during dancing.

Male and female figures (Kawenak) [Asmat].  
 Wood, paint.  
 Height: 110 cm. Width: 15.5 cm.  
 Donated by Kabin Permuseuman Perwakilan  
 Departemen P.D. & K. Propinsi  
 Irian Jaya.  
 Collector unknown.

The bottom figure represents man and the top woman. The figure between the legs and the hands of the two human figures represents a horn bird.  
 The color is white.



Human figure (Kawenak) [Asmat].

Wood, paint.

Height: 102 cm. Width: 15 cm.

Donated by John D. Rockefeller 3rd Fund.

Collector unknown.

This human figure is female.

The color is white.



Male and female figures (Kawenak) [Asmat].

Wood, paint.

Length: 69.5 cm. Width: 12.5 cm.

Collected by Lembaga Anthropologi

Universitas Cenderawasih.

Collector unknown.

The bottom figure is female and the top is male.

The colors are white and red.



Human figure (Mbis)[Asmat].

Wood, paint.

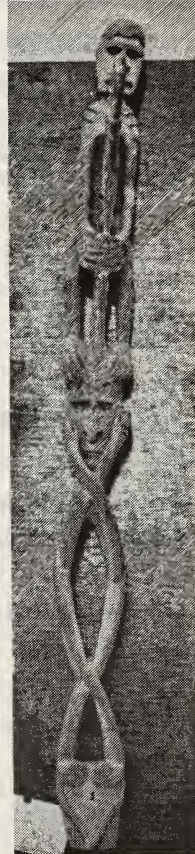
Height: 122 cm. Width: 10.5 cm.

Donated by Kabin Permuseuman Perwakilan

Departemen P.D. & K. Propinsi

Irian Jaya.

Collector unknown.



The top figure is male and the body of the bottom one is symbol of the root of the Baniam tree but has been carved to two snakes. The head of the snakes represent the hands and the tails represent the feet of the bottom figure.

The colors are white and red.

Research in progress:Recent Development in Asmat Art

As part of the University of Cenderawasih research project in the Asmat a short study on the above topic is being carried out in the Asmat by Arie Yan Korwa. Funds for this study have been made available from a previous grant to the Institute for Anthropology by the Asia Foundation, Jakarta.

Arie Yan Korwa  
Curator,  
University Museum  
University of Cenderawasih

Potential Modernization Among the Asmat

This research was conducted in Indonesia, primarily among the coastal Asmat tribesmen of Irian Jaya (Western New Guinea) from August, 1973, to April, 1974. The primary data base was derived from open-ended behavior oriented questionnaires administered to a random sample of 30 married men and members of their households in the villages of Ewer, Owus, Sjurru, and Jepem. Existence research was also conducted in Asmat's administrative - economic center, Agats. Supplementary data was obtained in a number of other villages.

1. Oral history of coastal area prior to first permanent contact in 1953
  - a. village formation, movements, warfare (dating to late 1800's)
  - b. effects of Japanese occupation during World War II
2. Changes in social organization since 1953
  - a. fam and moiety growth, conflicts, divisions, stability
  - b. interaction of dualistic worldview, traditional coceptions of

- spirit realm, and social organization
  - c. development of semi-permanent villages
  - d. leadership patterns and attitudes
  - e. maps of four main villages, indicating fam affiliation by household and homes of random sample subjects
3. Changes in resource utilization patterns
- a. survey of Asmat edible and material resources: scientific name, English name, Indonesian name, Asmat name, various uses and relative abundance
  - b. economic interaction of villagers with stores, traders, government, tourists, and missions in Agats
    - (1) Goods and materials purchased, sold, traded
    - (2) Sources of income
  - c. resource utilization index: selected food, household, and craft items scored according to how and where obtained, how used (both traditional and modern items)
  - d. utilization patterns by fam of sago and fishing areas (Ewer only)
  - e. introduction of horticulture and gardens
  - f. development prospects in Asmat
  - g. yearly climatic patterns (rainfall, temperature, cloud formations, tides)
4. Changes in communication patterns
- a. traditional communication channels
  - b. travel between villages and Agats, purposes
  - c. Asmat - government - missions interaction
    - (1) Government reorganization program
  - d. government, Catholic, Protestant education programs and school curriculums



- e. participation by Asmatters in groups and formal organizations;  
local political developments
  - f. mission air operations
5. Demographic characteristics
- a. entire village - 1973
    - (1) Census by age and sex
    - (2) Birth and death statistics
  - b. random samples (30 households each village)
    - (1) Pregnancy and fertility data
    - (2) Household composition
    - (3) Marriage and internal migration patterns
    - (4) Genealogies for married males to three generations
  - c. census by family, tribal or area affiliation, and religion  
for all residents of Agats.
6. Time-budget analysis of all daily activities (Ewer only)
- a. over continuous three week period Sept. - Oct., 1973
  - b. analyzed and scored by behavior category for two small, two  
medium, and two large nuclear families and their households
7. Asmatters wage labor with oil exploration crews
- a. wage labor decision survey
    - (1) administered to 16 men in each of Ewer, Owus, Sjurur prior  
to beginning labor contract work
  - b. open-ended interviews with 30 men (Jepem's random sample)  
after completion of contract
  - c. operational framework used by oil exploration company and its  
two labor sub-contractors
    - (1) Map of completed seismic exploration lines
  - d. oil and development prospects for Irian Jaya
  - e. overview of Indonesian economic development policies

8. Health and medical care
  - a. traditional medical and curing practices
    - (1) Role of traditional curer; sorcery
    - (2) Mental health as exemplified by "madman syndrome"
    - (3) Child care
  - b. hospital operations in Agats
  - c. records of all illnesses and injuries treated in Ewer and Owus by P.V. (Sept. - Nov., 1973)
    - (1) Results of Asmat-run clinic begun in Owus Nov., 1973
  - d. epidemics and major diseases in Asmat since 1962, with some casualty figures
9. "The 'Lord of the Earth' Cult Among the Asmat: Prestige, Power, and Politics in a Transitional Society" (article co-authored with David Gallus to appear in IRIAN: Bulletin of Irian Jaya Development, vol. III, no. 2, June, 1974)
  - a. based upon research by the authors into the Ewer cargo cult since its inception in 1966
  - b. analyzed according to:
    - (1) Progressive functional transformations of a relatively stable cult structure
    - (2) Big Man activity as broadly manifested in Melanesia
    - (3) Economic and development problems in Asmat
10. Expedition to previously unexplored stretches of Catalina and Friendship Rivers of the interior Asmat region
  - a. comparison of data with earlier expeditions to Brazza River

Peter W. van Arsdale  
 Department of Anthropology  
 University of Colorado  
 Boulder, Colorado

---

NOTE: Supplementing this research is a 500 photograph collection of 35 mm color slides, four 30 minute tapes of Asmat and Indonesian music, and a collection of ornamental and carved artifacts.

Peter W. van Arsdale :

Peter W. van Arsdale is a Ph. D. candidate in cultural anthropology at the University of Colorado. The data upon which the present article is based was gathered in Indonesia and the Asmat region from August, 1973, to April, 1974, as part of dissertation research on the potential for modernization among the Asmat. van Arsdale received a B.A. cum laude in psychology from the University of Colorado and an M.A. in general anthropology from the University of Maryland. As a member of the Research Training Program in Culture Change in the University of Colorado's Institute of Behavioral Sciences, he holds a fellowship from the National Institute of Mental Health.

David E. Gallus, O.S.C. :

David E. Gallus, o.s.c., is a Crosier priest ordained in the United States in 1966. Following ordination he completed a year of graduate study in anthropology at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., in preparation for his work among the Asmat. Upon his arrival in the Asmat region in June, 1967, Fr. Gallus began work as a missionary pastor and continues at present. Since 1970 he has been coordinator of Catholic mission aviation for the Asmat region, and is auditor of the central cooperative office.

Abraham Kuruwaip :

Abraham Kuruwaip was born in Upyetetku, Muyu, Irian Jaya. After completing primary school in 1962 he attended seminary for seven years and then commenced four years of theological and philosophical study at the higher theological seminary in Jayapura, where he gained his B.A. Towards the end of 1973 he took up duties in the Asmat where he worked first as a deacon in the Catholic church and then as assistant parish pastor at Sjurru. Abraham Kuruwaip is also the curator of the Museum of Asmat Culture and Development, at Agats and he also teaches courses in the Junior High School and Teacher Training School in Agats.

G. Zegwaard, M.S.C. :

Fr. G. Zegwaard, a Dutchman, was ordained a priest in 1944. He came to Irian Jaya as a missionary in 1946 and first worked among the Mimika people. In 1952 he opened the first Asmat mission station in Agats. Subsequently Fr. Zegwaard moved to Merauke and then to Jayapura. At the present time he is the Director of the Catholic Mission Institute for the Advance of Social Research.







### Manuscripts:

The editors of the IRIAN welcome manuscripts of a theoretical or practical nature that directly or indirectly bear on Irian Jaya. Manuscripts should be typed, double space and may be submitted in either Indonesian or English. If articles are submitted in Dutch the editors will endeavour to have the material translated into one of the above languages. Two copies of articles are required. Each article must be accompanied by an abstract of 200-400 words which, if possible, should be in the language other than that in which the manuscript is written. Articles should be accompanied by a brief biographical note on the author.

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## IRIAN

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The map in this issue was drawn by Arnold Ap.



## POTENSI HUTAN IRIAN JAYA DAN PROSPEKNYA

Abdul Bari Ts.

Abstract :

Beside oil, timber is one of Indonesian most important exports items. From 192 million ha. of Indonesian landscape, 122 million of it is covered with forest. Irian Jaya itself has 31 million ha. or a quarter of all Indonesian forest. This figure shows the wealth of Irian Jaya timber. According to the survey data there are only 23 types of Irian Jaya woods that should be exploited because of their market value. These types of woods are classed into three groups, i.e. - the group of *Pometia* Spec., the group of *Instia* Spec., the group of *Agathis*.

The areas that have been surveyed in Irian Jaya are:

1. Warsansom Valley, located 20 km eastern of Sorong with an area of 38,000 ha. This has an estimated production about 3,560,000 m<sup>3</sup>, (timbers with more than 55 cm in diameter). The types of *Pometia* and *Instia* were estimated to be 1,000,000 m<sup>3</sup>. This potential source should be exploited by opening the area from either the northern or the southern ends of the valley.
2. Arfak, located near Manokwari has an area of 40,000 ha. It is estimated should produce timber of 4,000,000 m<sup>3</sup>. 1,200,000 m<sup>3</sup> from the figure should be obtained from the timber types of *Pometia* and *Instia*. If 60,000 m<sup>3</sup> were exported each year than this could be exploited for 20 years.
3. Nabire, has an area of 80,000 ha., and it is estimated that this area should produce 2,000,000 m<sup>3</sup>. The timbers are to be found on the flat-land and on the mountain ranges.
4. Meos-Moem, has an area of 8,000 ha., and it is estimated will produce 824,000 m<sup>3</sup>. This is a good port.
5. Pulau Adi, has an area of 13,500 ha. It is estimated that it will produce 1,170,000 m<sup>3</sup>. Most of this quality has been exported. The rest should be about 661,000 m<sup>3</sup> found in an area of 8,400 ha.
6. Momi-Ransiki, estimated 450,000 m<sup>3</sup> in an area of 4,600 ha.
7. Sumberbaba, Yapen Island estimated 1,056,400 m<sup>3</sup> in an area of 9,100 ha.
8. Sarmi, in Sarmi area three places have been surveyed, these are:
  - Tor-Woski, estimated 2,500,000 m<sup>3</sup> in an area of 25,000 ha.
  - Tor-Apauwar, estimated 2,000,000 m<sup>3</sup> in an area of 15,000 ha.
  - Siduarisi Utara, 3,700 ha. with an estimated volume 333,000 m<sup>3</sup>.

*Agathis labillardieri* found here too, in an area of 8,600 ha.
9. Jayapura, in Jayapura there are four places which are rich with timber. These are: Sekoli, Holtekang, Tami and Mosso. Timber in these areas cover an area of 16,900 ha. and should produce an estimated volume of 1,000,000 m<sup>3</sup>. Holtekang, is now already being exploited by FUNDWI-11 project.
10. Blak, with an area of 50,000 ha. is estimated to produce 1,150,000 m<sup>3</sup>.
11. Sebakor bay, with an area of 30,000 ha.
12. Teminabuan and Agenda-Aroba, this places have *Agathis* forest of 8,000 ha.



13. Asmat has Instia forest of 10,000 ha.
14. Wasur, has a forest of Melaleuca leucadendron, about 20,000 ha.  
The estimated area of these 3 places are unknown.
15. Other areas have timber but not surveyed i.e. along the Mambramo river and the mangrove areas of Merauke.

Most of the government timber projects are mechanized. This are done in Jayapura by the FUNDWI-11, with a capacity of 20 m3 each day, P.K.N. Manokwari with a capacity of about 25 m3 each day and Biak with a capacity of 10 m3 each day. Beside these in Sorong, Nabire and Japen Waropen, rip saw and forest mill are used which produce between 3 m3-5 m3 each day. In general the timber in the province of Irian Jaya is not developed due to lack of skills and difficulties of marketing.

Private saw mills are operating in Irian Jaya too, but are not mechanized and use hand saws. In Jayapura itself there are about 16 private saw mills operating in area of 20 ha each with a total production of 250 m3 each month.

It is estimated that the total timber exploited in the province in a month to be 1,750 m3. In some places the production is more then the demand and on the hand in some places the saw mills cannot supply the demand.

The main difficulties faced by the timber industry in Irian Jaya are:

- the topography is mountainous and there are not many rivers to connect the inland timber supply to the coast.
- cost of labour in Irian Jaya is higher than other parts of the Republic.
- coastal shipping and communication need to be improved.

In general Irian Jaya timbers are not well known in the national or international market, it should be helpful if Irian Jaya timber is promoted more. In the recent years Irian Jaya timber was sent to Ujung Pandang and Java but was not competition with timber from Sumatra and Borneo which are already known and cheaper.

Irian Jaya is rich of timber, but this still has no economic significance because of present ships to the province marketing and economical problems.

Irian Jaya timber has to find places for it marketing outside Indonesia such as New Zealand and Australia. Beside this, the shipping cost should be minimized by back-loading.

#### PENDAHULUAN :

Membicarakan tentang Potensi Hutan Irian Jaya dan Prospeknya tentu saja tidak dapat terlepas dari membicarakan potensi Hutan Indonesia secara keseluruhan beserta kenyataan perdagangan kayu tingkat nasional maupun internasional.

Dengan demikian tidak dapat pula dilepaskan dengan mengemukakan potensi Hutan Irian Jaya dilihat dari jenis2 hasil-hutan yang dapat diperdagangkan dan kini berada di hutan. Dari sini dilihat ekonomis atau tidak dalam waktu dekat hutan2 di Irian Jaya untuk dieksploitasi. Dengan perkataan lain dari sini dapat diketahui bagaimana prospek masa datang dari Potensi Hutan Irian Jaya.

Tulisan ini akan mencoba untuk mengemukakan bagaimana gambaran masa datang itu, begitu pula mencoba mengemukakan sebagian dari Potensi Hutan Irian Jaya yang telah dieksploitasi dan diinventarisasi oleh Dinas Kehutanan. Begitu pula disini akan dikemukakan tentang usaha2 yang telah dilakukan oleh pemerintah di Irian Jaya.

### Hutan Indonesia

Geografis Indonesia berada didaerah tropis pada mana dengan sendirinya memiliki ciri2 alam yang sesuai dengan posisi tropis ini. Sejalan dengan itu, maka hutan Indonesia dibagi-bagi dalam beberapa tipe hutan sbb.:

Type Hutan	Angka ribuan		
	Jawa & Madura	Pulau lain	Jumlah
Hutan tropika basah	180	89,000	89,000
Hutan sekunder	-	15,000	15,000
Hutan rawa	-	13,000	13,000
Hutan gugur daun campuran	1,500	-	1,500
Hutan pasang	60	1,000	1,060
Hutan jati	1,000	-	1,000
Hutan gugur daun	90	900	990
Hutan lainnya	70	-	70
J u m l a h	2,900	118,900	121,800

Gambaran hutan diatas merupakan gambaran umum tipe hutan, sedangkan gambaran menurut fungsinya terbagi sebagaimana dapat dilihat dalam daftar ini:

HUTAN DI INDONESIA MENURUT FUNGSINYA

1968

Satuan : 1000 ha

Dinas Kehutanan	Hutan	Hutan	Hutan	Suaka Alam	Hutan Wisata	L a i n-2		Jumlah
Propinsi	Produksi	Lindung	G.A	S.M.	T.W.	T.P.		
<u>Sumatera</u>								
1. Aceh	2,803	850	417	20	-	-	-	4,090
2. Sum.Utara	476	1,576	-	201	-	-	2,095	4,350
3. Sum.Barat	114	1,594	-	4	-	-	648	2,360
4. Riau	136	80	-	-	-	-	6,384	6,600
5. Jambi (x)	808	436	-	190	-	-	2,237	3,671
6. Sum.Selatan	1,190	1,806	94	-	-	-	2,204	5,294
7. Lampung	594	356	284	10	-	-	71	1,315
8. Bengkulu	600	40	100	-	-	-	-	740
<u>Jawa</u>								
9. DCI. Jawa	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
10. Jabar	475	397	50	2	21	-	-	945
11. Jawa Tengah	606	51	1	-	-	-	-	658
12. D.I. Jogya	14	3	-	-	-	-	-	17
13. Jawa Timur	846	390	-	107	-	-	-	1,343
<u>Kalimantan</u>								
14. Kal.Barat	2,500	248	32	-	-	-	6,980	9,760
15. Kal. Tengah	1,548	-	-	306	-	-	11,221	13,075
16. Kal.Selatan	1,022	113	-	240	-	-	-	1,395
17. Kal.Timur	4,414	1,113	308	-	-	-	11,385	17,240
<u>Sulawesi</u>								
18. Sul.Utara	53	705	4	-	-	-	885	1,647
19. Sul.Tengah	1,910	2,088	-	-	-	-	-	3,998
20. Sul.Tenggara	392	1,324	-	-	-	-	-	1,716
21. Sul.Selatan	730	1,951	89	-	-	-	736	2,606
Jumlah dipindahkan	21,232	15,121	1,379	880	21	-	44,846	82,821



HUTAN DI INDONESIA MENURUT FUNGSINYA

1968

Satuan : 1000 ha

Dinas Kehutanan	Propinsi	Hutan Produksi	Hutan Lindung	Suaka Alam C.A	Hutan Wisata S.M.	T.W.	T.P.	L a i n-2	Jumlah
Jumlah pindahan		21,232	15,121	1,379	1,080	21	-	44,846	82,821
22. Bali		29	69	23	-	-	-	-	121
23. N.T.P.		71	623	-	40	-	-	-	734
24. N.T.T.		57	556	17	-	-	-	-	630
25. Maluku		2	-	-	-	-	-	5,998	6,000
26. Irian Jaya		70	-	320	-	-	-	31,110	31,500
Jumlah		21,461	15,369	1,739	1,120	21	-	81,954	121,806

Sumber : Sekretariat Direktorat Jenderal Kehutanan

Keterangan : Belum termasuk yang direncanakan

x) taksiran

C. A = Cakar Alam

S. M. = Suaka Margasatwa

Angka statistik th. 1968 diatas masih bersifat sementara, sebab "Hutan Lainnya" yang berjumlah 81,954,000 ha. masih harus dipecah-pecah lagi dalam berbagai fungsi. Dari seluruh luas hutan yang ada direncanakan menjadi hutan produksi seluas 28 juta ha. Dari jumlah hutan produksi 28 juta ha. tadi direncanakan dapat menghasilkan kayu rata2 19,888,000 m<sup>3</sup> per tahun. Direncanakan 16 juta m<sup>3</sup> diperuntukan ekspor. Apakah jumlah kemampuan produksi diatas merupakan kemampuan maksimal, kiranya masih diperlukan penelitian mendalam. Namun angka diatas dapat dipergunakan sebagai patokan sementara.

Kemudian dari 28 juta ha. yang direncanakan menjadi hutan produksi itu diharapkan pula ada dan lestari menghasilkan kayu. Untuk itu tentu saja diperlukan adanya sistim penebangan yang cocok bagi setiap areal hutan produksi yang diusahakan. Sistim yang cocok itulah yang bakal memberikan permudaan, sehingga selanjutnya hutan tersebut pulih kembali dan sekian tahun kemudian dapat pula memberikan hasil. Menurut apa yang dialami waktu ini, sistim penebangan yang cocok adalah sistim tebang pilih kecuali bagi hutan murni (homogen) seperti hutan jati dilakukan sistim tebang habis, yaitu sistim memilih (selected) terhadap kayu2 yang pantas ditebang dan dipungut hasilnya. Sebab utama memilih sistim tebang pilih ini adalah :

Hutan didaerah tropis pada umumnya heterogen, terbentuk dari berbagai jenis pohon, sehingga tidak semua pohon yang tegak berharga dan dapat dipungut kayunya. Lebih dari itu sistim tebang pilih dapat menjamin adanya kelestarian hutan karena dalam pelaksanaannya senantiasa harus memperhatikan batas diameter minimal pohon berharga yang boleh ditebang. Dengan sistim itu pula fungsi hutan lindung tata air dan tanah, perlindungan alam tetap berlangsung.

### Hutan Irian Jaya

Hutan Irian Jaya yang merupakan bagian dari Kesatuan Hutan Indonesia berada dalam posisi curah hujan rata2 3000-4000 mm per tahun. Dengan demikian hutan Irian Jaya merupakan Hutan Tropika Basah dan heterogen. Jarang ditemui kelompok hutan murni.

Selain dari itu posisi hutan Irian Jaya berada didaerah yang tergolong

dua besar; yaitu :

pertama berada dipegunungan, baik mulai dari pegunungan pantai maupun dan terutama didaerah tengah Irian Jaya;

kedua hutan rawa, sagu atau mangrove didaerah-daerah pantai dan sekitar sungai-sungai.

Dari luas hutan 31,500,000 ha. sebagaimana dapat dibaca pada daftar tadi dimuka, maka diperkirakan 4 - 5 juta ha. diharapkan dapat jadi hutan produksi. Dan dari hutan yang sebagaimana disebutkan diatas dapat memberikan kayu, kopal (getah pohon damar/*Agathis labillardieri*), rotan (masih perlu penelitian dan inventarisasi), sedangkan jenis2 kayu yang dapat diperdagangkan a.l. :

1. *Instia*
2. *Pometia*
3. *Palaquium*
4. *Adina multifolia*
5. *Agathis labillardieri*
6. *Anisoptera*
7. *Araucaria cunninghamii*
8. *Buchanania macrocarpa*
9. *Calophyllum*
10. *Cannosperma*
11. *Celtis*
12. *Dracontomeleum*
13. *Vitex cofassus*
14. *Koordersiodendron pinnatum*
15. *Homalium foetidum*
16. *Pterocarpus indicus*
17. *Manilkara fasciculata*
18. *Quercus*
19. *Pericopsis*
20. *Podocarpus*
21. *Toona sureni*



22. *Vatica papuana*23. *Terminalia*

Didalam perdagangan kayu Irian Jaya hanya diwakili dalam bentuk kayu besi (*Instia*), *Agethis* (belum ada eksploitasi), *Matoa* - group (termasuk jenis2 diluar no. 1 dan 2 diatas dalam daftar diatas).

Selain hasil kayu, maka hutan Irian Jaya memberikan hasil kopal yang pada waktu pemerintahan Belanda usaha pemungutan kopal adalah merupakan kegiatan utama kehutanan disamping pendirian *Houtbedrijf Manokwari* yang bergerak didalam penggergajian kayu. Mengenai kopal pada akhir2 ini mengalami kesulitan pemasaran disebabkan penemuan sintetis yang menggeser penggunaan kopal.

Kemudian mengenai rotan masih dibutuhkan penelitian karena tampaknya kualitas rotan Irian Jaya berlainan dengan apa yang ditemui di Kalimantan. Khusus mengenai soal pemasaran rotan tampaknya stabil dan malah diperkirakan meningkat terus sekalipun dalam jumlah kecil. Pasaran rotan berada di Hongkong sedang Indonesia tetap merupakan produsen utama rotan.

Selanjutnya dalam hubungan kemungkinan eksploitasi hutan Irian Jaya sejak masa pemerintahan Belanda telah diadakan eksplorasi dan inventarisasi. Dan dari sekian banyak daerah hutan yang telah diinventarisasi itu dapatlah dikemukakan sebagaimana berikut :

1. Lembah Warsamson

Kompleks hutan ini terletak lk. 20 km sebelah timur Sorong. Luasnya 38,000 ha., membujur dari Barat ke Timur disepanjang sungai Warsamson. Lebar hutan ini 9 km dan panjang 40 km. Letak geografis berada diantara koordinat  $0^{\circ}49' \text{ LS} - 131^{\circ}40' \text{ B.T.}$  dan  $0^{\circ}55' \text{ LS} - 131^{\circ}29'$ . Luas hutan yang eksploitable 35,000 ha.

Volume kayu dari semua jenis untuk  $\varnothing 55 \text{ cm}$  keatas rata2 100 m<sup>3</sup>/ha. Produksi lembah ini diperkirakan 3,560,000 m<sup>3</sup>. Dari jumlah ini volume jenis *Instia* dan *Pometia* ditaksir 1,000,000 m<sup>3</sup>.

Kemungkinan pembukaannya

Kadaan tofografi dilembah Warsamson merupakan bukit2 rendah dengan perbedaan tinggi antara 60 - 80 meter, sedang puncak2 tertinggi mencapai

100 meter, Dilembah terdapat sungai2 kecil, sedang punggungnya dapat dikatakan rata dengan gelombang2 mengikuti punggung.

Curah hujan dilembah Warsamson termasuk tinggi, setahun dapat mencapai 3,000 mm, sedang curah hujan bulanan mencapai 200 - 400 mm.

Tanahnya bersifat liat (loam) sehingga memerlukan syarat khusus dalam pembukaannya.

Disebelah Selatan sungai Warsamson terdapat anak2 sungai : Klasaman, Klalagi, Klaifi, Klasuwuk, Klatembok, Klawubuk, Klaili. Sedang disebelah Utara terdapat anak2 sungai Klame, Klasuyum, Klaluk. Berhubung dengan itu tampaknya tidak dapat diharapkan pembuatan jalan yang murah. Arus sungai Warsamson sendiri deras sampai 10 km disamping terdapat air2 terjun rendah, sehingga tak dapat dilayari kapal motor. Baru setelah 10 km arus tenang dan dapat dilayari kapal.

Lembah Warsamson dikelilingi oleh pegunungan, yaitu Peg. Wulisan dan Mayalon disebelah Utara, disebelah Barat Peg. Klasaman, sedang disebelah Selatan terdapat Peg. Rawenduk, Sagsanolo, Ignoswagolo dan Wasmansa. Keadaan ini menyebabkan kompleks hutan ini mejadi terasing.

Lembah Warsmson dapat dibuka dari dua jurusan :

1. Dari sebelah Utara dengan mempergunakan Teluk Dore Hum sebagai tempat pe-muatan kekapal (pelabuhan), sedang pengumpulannya di Yangkeleh, jaraknya 30 km.
2. Dari sebelah Barat dengan mempergunakan pelabuhan Sorong yaitu dengan peng-angkutan kayu melalui jalan2 yang kini telah ada.

Namun demikian peninjauan mendetail bagi pembukaan lembah Warsamson perlu dilakukan bila akan dieksploitasi.

## 2. Dataran Arfak

Dataran hutan ini diinventarisasi sejak tahun 1954 s/d 1963 yang meru-pakan areal hutan membentang dari S.Kasi disebelah Barat dan disebelah Timur dibatasi sungai Prafi. Disebelah Selatan dibatasi oleh Peg. Arfak dan disebela-h Utara oleh Lautan Pasifik.

Secara geografi lembah ini terletak antara koordinat  $2^{\circ}44' - 0^{\circ}56'44''$  LS dan  $133^{\circ}30'57'' - 133^{\circ}51'13''$  BT.

Daerah tersebut berbentuk memanjang dari Barat ke Timur, dimana bagian tengah melebar sampai lk. 17 km, sedang bagian Barat meruncing dan serong ke Tenggara. Jaraknya dari ujung Barat keujung Timur ada lk. 43 km. Jarak lurus bagian ujung Timur ini dengan kota Manokwari lk. 20 km. Didaerah ini terdapat musim kemarau antara bulan Juni s/d Nopember, sedangkan bulan2 basah terdapat pada bulan Desember s/d Mei dengan curah hujan 1447 mm.

Keadaan tofografi dataran Arfak pada umumnya merupakan daerah datar, hanya beberapa tempat terdapat bukit2 kecil yang tidak seberapa tingginya, antara lain puncak Bijenkorf lk. 375 m terdapat dekat percabangan sungai Kasi dan Wariki, puncak Ambai lk. 100 meter terdapat diantara percabangan sungai Prafi dan sungai Nasi. Sungai2 didaerah ini pada umumnya cukup lebar tetapi dangkal. Sebagian besar termasuk tipe banjir, sehingga tak dapat digunakan untuk transfor kayu. Sungai2 tersebut dari Timur ke Barat ialah : S. Prafi, Airmasi, Oesegi, Macoean, Marrian, Waryori, Mangopi, Wariki dan Kasi. Mengenai kompleks hutan dataran Arfak ini terbagi sbb. : Wariki 2000 ha., Sidei 8000 ha., Mangopi 2000 ha., Waryori 17,000 ha., Prafi Utara 3000 ha., dan Prafi Selatan 8000 ha. Jumlah semua 40,000 ha.

### Potensi Kayunya

Dari seluruh luas hutan dataran Arfak ini terdapat lk. 920 ha. hutan basah terutama ditumbuhi pohon sagu, sumber baik untuk bahan makanan setempat.

Berdasarkan hasil inventarisasi yang dilakukan volume kayu per ha. untuk garis tengah 55 cm keatas terperinci sbb. :

1. Wariki 72 m3 dengan jenis utama *Pometia pinnata*, dibeberapa tempat terdapat *Teysmiadendron* dan *Instia*.
2. Sidei 75 m3 dengan jenis2 utama *Instia*, *Pometia pinnata* dan *Pometia acuminata/coriacea*.
3. Waryori 134 m3 dengan jenis2 utama *Pometia pinnata* dan sedikit *Instia*.



4. Mangopi 42 m3 dengan jenis utama *Pometia pinnata* dan sedikit *Teysmaniadendron*.
5. Prafi Utara 116 m3 dengan jenis utama *Pometia pinnata* dan sedikit *Teysmaniadendron*.
6. Prafi Selatan 71 m3 dengan jenis utama *Pometia pinnata* dan sedikit *Octomeles* dan *Tetrameles*.

Disamping jenis2 diatas masih terdapat jenis2 lain yang tidak begitu banyak : *Dracontomelum edule*, *Celtis*, *Pimeleodendron*, *Homalium futidum*, *Alstonia scholaris*, *Dillenia*, *Elaeocarpus* dan *Pterocarpus indicus*. Jumlah seluruh stock-volume kayu didataran Arfak ini lk. 4,000,000 m3 diantaranya 1,2 juta *Instia* dan *Pometia*. Bila hanya kedua jenis kayu ini yang dipungut dengan produksi kayu 60,000 m3/tahun baru akan habis 20 tahun. Kini dataran Arfak merupakan cadangan utama bagi pengembangan Perusahaan Daerah Kehutanan Manokwari.

### 3. N a b i r e

Kedaaan tofografi Nabire kompleks ini pada umumnya bergelombang ringan sampai sedang. Hanya disebelah Timur dan Tenggara bergelombang berat. Kelompok hutannya merupakan kelompok hutan yang memiliki jenis kayu berharga, misalnya kayu *Agathis* terdapat disebelah Selatan sekitar Suwo.

Luas wilayah ini seluruhnya termasuk hutan2 *Agathis* dan hutan tanah datar yang basah ada lk. 80,000 ha. terbagi dalam 2 tipe :

- Dataran rendah yang basah dekat pantai dengan luas lk. 20,000 ha.
- Daerah bukit dipedalaman luasnya lk. 60,000 ha., dimana lk. 30,000 ha. bergelombang ringan.

Dataran rendah yang basah tersebut merupakan rawa2 dimana pada musim hujan selalu becek dan dalamnya air sampai 30 cm, sedang pada musim kemarau kelihatannya agak kering.

Daerah rawa terdapat diantara sungai Bumi, S. Wanggar dan sungai Wamma. Tempat2 ini pada musim hujan dalamnya air lk. 1,5 meter. Daerah yang bergelombang ringan terdapat diantara sungai Wamma dan S. Bumi, S. Papaya dan S. Utara, S. Wanggar dan S. Gaiwo dan S. Aruta.

Pada daerah ini terdapat kompleks hutan yang dapat ditebang luasnya lk. 18,000 ha. terdiri dari 3 kompleks :

S. Wanggar	4000 ha.
S. Papaya	5000 ha.
S. Bumi	9000 ha.

Lainnya bergelombang berat dan berbukit.

Berdasarkan inventarisasi th. 1964 ternyata di S. Wanggar terdapat 115 jenis kayu, S. Papaya 134 jenis, S. Bumi 131 jenis dengan jenis2 utama *Instia sp*, *Pometia pinnata*, *Eugenia*, *Maniltoa*, *Haplolobus*, *Myristica* dsb.

Standing-stock kayu dihutan Nabire sekitar 2,000,000 m<sup>3</sup> a.l. :

S. Wanggar	460,000 m <sup>3</sup>
S. Papaya	680,000 m <sup>3</sup>
S. Bumi	880,000 m <sup>3</sup>

Selain dari produksi kayu ini maka dari hutan *Agathis* dapat diperoleh kapal.

Mengenai tempat pengeluaran kayu tentu masih perlu disiapkan pelabuhan, mengingat pada musim gelombang, yaitu bulan Januari s/d April sulit dilakukan pengapalan. Untuk itu dapat dibangun pelabuhan di Kimi atau Nusi 5 sampai 8 km sebelah Timur Nabire.

#### 4. Meos-Noem

Dalam pulau ini terdapat hutan seluas 8,000 ha. Dipulau ini terdapat teluk2 yang masih baik dan dalam, sehingga memudahkan bagi kapal yang akan memuat kayu.

Menurut hasil survey tahun 1955 standing stock kayu tegakan hutan sebanyak 824,000 m<sup>3</sup>, yaitu untuk kayu2 bergaris tengah diatas 55 cm. Perincian utamanya sbb. :

<i>Haplolobus</i>	111,200 m <sup>3</sup>
<i>Parastemon v.</i>	92,000 m <sup>3</sup>
<i>Eugenia</i>	92,000 m <sup>3</sup>
<i>Callophillum</i>	84,000 m <sup>3</sup>

Dillenia	60,000 m3
Vatica pap.	54,400 m3
Manilkara	30,400 m3
Garcinia	16,000 m3

Dengan angka2 diatas maka P. Meos-Noem memiliki kayu sedang penduduk hampir dikatakan kosong. CV. Gumung Moile yang memperoleh ijin belum banyak memungut kayu disini. Kini tak ada yang mengusahakan.

#### 5. Pulau Adi

Pulau ini tidak jauh dari Kaimana di Selatan Irian Jaya. Pulau ini berbentuk memanjang dengan luas seluruhnya 15,800 ha. Tidak ada penduduk.

Hutan dipulau ini pernah dieksploitasi oleh Continental Timber Co.Inc. yang mendapat ijin konsesi tetapi setelah mengerjakan 5,100 ha. kemudian berhenti karena jbs. tidak melaksanakan peraturan yang ditentukan.

Dari seluruh luas pulau ini hutan yang dapat dieksploitasi sebanyak 13,500 ha. terdiri dari 1,500 ha. hutan basah dan 12,000 ha. hutan kering dengan volume kayu per ha. dengan garis tengah 55 cm keatas sebanyak 1,170,000 m3.

Sisa hutan yang belum dieksploitir seluas 8,400 ha. diperkirakan masih 661,100 m3 antara lain terdiri dari jenis2 kayu :

Pometia	220,700 m3
Pterygota	57,700 m3
Palaquium	33,700 m3
Instia	93,600 m3

Selain itu ditaksir sisa kayu diwilayah hutan yang telah dieksploitir sebanyak 183,000 m3

#### 6. Momi-Ransiki

Luas hutan ini seluruhnya 4,600 ha. yang terdiri dari beberapa kompleks hutan yang disebut kelompok2 sbb. :

Kelompok I	2,000 ha
Kelompok II	200 ha



Kelompok III	300 ha
Kelompok IV	1,000 ha
Kelompok V	100 ha
Kelompok VI	1,000 ha

Volume rata2 per ha. untuk kayu 55 cm keatas 98 m<sup>3</sup>. Dengan demikian hutan ini diharapkan dapat memberikan hasil lk. 450,000 m<sup>3</sup>, sedangkan jenis2 utama terdiri dari Instia dengan 24,4 m<sup>3</sup>/ha., Eugenia 9,1 ha., Alstonia 6,7 m<sup>3</sup>/ha., Pomelia 5,4 m<sup>3</sup>/ha, Artocarpus 3,7 m<sup>3</sup>/ha., Vatica 2,1 m<sup>3</sup>/ha. dan Toona 1,7 m<sup>3</sup>/ha.

Pada waktu ini Momi Ransiki telah mejadi Proyek logging bagian dari PD Kehutanan Manokwari untuk penyediaan penghara dan untuk ekspor.

#### 7. Sumberbaba

Sumberbaba berada di P. Yapen dengan luas seluruhnya hutan disini 12,460 ha., sedangkan luas yang diharapkan dapat memberikan kayu yang cukup seluas 9,100 ha. Sebelum tahun 1965 hutan ini telah dikerjakan oleh Australian NG. Timbers Ltd. dari Irian Timur, namun belum banyak kayu yang diambil terus diberhentikan karena tidak menyelesaikan administrasinya dengan baik.

Hutan ini terdiri dari 2 kompleks :

##### a. Aisau

Kompleks ini terdiri dari campuran jenis pohon Agathis dengan volume per ha. 27,5 m<sup>3</sup>, sedangkan jenis lain yang utama adalah Anisoptera, Clophyllum, Palaquium dengan rata2 antara 6 - 10 m<sup>3</sup>/ha. tiap jenis kayu tadi.

##### b. Ingressau

Volume kayu Agathis dihutan ini antara 22 - 24 m<sup>3</sup>/ha. Disamping Agathis terdapat jenis2 kayu lain.

Volume kayu untuk hutan Sumberbaba ini ditaksir sebanyak 1,056,400 m<sup>3</sup> dengan jenis2 utama :

Instia	183,000 m <sup>3</sup>
Manilkara	119,300 m <sup>3</sup>

Pometia acu.	82,200 m3
Pometia pin.	29,900 m3
Pterygota hors.	36,300 m3
Agathis	20,300 m3

Pada waktu ini hutan Agathis telah dipungut getahnya (kopal)

#### 8. Daerah sekitar Sarmi

Disekitar Sarmi terdapat hutan2 yang dapat diharapkan, namun satu hal yang agak menulitkan dalam pengeksploitasian hutan disini yaitu tidak adanya pelabuhan yang cukup baik. Dua pelabuhan dipantai Irian Jaya, yaitu Sarmi dangkal dan terbuka, Teluk Maffin juga terbuka tetapi cukup dalam. Pelabuhan ini pada masa perang dunia ke-II dipergunakan oleh Sekutu.

Pelabuhan lain yang mungkin ialah di Wakde, sebuah pulau yang agak jauh dari muara sungai Tor.

Kompleks2 hutan yang terdapat disekitar Sarmi tsb. adalah :

##### a. Tor - Woski

Hutan ini terdapat antara Sungai Tor dan Sungai Woski, sangat dekat dengan teluk Maffin.

Volume kayu yang dapat diharapkan adalah 2,500,00 m3 dengan rata2 100 m3/ha.

Jenis2 kayu yang utama adalah :

1. Instia bijuga	575,000 m3
2. Pometia	300,000 m3
3. Homalium foetidum	117,500 m3
4. Pterygota horsfieldii	97,500 m3
5. Palaquium	75,000 m3
6. Ganua b.	62,500 m3
7. Haplolobus	60,000 m3
8. Celtis	57,500 m3

Kayu diatas terdapat dalam hutan seluas 25,000 ha.

### b. Tor - Apauwer

Luas hutan disini sekitar 15,000 ha. dengan volume kayu yang diharapkan seluruhnya 2,000,000 m<sup>3</sup> dengan jenis2 utama :

1. Instia	345,000 m <sup>3</sup>
2. Pometia Pinnata	210,000 m <sup>3</sup>
3. Homalium foetidum	70,000 m <sup>3</sup>
4. Teysmaniadendron	42,000 m <sup>3</sup>
5. Palaquium	58,000 m <sup>3</sup>
6. Sloanea papuana	37,500 m <sup>3</sup>
7. Parastemon versteeghil	37,500 m <sup>3</sup>
8. Gordinia papuana	34,500 m <sup>3</sup>

Daerah ini agak sulit pembukaannya diakibatkan jauh dari pantai dan sangat perlu pembukaan jalan.

### c. Siduarsa - Utara

Kompleks hutan ini terdapat disebelah Timur sungai Tor dan jauh dari pantai lk. 15 km, pengangkutan kayu dapat dilakukan melalui sungai Tor. Luasnya 3,700 m<sup>3</sup> dengan taksiran kayu sebanyak 333,000 m<sup>3</sup> dengan jenis utama :

1. Pometia	44,900 m <sup>3</sup>
2. Teysmaniadendron	29,600 m <sup>3</sup>
3. Instia	24,900 m <sup>3</sup>
4. Homalium	15,900 m <sup>3</sup>
5. Kingiodendron	9,300 m <sup>3</sup>
6. Celtis	9,300 m <sup>3</sup>
7. Myristica	9,300 m <sup>3</sup>
8. Terminalia	6,900 m <sup>3</sup>

Selain 3 kompleks hutan diatas masih terdapat di Bodem seluas 600 ha, Siduarsa 8,000 ha., dimana hutan ini terdapat Agathis yang getahnya dipungut (kopal). Potensi kayu utama adalah Agathis, namun agak jauh, sehingga pembukaan dan pengangkutan kayu agak berat. Bila dirangkaikan dengan kompleks hutan Siduarsa Utara akan lebih baik dengan pengangkutan melalui sungai Tor.



## 9. Sekitar Jayapura

Disekitar Jayapura terdapat beberapa kompleks hutan yang ditaksir memiliki kayu, namun kompleks ini satu sama lain berdiri sendiri dan berjauhan, sehingga didalam pelaksanaan eksploitasi akan diperoleh kesulitan.

Keempat kompleks tadi adalah :

- |                                |           |
|--------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Skolie (Selatan D. Sentani) | 6,400 ha. |
| 2. Holtekang                   | 6,500 ha. |
| 3. Tami                        | 1,000 ha. |
| 4. Mosso                       | 3,000 ha. |

Pada waktu ini Holtekang telah menjadi obyek dari FUNDWI-11. Namun didalam perhitungan terakhir ternyata daerah Holtekang yang eksploitable seluas 2,275 ha. dengan taksiran volume kayu 423,734 m<sup>3</sup>, sedang Tami dan Mosso karena tofografinya yang sulit, pengeluaran kayu menghadapi laut terbuka tidak mudah untuk dieksploitasi. Taksiran volume kayu Tami dan Mosso 145,100 m<sup>3</sup>.

Sedangkan untuk Skolie ditaksir mencapai 620,520 m<sup>3</sup> dengan jenis utama Instia 68,960 m<sup>3</sup> dan matoa group 95,000 m<sup>3</sup>.

Untuk yang terakhir ini selain daerahnya memiliki potensi kayu yang cukup juga tanahnya bila dibuka cocok untuk perkebunan atau pertanian. Daerah ini merupakan achterland Jayapura dan Sentani.

## 10. B i a k

Dipulau Biak terdapat kelompok2 hutan di Masi, Imdi dan Warkibon dan telah diinventarisasi lk. 18,000 ha., kemudian ditambah dibagian Barat, yaitu Biak-Korim sampai Syabes. Luas seluruhnya ditaksir 50,000 ha. dengan taksiran volume kayu diatas 60 cm sekitar 1,150,000 m<sup>3</sup> dengan jenis utama : Pometia, Celtis, Alstonia, Podocarpus, Buchanania, Palaquium, Instia, Terminalia, Cam-nosperma, Callophyllum, Agathis dan Manilkara. Luas hutan Agathis sendiri sekitar 2,214 ha. yang bercampur dengan Instia dan Pometia.

Daerah hutan di P. Biak ini dapat dieksploitir dengan agak mudah, kini sebagian daerahnya dicadangkan untuk menyediakan penghara penggergajian Biak. Guna memperlancar pelaksanaan eksploitasi, maka dibutuhkan pula pembukaan

jalan2 yang merupakan jaringan bagi lalu lintas kayu, baik ketempat penggergajian maupun ketempat pelabuhan ekspor.

#### 11. Teluk Sebakor

Hutan ini berada disebelah Selatan Fakfak dengan taksiran luas sekitar 30,000 ha. Volume kayu didaerah ini belum dapat diperincikan, namun demikian ditaksir tidak kalah dengan potensi kayu disekitar Sarimi. Demikian juga mengenai jenis kayu yang dapat dipungut. Pelabuhan pengapalan sangat baik diteluk Sebakor.

#### 12. Teminabuan dan Agonda-Aroba

Didaerah ini terdapat hutan2 Agathis yang selama ini dipungut getahnya yang disebut kopal. Didaerah Teminabuan luas hutan ditaksir 3,000 ha., sedangkan didaerah Agonda-Aroba termasuk wilayah Kabupaten Fakfak sekitar 5,000 ha. Potensi kayu pada umumnya tidak jauh berbeda dengan hutan2 yang terdahulu dikemukakan.

#### 13. Asmat-Agats

Didaerah datar yang bersungai-sungai kecil, yaitu di Agats dan Asmat, Jaosakor, Kepi dan Pirimapon terdapat hutan yang memiliki potensi kayu Instia yang agak lumayan. Luas daerah ini belum ada survey yang khusus, namun diperkirakan tidak kurang dari 10,000 ha. dengan taksiran kayu Instia (kayu besi) sekitar 15 - 20 m<sup>3</sup>/ha.

Pada waktu ini usaha penebangan dilakukan oleh Kehutanan Merauke khusus untuk kayu besi dan hasilnya diekspor ke Ujungpandang dan Surabaya.

#### 14. W a s u r

Hutan yang termasuk daerah Merauke ini terutama terdiri dari jenis pohon kayu putih (*Melaleuca leucadendron*) dengan luas ditaksir 20,000 ha. Dengan demikian potensinya merupakan minyak kayu putih, bukan kayu. Ditaksir hutan kayu putih ini lebih luas dari P. Buru yang merupakan penghasil utama minyak kayu putih di Indonesia.

Jarak dari Merauke ke Wasur sekitar 20 km.

### 15. L a i n-2

Selain hutan<sup>2</sup> yang disebutkan pada nomor<sup>2</sup> diatas maka masih banyak kompleks hutan lain yang memiliki potensi kayu yang lumayan. Diantara hutan<sup>2</sup> tersebut a.l. : sekitar Bintuni terdiri dari jenis hutan mangrove (bakau<sup>2</sup>) se-luas 100,000 ha. (survey 1967), Wasior (Wandamen) 76,300 ha., kemudian Bambi di Merauke 16,000 ha., P. Salawati dan sekitar Memberamo Perincian hutan<sup>2</sup> yang telah diinventarisasi dapat dilihat dibelakang.

Apa yang dikemukakan diatas belum seluruhnya mewakili Potensi Hutan Irian Jaya, namun demikian data<sup>2</sup> tadi minimal dapat menjadi bahan bagi berba-gai kemungkinan pengusahaannya. Menurut daftar yang bersumber dari Kehutanan Propinsi Irian Jaya (periksa lampiran) sampai sekarang ini hutan yang telah diinventarisasi baru meliputi luas 754,299 ha., angka tadi hanya sampai tahun 1969. Dengan demikian baru sepertujuh dari taksiran Hutan Produksi sebanyak 4 - 5 juta ha.

Sekalipun demikian gambaran sepertujuh tadi dapat mewakili 4 - 5 juta ha., maka potensi hutan Irian Jaya cukup besar. Dalam hal mengenai potensi ini ada beberapa hal yang agak kurang menguntungkan, yaitu adanya kenyataan kayu<sup>2</sup> dari hutan Irian Jaya belum banyak dikenal dipasaran kayu dunia. Diantara se-kian banyak jenis kayu, maka hanya dua saja nama yang digunakan mewakili kayu Irian Jaya, yaitu jenis kayu besi (Instia) dan kayu Matoa (Matoa group). Dima-na pada jenis yang disebutkan terakhir tergabung sekian banyak jenis kayu, se-hingga menyulitkan bagi mereka yang menginginkan pemisahan. Ditinjau dari kwa-litas kayu juga terdapat beberapa perbedaan yang agak menyolok didalam kelom-pok kayu Matoa. Tegasnya guna pencarian pemasaran, maka diperlukan adanya pe-misahan antara berbagai jenis yang terhimpun dalam Matoa group.

### Eksplotasi & Pengusahaan Hutan

Pada masa pemerintahan Belanda eksploitasi hutan hanya dititik berat-kan kepada pemungutan hasil-hutan kopal (getah pohon damar/Agathis labillardieri). Usaha eksploitasi dan penggergajian kayu hanya dilakukan oleh Houtbed-rijf Manokwari yang didirikan pada tahun 1956/1957 dengan penanaman modal Nf. 8.159.241,78 pada mana kemudian diberi nama Perusahaan Kayu Negara (PKN) dan



kini Perusahaan Daerah Kehutanan Manokwari.

Untuk pemungutan kopal pemerintah Belanda memusatkan pada Kern2 Proyek, yaitu di Bodem-Siduarsi, Parieri-Biak, Konda Beriat Teminabuan. Sedangkan di Nabire dilakukan oleh pengusaha swasta Geritsen dan kopal dipungut di Suwo.

Selain usaha2 diatas oleh swasta diusahakan pengeksploitasian hutan di pulau Adi oleh Continental Timber Co. milik Jones & Guerero Guam Australia. Di Yapen-Sumberbaba The Australian And New Guinea Timber Ltd. Kedua perusahaan ini belum lama aktif, namun karena kurang mematuhi peraturan2 yang berlaku kemudian dihentikan usahanya.

Kemudian sejak Irian Jaya kembali kedalam kekuasaan Republik Indonesia pada waktu mana kemudian terjadi adanya produksi bahan sintetis yang menyaingi kopal, maka produksi kopal terus menurun, malah Kern2 Proyek yang ada terpaksa dihentikan atau macet karena usaha ini kurang menguntungkan disamping kurangnya biaya yang tersedia.

Selanjutnya sejalan dengan pertumbuhan dan pembangunan Propinsi Irian Jaya, maka Dinas Kehutanan kemudian mengadakan perintisan terhadap eksploitasi hutan dengan pendirian usaha2 penggergajian. Hal ini menurut kabar disebabkan belum adanya perhatian yang sungguh2 dari usaha2 swasta. Didalam hal tugas sebenarnya kehutanan lebih cenderung kepada pengawasan, bimbingan teknis dan penjagaan agar usaha eksploitasi hutan senantiasa memperhatikan kelestarian hutan. Dengan kata lain kehutanan tidak langsung aktif melaksanakan eksploitasi hutan, melainkan sebagai inspektur.

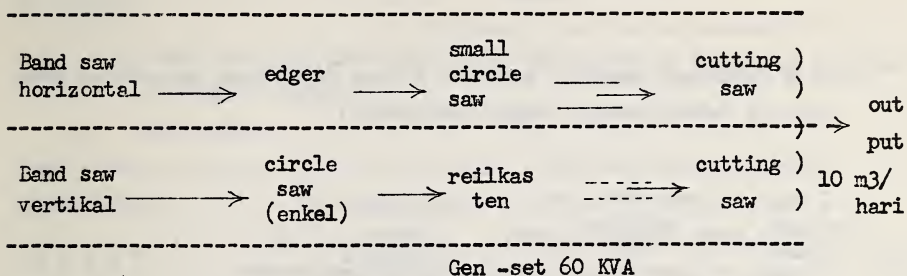
Bila kemudian ternyata, bahwa usaha pemungutan kopal dilakukan terus sekalipun secara kecil2-an, maka pertimbangannya adalah memberikan sumber penghidupan rakyat didaerah pedalaman disamping adanya kenyataan bahwa pemungutan kopal merupakan usaha padat karya, banyak menghisap pekerja.

Adapun usaha2 yang dilakukan berikut ini gambaran aktifitas dan kemampuannya masing2 sbb. :

### 1. B i a k

a. Unit Sawmill (Penggergajian) didirikan sejak th. 1968 berlokasi di

Biak-kota. Kemampuan produksi maksimal 10 m<sup>3</sup>/hari. Penggergajian ini terdiri dari 2 unit gergaji seperti tergambar begini :



- b. Guna memberikan penghara dibutuhkan usaha logging dengan kapasitas 20 m<sup>3</sup>/hari. Peralatan untuk itu :

3 buah one man chain saw  
 2 buah two man chain saw  
 1 hand winch "tilfor"  
 1 buah tug-boat KM Wardo  
 1 buah out board motor 18 PK dan perahu

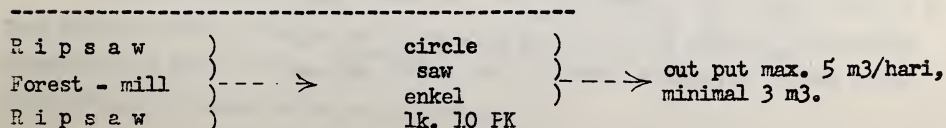
Usaha logging dilakukan di Tg. Samber, P. Padaido, P. Supiori dan Aninweri.

- c. Usaha pemungutan kopal dilangsungkan di Parieri-Bosnik, Proyek ini terutama untuk memberikan rangsangan ekonomis rakyat yang jauh dari kota.

## 2. Yapen-Waropen

- a. Unit saw-mill didirikan sejak th. 1969 berlokasi di Serui kota dengan kemampuan maksimal 5 m<sup>3</sup>/hari.

Gambaran peralatannya :



Samofa dg.  
bahan bakar  
solar

- b. Guna mencukupi penghara saw-mill diatas diusahakan penyediaan penghara di Wabuti/Wadapi dengan peralatan :

3 buah one man chain saw  
1 buah two man chain saw  
1 buah hand winch "Tilfor"  
1 buah out board motor 40 PK Evinrude dan perahu.

- c. Usaha pemungutan kopal dilakukan dihutan Serui dan Waropen, produksinya tidak banyak.

### 3. N a b i r e

- a. Unit saw-mill didirikan sejak th. 1969 bersifat portable dengan lokasi di Nabire. Produksi maximal 5 m3/hari.

Peralatannya :

Forest mill	)		circle	)	
R i p s a w	)	----->	saw	)	----->
	)		enkel	)	out put maximal 5 m3/
			Samofa	)	hari, minimal 3 m3/hari.
			10 PK	---	
			Diesel		
			sendiri		

- b. Guna memberikan penghara bagi kelancaran saw-mill maka diusahakan penebangan dikali Nabire dan kali Bumi.

Peralatan :

3 buah one man chain saw  
1 buah two man chain saw  
1 buah hand winch "Tilfor"  
1 buah out board motor 40 PK dan perahu.

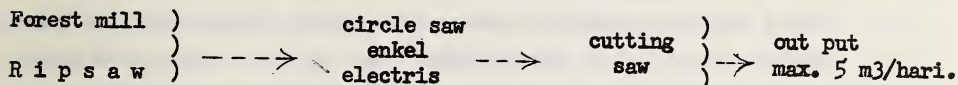


- c. Pengumpulan kopal dilakukan di Suwo, produksi kecil.

#### 4. Sorong

- a. Unit saw-mill dibangun dikota Sorong dengan kapasitas produksi maksimal 5 m<sup>3</sup>/hari.

Peralatan :



- b. Guna memberikan penghara bagi saw-mill diatas, maka penebangan dilakukan di Tanjung Sorong dan pulau2 didekat Sorong.

Peralatan :

2 buah one man chain saw

2 buah two man chain saw

1 buah tug-boat multipurpose 36/45 PK

1 buah out board motor 18 PK dan perahu.

- c. Pemungutan kopal dilakukan di Teminabuan. Melanjutkan usaha Konda-Beriat.

#### 5. Manokwari

Guna memberikan penghara bagi Perusahaan Daerah Kehutanan dan untuk ekspor dilakukan di Bakaro, P. Rumberpon, Windesi. Logging ini dilakukan dengan sistim non mekanis dan oleh rakyat setempat.

#### 6. Merauke

Didaerah Asmat, Kapi dilakukan usaha penebangan kayu besi (Instia) dijual keluar daerah, Ujungpandang dan Surabaya dan untuk memenuhi kebutuhan penggergajian kayu DPU Merauke. Usaha ini dilakukan bersamaan dengan usaha memberikan mata pencaharian rakyat setempat.

## 7. PD Kehutanan dan FUNDWI-11

Selain usaha2 yang langsung dibawah tanggung jawab kehutanan sebagaimana disebutkan terdahulu, maka terdapat pula usaha eksploitasi dan penggergajian :

### a. PD Kehutanan

Usaha penggergajian yang didirikan sejak th. 1956/1957 ini hampir dapat dikatakan usaha terbesar dalam bentuk penggergajian di Indonesia. Disini selain penggergajian juga terdapat bagian pembuatan rumah jadi (Prefab.) Kemampuan produksi maximal penggergajian 25 m<sup>3</sup>/hari.

### b. FUNDWI-11

Penggergajian yang dirintis th. 1968 dan mulai berproduksi th.1970 ini maximal 20 m<sup>3</sup>/hari.

Kedua usaha diatas masing2 juga dilengkapi dengan proyek logging. PD Kehutanan di Momi-Ransiki dan FUNDWI-11 di Holtekang. Kedua2-nya pada saat tulisan ini dibuat mengalami kesulitan pemasaran kayu.

Jumlah eksploitasi hutan dan penggergajian yang disebutkan diatas sehari seluruhnya menghasilkan 70 m<sup>3</sup> kayu gergajian berarti sebulan bila eksploitasi dan penggergajian berjalan normal kapasitas maximal dengan 25 hari kerja 1,750 m<sup>3</sup>.

Kemudian selain usaha2 yang disebutkan diatas pemungutan kopal terdapat di Bodem-Siduarsari Sarimi, sedang penggergajian non mekanis disekitar Wamena. Namun yang terakhir tidak terlalu banyak memberikan efek terhadap usaha2 yang dilakukan dengan mekanis tadi.

Berdasarkan daftar aktifitas tadi, maka tampak jelas kehutanan telah jauh bergerak kebidang eksploitasi. Apakah aktifitas tadi memberikan gambaran yang baik kemasa depan? Jawaban untuk ini masih perlu diteliti lagi.

### Pengusahaan Hutan oleh Swasta

Sekalipun apa yang dikemukakan diatas tadi, bahwa kehutanan telah banyak langsung bergerak tapi tidak berarti swasta tidak ada yang bergerak sama sekali. Didalam hal usaha ekspor kayu logs ada beberapa perusahaan swasta yang bergerak. Mereka bekerja dan berusaha dengan memperoleh Hak Ijin Tebang yang dikeluarkan pemerintah berdasarkan peraturan Kap en ngaseregeling ordonansi th. 1951 No. 133 dan th. 1953 No. 93. Ordonansi tersebut menyebutkan bahwa Hak Ijin Tebang seluas 2,000 ha. kebawah dilakukan oleh Kepala Pemerintah Setempat, 2,000 - 5,000 oleh Bupati, 5,000 - 10,000 oleh Gubernur dan lebih dari itu oleh Menteri Pertanian. Perusahaan<sup>2</sup> yang telah pernah memperoleh Hak Ijin Tebang dengan ordonansi tersebut dapat dilihat pada lampiran.

Sebagaimana terlihat dalam daftar perusahaan<sup>2</sup> tersebut berusaha ditepi-tepi pantai sekitar Fakfak, dimana penebangan dilakukan dengan mudah, yaitu dengan sekali menebang tanpa peralatan mekanis kemudian kayu ditarik ke pantai dan selanjutnya dirakit ke logpond. Selain disekitar Fakfak terdapat pula disekitar Teluk Cenderawasih. Produksi mereka dan telah diekspor ditaksir belum mencapai 30,000 m<sup>3</sup> (angka pasti tak berhasil diperoleh).

Pada akhir<sup>2</sup> ini usaha<sup>2</sup> perusahaan tadi terhenti sejalan dengan adanya peraturan pemerintah No. 21 th. 1971 pada mana ditetapkan, bahwa ditingkat Propinsi hanya berwenang memberikan Hak Pemungutan Hasil Hutan dengan luas maksimal 100 ha. Peraturan ini menudian ditrapkan dengan Hak untuk memberikan ijin kepada para Kepala Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan.

Mengenai usaha<sup>2</sup> eksploitasi besar diwajibkan langsung diurus di Direktorat Jenderal Kehutanan Jakarta. Dalam peraturan itu pula dianjurkan agar perusahaan<sup>2</sup> kecil dapat bergabung dan mengusahakan areal hutan yang luas.

Berdasarkan peraturan pemerintah No. 21 th. 1971 kemudian muncul beberapa perusahaan meminta Hak Pengusahaan Hutan. Jumlah perusahaan ini pada saat tulisan ini dibuat baru mencapai 26 buah termasuk PD Kehutanan dan FUNDWI-11 Hamadi. Daftar perusahaan tersebut beserta lokasi hutan yang mereka minta dapat dilihat pada lampiran dibelakang. Jumlah luas hutan yang mereka minta ternyata telah melebihi taksiran luas hutan produksi di Irian Jaya.\*

\*Ketika tulisan ini dibuat kabarnya jumlah pengusaha yang meminda konsesi telah mencapai lebih dari 142 perusahaan, sengan lokasi tersebut dalam daftar sudah ada perubahan dan yang telah mendapat rekomendasi Gub. 50 buah.



Sekalipun begitu ternyata dari sekian banyak peminta Hak Pengusahaan Hutan tidak banyak yang menunjukkan minat yang sungguh2. Malah ada kecenderungan, bahwa rekomendasi Gubernur mengenai lokasi hutan beserta apa yang mereka miliki hanya akan diperjual-belikan kepada perusahaan2 yang serius mau berusaha. Persoalan semacam ini telah disadari oleh Dinas Kehutanan dan pemerintah daerah, dan kini diperoleh kabar, bahwa akan dikeluarkan semacam seleksi ketat melalui kewajiban kepada perusahaan yang telah memiliki rekomendasi untuk segera bergerak melaksanakan usahanya. Bila dalam jangka waktu 3 (tiga) bulan tidak ada aktifitas maka semua rekomendasi dan permohonan hak pengusahaan hutannya dinyatakan hapus.

Diantara sekian banyak perusahaan swasta terdapat juga yang kelihatannya serius, yaitu perusahaan Jepang Chuetsu pulp & Marubeni Iida Ltd. Perusahaan ini termasuk dalam rangka penanaman modal asing, prosesnya menurut kabar telah mendekati final agreement di Jakarta. Dalam usahanya perusahaan ini akan mengolah kayu dalam bentuk pulp, dengan demikian mendirikan pabrik didekat Nabire. Kayu yang akan dipergunakan adalah semua jenis dan semua ukuran, dengan demikian tidak ada kayu yang tidak berguna. Guna memperlancar transport perusahaan ini juga harus membangun sebuah pelabuhan dengan kapasitas kapal 30,000 ton dwt., begitu pula lapangan terbang khusus. Areal hutan yang diminjanya 235,000 ha.

Bilamana Chuetsu jadi berusaha di Nabire, maka perusahaan lain diharapkan menyusul dan kemudian dapat menyalurkan kayunya kepada Chuetsu.

Bila diatas dikemukakan adanya perusahaan2 besar yang mengajukan permohonan Hak Pengusahaan Hutan, maka perlu pula dikemukakan, bahwa sejak terbukanya daerah Irian Jaya dari Karantina Politik dan kekhususan2 tertentu telah mengalir tenaga2 kerja dari daerah lain terutama dari Sulawesi Selatan. Diantara mereka ini terdapat pula tenaga2 penggergajian tangan yang kemudian menumbuhkan perusahaan penggergajian kayu dengan Hak Pemungutan Hasil-Hutan. Perusahaan ini bertambah pesat sejalan dengan pesatnya pembangunan yang diselenggarakan pemerintah. Hal ini tampak jelas disekitar Jayapura pada mana penggergajian mekanis FUNDWI-11 baru mulai th. 1970, sedangkan perusahaan2 tadi dimulai tahun 1968/1969. Usaha2 perusahaan ini terutama untuk memenuhi

pembangunan setempat. Luas hutan yang mereka usahakan pada umumnya berkisar dari 3 s/d 40 ha. Sejak mereka aktif hutan sekitar Jayapura yang mereka usahakan mendekati 300 ha., sedang jumlah perusahaan yang sampai th. 1973 aktif sebanyak 19 buah dengan kapasitas produksi rata2 setahun 3,000 m3 kayu gergajian. Berapa jumlah perusahaan semacam ini diseluruh Irian Jaya penulis belum memperoleh data2-nya. Namun peranan mereka didalam usaha penggergajian kayu tidak dapat dikatakan kecil malahan dalam batas2 tertentu merupakan saingan bagi perusahaan daerah Kehutanan, FUNDWI-11 maupun Saw-mill<sub>2</sub> yang dimiliki Dinas Kehutanan. Kemudian ditinjau dari sudut bentuk usaha, maka penggergajian non mekanis tadi adalah merupakan usaha yang tergolong padat-karya. Dengan demikian bila usaha semacam ini diperketat pemberian Hak Pemungutan Hasil-Hutan-nya, maka tampaknya kurang bijaksana, sebab justru perusahaan2 tadi termasuk penghisap tenaga kerja yang banyak.

### Organisasi Kehutanan

Bila dimuka dikemukakan Potensi Hutan Irian Jaya, kemudian usaha2 yang dilakukan kehutanan beserta usaha2 swasta, maka patutlah pula ditinjau organisasi kehutanan di Irian Jaya pada waktu ini. Dengan serba sedikit dibicarakan-nya hal ini berarti pula dapat meneliti perbandingan skill yang tersedia sesuai dengan organisasinya serta volume aktifitas yang harus ditanggulangi.

Sebagaimana diketahui otonomisasi Propinsi Irian Jaya dibentuk dengan Undang2 No. 12 th. 1969. Didalam pembentukan itu disebutkan beberapa Dinas yang harus ada sebagai unsur pemerintah otonom. Dinas2 tersebut adalah Pertanian, Kesehatan, PUT, Sosial, P & K dan Kehutanan. Diantara dinas2 tadi, maka Dinas Kehutanan tingkat otonomnya hanya sampai pada tk. I atau Propinsi, tidak sampai ke tingkat Kabupaten. Salah satu sebab dari keadaan itu adalah pertimbangan intensitas pekerjaan, pengelolaan dan pengusahaan hutan. Bilamana perlu dalam satu Kabupaten dapat terdiri dari beberapa wilayah Kesatuan Pemangkuan yang dalam bentuk serta formasinya sejajar dengan dinas2 tingkat Kabupaten.

Di Irian Jaya pada waktu ini terbagi dalam delapan wilayah Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan, yaitu :

1. Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan Jayapura & Peg. Jayawijaya
2. Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan Paniai
3. Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan Iapen-Waropen
4. Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan Teluk Cenderawasih
5. Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan Manokwari
6. Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan Sorong
7. Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan Fakfak
8. Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan Merauke

Eselon berikutnya dibawah Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan adalah Bagian Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan dan Resort Polisi Hutan. Untuk yang terakhir ini baru beberapa wilayah saja memilikinya. Khusus untuk unit2 kerja biasa ditunjuk juga kepala2 unit.

Ditingkat Propinsi Kepala Dinas Kehutanan dibantu oleh Sekretariat Dinas, kemudian dalam hal tehnis dibantu oleh Kepala2 Seksi Tehnik Umum, Seksi Pemasaran & Pengusahaan Hasil-Hutan, Seksi Pembinaan Hutan, Seksi Perencanaan Penelitian Pendidikan Kehutanan. Masing2 Seksi membawahi Sub2 Seksi.

Susunan organisasi yang tersebut diatas diisi oleh tenaga2 yang dipersiapkan untuk itu. Namun didalam kenyataannya pada waktu ini terdapat beberapa hal yang dirasakan dan dilihat kurang sesuai dengan kebutuhannya.

#### Unsur pimpinan

Menurut jenjang yang pantas dan sesuai dengan kwantitas kerja, kualitas masalah yang patut ditanggulangi maka jabatan2 Kepala Seksi, Kepala Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan sepatasnya diisi oleh sarjana/akademisi. Bilamana diisi karena terpaksa oleh tenaga berpendidikan khusus menengah kehutanan, maka patut dipikirkan untuk ditingkatkan pengetahuan, ketrampilan dan kemampuan managemennya. Pada waktu ini ternyata jenjang yang disebutkan diatas tidak terisi oleh sarjana/akademisi itu.

#### Unsur pelaksana tehnis lapangan

Sebagaimana jenjang diatas tadi, maka unsur pelaksana harus diisi oleh tenaga2 yang telah mengalami pendidikan khusus, baik untuk tingkat



menengah (Kepala Bagian Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan) maupun untuk tingkat Resort oleh pendidikan kursus. Pada waktu ini tampaknya unsur pelaksana yang sesuai dengan kuantitas, kualitas masalah yang dihadapi belum cukup. Apalagi bila dilihat dari perkembangan kemajuan sekarang.

Dengan organisasi serta keadaan pejabat2 unsur yang disebutkan diatas, maka patutlah kiranya dipikirkan usaha pemecahannya. Prospek Hutan Irian Jaya banyak tergantung pula dari tenaga2 yang menempati posisi organisasi kehutanan tadi. Dengan perkataan lain Prospek Hutan Irian Jaya akan baik, bila unsur2 tadi diatas juga dapat terpecahkan. Khususnya juga yang sesuai dengan perkembangan teknologi modern sekarang.

### Masalah2 Hutan dan Kehutanan

Dimuka telah dikemukakan, bahwa luas Hutan Irian Jaya 31,5 juta ha. antaranya 4 - 5 juta ha. hutan produksi. Juga dimuka telah dikemukakan, bahwa hutan daerah tropis senantiasa heterogen, terutama hutan tropika basah. Keadaan ini juga terdapat di Irian Jaya. Namun begitu tidaklah pula dapat disamakan dengan hutan dipulau lain, khususnya Kalimantan atau Sumatra.

Didalam pengusahaan hutan di Irian Jaya terdapat beberapa masalah yang dihadapi antara lain :

#### a. Masalah teknis

Heterogenitas jenis kayu di hutan, tofografi daratan Irian Jaya pada mana tidak banyak sungai2 yang dapat dilayari atau digunakan sebagai tempat lalu-lintas pengangkutan kayu menyebabkan pembukaan hutan membutuhkan prasarana dan infra-struktur yang lengkap dan berat. Berlainan sekali dengan apa yang ada di Kalimantan dan Sumatra. Dengan demikian modal yang diperlukan bagi perintisan usaha yang pada umumnya memakan waktu 2 s/d 3 tahun itu sangat besar. Potensi Hutan dan gambaran tofografi yang dimuka telah disebutkan memberikan gambaran jelas mengenai hal tersebut.

Perhitungan kemampuan modal yang harus dikeluarkan bagi pengusahaan hutan di Irian Jaya merupakan dasar utama sebelum bergerak. Tampaknya perhitungan-perhitungan diatas didalam pengusahaan hutan Irian Jaya belum mencapai

taraf ekonomis perdagangan (terlalu meminta penanaman modal yang besar) dan itulah pula mungkin yang menyebabkan para pemohon Hak Pengusahaan Hutan belum melangkah lebih jauh dalam membuka hutan Irian Jaya. Risiko uang tertanam lama tampaknya menyebabkan para pengusaha ragu2 untuk berusaha melaksanakan usaha dibidang kehutanan, khususnya di Irian Jaya.

b. Masalah hukum

Hutan2 di Jawa hampir seluruhnya telah dikukuhkan sebagai hutan negara, sedangkan di Irian Jaya baru saja dirintis. Bila hutan berada ditempat yang tidak ada penduduknya, maka persoalan hak adat/ulayat tidak ada. Didalam hal ini dapat begitu saja dilaksanakan pengukuhan nya.

Adalah hal yang agak rumit pengukuhan hutan yang kebetulan berada di dekat2 kampung. Disini akan menjadi proses yang meminta kebijaksanaan dan keuangan. Prosesnya jadi masalah yang pada umumnya dibutuhkan waktu yang lama. Pengetrapan Undang2 Pokok Agraria merupakan jalan pembuka disamping penjelasan-penjelasan patut dikemukakan berdasarkan ketentuan kekayaan alam dikuasai oleh negara.

Dalam hubungan dengan masalah pengukuhan hutan, Dinas Kehutanan Propinsi Irian Jaya telah menyusun rencana pengukuhan hutan sbb. :

1. Pegunungan Cycloop (Jayapura) luas 25,000 ha. dengan urgensi perlindungan tata air, tanah. Yang sudah dikukuhkan 4,250 ha. dengan SK. Gib. tgl. 10 September 1963 No. 44/GIB/63.
2. Tor-Biri Sarmi luas 110,000 ha. urgensi pencadangan karena adanya jenis Agathis dan kayu berharga lainnya.
3. Memberamo (Sarmi-Waropen) 60,000 ha. urgensi pencadangan hydrologi dan produksi.
4. Peg. Doom 50,000 ha. urgensi Agathis dan kayu lain produksi.
5. Sungai Damar (Wandamen) Lk. 16,000 ha. urgensi Agathis dan kayu lain untuk produksi.
6. Pedalaman Nabire lk. 290,000 ha. urgensi produksi dan hydrologi.

7. Yapen-Timur 16,000 ha. urgensi Agathis, produksi dan hutan lindung.
8. Meos-Noem 8,000 ha. urgensi produksi dan lindung.
9. Daerah Manokwari 10,000 untuk produksi dan hydrologi.
10. Dataran Arfak 75,000 ha. untuk produksi.
11. Kebar, luas 140,000 ha. untuk industri Araucaria.
12. Sausapor Sorong 16,000 ha. untuk produksi.
13. Sorong Klamono 180,000 ha. untuk hutan lindung dan produksi.
14. Salawati 44,000 ha. untuk produksi.
15. Muturi Mapar Bintuni 100,000 ha. untuk produksi dan hutan lindung.
16. Agonda-Aroba 35,000 ha. untuk produksi.
17. Wagura 9,000 ha. untuk jenis Agathis dan Araucaria.
18. Bomberai Selatan 980,000 ha. untuk produksi dan hutan lindung.
19. Bintuni 80,000 ha. urgensi produksi Mangrove.
20. Beriat 3,500 ha. untuk produksi dan hutan Agathis.
21. Wasur 120,000 ha. urgensi produksi.

Luas diatas merupakan taksiran yang dalam pelaksanaannya diperlukan survey, pemetaan khusus. Bila pengukuhan telah dilakukan, maka pemangkuannya akan lebih mudah. Hingga saat ini luas hutan yang telah dikukuhkan baru mencapai jumlah 170,330 ha. Jumlah yang tidak sebanding dengan luas hutan yang ada di Irian Jaya.

Masalah pengukuhan ini terutama sekali perlu mendapat perhatian terlebih dahulu terhadap hutan2 yang sangat urgen bagi perlindungan terhadap bahaya tanah longsor, banjir atau kekurangan air. Yang terakhir ini terutama yang dekat dengan kota2 seperti Jayapura-Sentani.

Dalam hal pengukuhan hutan ini sepantasnya dari luar hutan Irian Jaya yang 31,5 juta ha. 50 s/d 60% dikukuhkan, baik untuk hutan produksi, hutan lindung ataupun untuk cadangan.

Selain persoalan hak adat, pengukuhan hutan, maka masalah pengamanan hutan dan peredarannya perlu ditetapkan dalam peraturan sebagaimana yang ditemui di Jawa.



### c. Masalah biaya

Kunci pemecahan berbagai masalah dalam pengusahaan hutan adalah biaya. Bila tenaga cukup dan posisi2 telah diisi sesuai kebutuhannya sedangkan biaya tidak ada, maka dapat dipastikan usaha akan gagal dan macet. Begitulah pula didalam mengaktifkan usaha2 yang dilakukan oleh Dinas Kehutanan di Irian Jaya sangat ditentukan oleh adanya biaya, yang tentu saja harus dibarengi dengan administrasi yang baik dan tertib. Sebab bila biaya disediakan tetapi adminis- trasinya kurang baik, maka dapat pula dipastikan apa yang diinginkan dan di- harapkan menjadi kacau, sulit dicapai.

Menurut bahan2 yang diperoleh dari Dinas Kehutanan Propinsi Irian Ja- ya anggaran yang disediakan untuk berbagai usaha kehutanan terus menerus turun akibatnya rencana2 yang telah disusun serta peralatannya tidak dapat bekerja sesuai dengan kemampuannya.

Lalu apakah urgensinya Dinas Kehutanan (bukan perusahaan) langsung aktif dalam pengeksploitasian hutan melalui proyek2 saw-mill sementara modal yang tersedia tidak cukup terjamin? Apakah pemasaran produksi juga terjamin menguntungkan? Menurut penulis jawaban atas pertanyaan2 ini patut dipikirkan sebelum terlanjur modal tertanam. Sebab justru dari sini dapat diperoleh gam- baran kemungkinan2 masa datang bagi hutan dan kehutanan di Irian Jaya.

Apa yang dikemukakan diatas tadi sebagai masalah pada dasarnya hanya sebagian dari apa yang mesti dihadapi oleh kehutanan dan para pengusaha swasta.

Terlepas dari apa yang disebutkan diatas, maka persoalan keahlian dan tenaga pelaksana eksploitasi juga termasuk sebagian pemegang kunci. Eksploita- si hutan meminta syarat khusus, misalnya tenaga2 ahli pembuatan jalur2 jalan angkutan kayu, penebangan, penyaratan kayu, penyiapan kayu untuk ekspor. Pada umumnya tenaga2 ahli yang disebutkan diatas tidak dimiliki oleh para pemohon Hak Pengusahaan Hutan, kecuali perusahaan asing yang umumnya telah jauh menyil- apkan diri.

### Prospek Hutan Irian Jaya

Pada pembukaan tulisan ini dikemukakan, bahwa prospek hutan Irian Jaya tidak terlepas dari prospek perdagangan kayu di Indonesia, baik untuk pasaran

dalam negeri maupun untuk luar negeri. Dengan perkataan lain prospek masa datang pengusahaan hutan Irian Jaya tidak dapat dilepaskan dari kemungkinan<sup>2</sup> pemasaran kayu dunia pada umumnya.

Pada pokoknya bergerak dalam produksi hasil-hutan sebaiknya lebih dahulu mengetahui kemungkinan pemasaran dari kayu yang diproduksi. Sebab kayu sebagai hasil produksi meminta perlakuan yang cepat. Bila tidak, maka proses pembusukan yang menurunkan kwalita berarti menurunkan harga senantiasa mengancam. Risiko kerugian busuknya kayu senantiasa mengancam.

Untuk dapat memperoleh gambaran masa datangnya hutan Irian Jaya, maka perlu diketahui beberapa hal :

1. Besarnya biaya produksi per m<sup>3</sup> kayu
2. Pemasaran kayu didalam dan diluar negeri bagaimana
3. Jenis atau species hasil-hutan Irian Jaya yang laku dan dibutuhkan konsumen

### Biaya produksi

Sejak Irian Jaya kembali didalam wilayah kekuasaan RI terdapat perbedaan uang dan nilainya dengan daerah Indonesia lainnya. Perbedaan itu sedemikian rupa sehingga usaha dibidang produksi hasil hutan yang merupakan penanaman modal itu akan lambat memberikan keuntungan atau lambat terputarnya uang.

Sebab utama adalah adanya kenyataan, bahwa pengusahaan hutan pada umumnya membutuhkan waktu minimal setahun persiapan (survey), setahun atau dua tahun merintis pembukaan prasarana jalan, jaring<sup>2</sup>/cabang jalan angkutan. Tahun ketiga baru menghasilkan berupa pengembalian modal, baru pada tahun kelima pengembalian modal selesai dan mulai memberikan keuntungan.

Volume uang akan bertambah besar didalam pengusahaan dengan adanya kenyataan, bahwa upah buruh, harga bahan kebutuhan hidup sehari-hari sedemikian tinggi dibanding dengan apa yang ada dan terdapat didaerah Indonesia lainnya. Dengan adanya upah yang tinggi berarti pula terpaksa harga jual kayu tinggi bila masih ingin diperoleh keuntungan.

Untuk memperoleh gambaran besarnya biaya eksploitasi, maka disini dikutipkan kalkulasi harga kayu gergajian yang dikeluarkan Dinas Kehutanan Irian

Jaya tgl. 1 Maret 1972 dalam instruksi penurunan harganya kepada para Kepala Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan, standar kayu yang dipergunakan berukuran 5 x 10 x 400 cm sbb. :

A. Harga di log-pond bagi kayu Matoa-group	IBRp. 100,--
- angkutan per-meter kubik ke Saw-mill	" 52,50
Bahan baku loco saw-mill	IBRp. 152,50
- rendement rata2 40%, jadi rata2 untuk 1 m3 kayu gergajian dibutuhkan $2\frac{1}{2}$ m3 logs seharga :	
2,5 x IBRp. 152,50	: IBRp. 381,25
- Biaya untuk menggergaji kira2	
6 x IBRp. 80,--	: " 480,--
(data2 PKN th. 1962 dengan nilai uang diperkirakan 6 x nilai sekarang).	
- Marge 10%	: " 86,12
Jadi harga penjualan loco TPK peng- gergajian IBRp.	: IBRp. 947,37
atau dibulatkan <u>IBRp. 950,-- ( Rp. 17,955,-- )</u>	

B. Bagi jenis kayu besi (Instia) diperhitungkan sbb. :

Bahan baku logs $2\frac{1}{2}$ m3 a' IBRp. 150,--	: IBRp. 375,--
Biaya angkutan ke Saw-mill a' IBRp. 80,--	: " 200,--
Biaya menggergaji kayu per-meter kubik	
6 x IBRp. 110,-- (data2 spt. matoa-group)	: " 660,--
Marge 10%	: " 123,50
Harga kayu loco TPK penggergajian	: IBRp. 1.358,50
dibulatkan IBRp. 1.350,-- (Rp. 25.515,--)	

Kalkulasi harga diatas didasarkan perkembangan nilai uang IBRp. yang berubah dan penjelasan mengenai ini dikemukakan oleh Kepala Dinas Kehutanan dalam surat instruksinya kepada para Kepala Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan di Irian Jaya sbb. :



Berdasarkan SK. GIB No. 27/GIB/1967 tgl. 17 April 1967 diberikan suatu "insentive - eksport" dengan kurs SPE 1 US \$ : 10 IIRp. dengan ketentuan 50% sebagai perangsang eksportir guna meningkatkan produksinya. Sedang kurs sebelumnya 1 US \$ : 3,6 IIRp. (masih berlaku karantina moneter) dan kurs BE sejak 17 April 1967 1 US \$ : Rp. 320,-- dan DPA 1 US \$ : Rp. 378,--

Adapun harga pembelian kayu bulat kasar pada masa tersebut ditetapkan IIRp.85,-- bagi garis-tengah 60 cm keatas dan IIRp.50,-- untuk 59 cm kebawah per m<sup>3</sup> (Hoppus). Produsen diberi perangsang barang<sup>2</sup> inducement (berupa pakaian, tembakau, zink atap rumah, motor tempel dll. kebutuhan sehari-hari) dengan perhitungan harga (HPI) kurs SPE 1 US \$ : 10 IIRp., sedang barang<sup>2</sup> diluaran harganya menurut kurs 1 US \$ : Rp.378,-- atau IIRp.38,-- (dasar kalkulasi).

Kemudian dengan keluarnya SK. GIB No. 57/GIB/1969 tgl. 24 April 1969, SPE - terpimpin (40%) di kurs US \$ : 10 IIRp. (dibagi-bagi 5% untuk PEMDA Propinsi, 5% untuk Kabupaten dan 30% penggunaannya ditentukan oleh PEMDA Irian Jaya sendiri), sedang SPE perangsang yang bebas hanya 60% tetapi dengan kurs 1 US \$ : 30 IIRp. Dengan demikian perangsang dengan barang<sup>2</sup> inducement ex devisa export dengan 1 US \$ : 10 IIRp. kepada karyawan/penebang kayu agaknya sudah semakin sulit dilaksanakan. Maka sebagai kompensasi kini harga kayu harus dinaikan menjadi IIRp.170,--/m<sup>3</sup> (Hoppus) dan biaya loading lk. IIRp.30,--/m<sup>3</sup> bagi kayu diameter 60 cm keatas dan IIRp.85,--/m<sup>3</sup> (Hoppus) untuk diameter 59 cm kebawah : jadi harga kayu pembelian FOB IIRp.200,--/m<sup>3</sup> (Hoppus) untuk 60 cm keatas dan IIRp.115,--/m<sup>3</sup> bagi diameter 59 cm kebawah.

Selanjutnya dengan Per. Pem. No. 16 th. 1970 dan Kep. Pres No. 31 th. 1970, sejak 17 April 1970 kurs resmi 1 US \$ : 20 IIRp. dan 1 IIRp. : 18,9 Rp. (SPE dihapus). Keadaan ini selanjutnya dibarengi lagi dengan devaluasi US \$ / Rupiah, mengakibatkan perobahan kurs dari 1 US \$ : 380 Rp. menjadi 1 US \$ : 417 Rp."

Demikian penjelasan tersebut dan selanjutnya diinstruksikan kepada para Kepala Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan untuk mengembalikan harga biaya kayu peng-

hara kepada situasi th. 1967 sebagaimana dapat dilihat dalam kalkulasi harga tadi.

Kalkulasi yang dikemukakan dan dikutipkan diatas diperuntukan bagi eksploitasi yang dilakukan oleh Kehutanan, sedangkan bila eksploitasi oleh swasta, maka masih harus ditambah pengeluaran Iuran Hasil Hutan (royalties) untuk tiap m3 yang diproduksi, baik dalam bentuk logs atau bila sudah jadi kayu gergajian.

### Pasaran (Marketing)

Masalah besarnya biaya yang harus ditanam, besarnya biaya eksploitasi pada dasarnya tidaklah menjadi faktor yang menentukan besar kecilnya minat berusaha dibidang hasil-hutan. Kunci utama dari usaha yang bersifat produksi adalah persoalan pemasaran (marketing). Bila pasaran terang, menggembirakan, dimana kayu cepat laku dan diperoleh keuntungan, maka langsung minat pengusaha hutan menjadi besar.

Dalam hubungan inilah sebagaimana disebutkan pada awal tulisan ini bahwa Potensi Hutan Irian Jaya tidak dapat dipisahkan dengan Potensi2 Hutan Indonesia didaerah lainnya, begitu pula tidak dapat dipisahkan dengan pemasaran kayu didalam dan diluar negeri (pasaran kayu dunia).

Luas Hutan Indonesia yang direncanakan sebagai Hutan Produksi 28 juta ha. dengan taksiran produksi per tahun 19,888,000 m3 dan dari jumlah ini dicadangkan untuk ekspor 16 juta m3/tahun. Ini berarti kayu yang diperuntukan dalam negeri 3,888,000 m3/tahun. Bila saja dari rencana diatas dipakai patokan, maka patutlah diketahui bahwa untuk th. 1971 ekspor kayu Indonesia telah mencapai 10,097,861 m3 dengan nilai US \$164.559.000,-- dengan pembagian jenis2 volume kayu yang diekspor terdiri dari :

- kayu meranti	62,5 %
- kayu jati	0,4 %
- kayu ramin	10,4 %
- kayu Agathis	2,8 %
- lain-lain	1,6 %
- campuran	22,3 %

Melihat prosentase volume diatas, jelaslah pasaran kayu terutama dipegang oleh kayu meranti, yaitu kayu yang hanya terdapat di Kalimantan dan Sumatra. Dari jumlah ekspor tersebut diatas ternyata pula ekspor dilakukan dalam bentuk logs, sedang pengimpor utama kayu Indonesia adalah Jepang. Didaerah Asia Tenggara kini ternyata Indonesia termasuk pemberi utama ke Jepang sebagaimana dapat dilihat dari angka ini :

- Indonesia	8,130,302 m3
- Philipina	5,704,496 m3
- Sabah	4,124,766 m3
- Serawak	1,453,938 m3
- Malaysia Barat	147,404 m3
- Lain-lain	618,890 m3

Bila kayu Indonesia terutama kayu meranti, maka demikian pula halnya dari negara2 tersebut diatas dimana kebetulan bahwa justru dinegara2/pulau2 yang berdekatan tadi ditumbuhi jenis2 kayu Dipterocarpaceae, dimana salah satu jenis utamanya adalah meranti (*Shorea*).

Sekalipun jumlah ekspor kayu Indonesia ditahun-tahun terakhir ini menempati peranan utama ke Jepang tidaklah berarti pasaran kayu Indonesia senantiasa baik di Jepang. Malah ada kecenderungan bila Indonesia hanya menggantungkan diri kesatu negara pengimpor kayu, maka suatu saat bisa menanggung risiko berat bila negara tersebut menderita depresi. Hal ini telah pernah terjadi ketika adanya devaluasi US \$ dan depresi di Jepang. Akibat keadaan ini hampir 1 juta m3 kayu di Kalimantan Timur dan beberapa daerah lainnya terancam busuk karena tidak laku.

Negara2 Philipina, Malaysia, Sabah pada waktu ini telah beralih kepada usaha industrialisasi, baik dalam bentuk usaha penggergajian maupun plywood (kayu lapis) atau industri lainnya yang menggunakan bahan baku kayu. Ekspor logs akan terus menerus mereka kurangi, sehingga Philipina merencanakan hanya 20% saja dari kayu produksinya diekspor dalam bentuk logs.

Bagi Indonesia sendiri sebenarnya haruslah mengalihkan pula aktifitas pengusahaan hutannya dari bentuk eksploitasi untuk ekspor logs kearah industrialisasi. Didalam hal ini bila dilihat dari banyaknya penggergajian kayu



di Irian Jaya yang didirikan oleh Kehutanan, maka pendirian atas dasar itu diletakan. Namun begitu ternyata bahwa usaha eksploitasi dalam bentuk penyediaan kayu untuk ekspor logs lebih mudah dari pada mendirikan industri. Belum pula lebih banyak dibutuhkan penanaman modal yang besar dan tenaga2 ahli khusus. Dimana yang terakhir ini di Indonesia masih kurang.

Bila diatas dikemukakan, bahwa negara2 tetangga di Asia Tenggara mengalihkan usaha ekspor kayunya dari bentuk logs kebentuk telah diproses, maka ini berarti bahwa kemungkinan pemasaran kayu Indonesia dalam bentuk logs untuk jangka waktu tertentu akan baik (saingan tidak banyak). Namun demikian keadaan ini tidak dapat dilanjutkan terus, mengingat risiko yang mungkin tiba2 muncul bila ada depresi dinegara pengimpor. Begitu pula ekspor dalam bentuk logs kayu kita jauh meminta volume transport dalam mana Indonesia belum memiliki armada kapal pengangkut kayu, dengan kata lain banyak devisa keluar bagi usaha transport (mengurangi harga jual kayu). Kini hampir seluruh ekspor kayu Indonesia pengangkutannya dilakukan oleh kapal2 negara pengimpor. Kondisi yang terakhir ini juga memiliki risiko kemungkinan permainan tidak wajar. Misalnya saja kapal2 seharusnya sudah tiba mengangkut kayu tetapi kemudian terlambat, maka risiko kayu busuk, turun kwalita sangat besar. Belum pula bila ada gerakan2 pemogokan buruh kapal sebagaimana sering terjadi dibeberapa negara yang banyak memiliki armada kapal, termasuk di Jepang.

Dari apa yang dikemukakan tadi jelas bahwa ekspor kayu logs lebih mudah dari usaha industrialisasi, namun jauh lebih baik bila ekspor dalam bentuk kayu telah diproses. Ekspor logs cepat menguntungkan namun terintai sewaktu-waktu oleh risiko.

Kemudian mengenai Potensi Hutan Irian Jaya, khususnya dalam bentuk usaha eksploitasi hutan untuk ekspor logs agaknya dengan membandingkan dengan daerah2 lainnya tidaklah terlalu cepat memberikan harapan. Dan keadaan ini dikarenakan beberapa hal antara lain :

1. Kayu dari Irian Jaya terlalu banyak jenisnya dan belum banyak dikenal dalam perdagangan kayu dunia maupun dalam negeri. Pemecahannya sangat diperlukan adanya promosi. Untuk ini diperlukan waktu dan biaya yang tidak kecil mengingat saingan jenis2 kayu lain dari

daerah Indonesia lainnya tidak jauh berbeda dengan kayu Irian Jaya.

2. Keadaan posisi Irian Jaya yang jauh dari negara konsumen menambah beratnya bersaing, sebab berarti biaya transport lebih tinggi.
3. Keadaan tofografi Irian Jaya sangat berlainan dan lebih sulit dibanding dengan Sumatra atau Kalimantan, sehingga pengusahaan hutan di Irian Jaya jauh lebih meminta modal dibanding dengan dua pulau yang disebutkan tadi.

Tiga hal yang disebutkan diatas mungkin dapat terpecahkan bila sekiranya ada jenis kayu Irian Jaya yang menonjol dan sangat dibutuhkan oleh dunia. Jenis itu tampaknya hanya dimiliki oleh kayu besi (Instia) yang sangat baik untuk konstruksi berat dan sangat awet.

#### Pasaran kayu dalam negeri

Bagaimana pula kemungkinan pemasaran kayu Irian Jaya didalam negeri? Bagaimana pula kemungkinan pemasaran kayu didalam negeri secara keseluruhan? Jawaban ini sebenarnya harus merupakan titik tolak utama sebelum mengarahkan perhatian kepasaran luar negeri.

Apa yang menjadi dasar pikiran diatas adalah adanya kenyataan, bahwa penduduk Indonesia pada waktu ini sudah dapat dikatakan padat, mencapai jumlah lebih dari 120 juta jiwa. Dengan jumlah ini sudah dapat dipastikan, bahwa sebenarnya bila daya beli rakyat Indonesia sendiri cukup tinggi, sehingga mereka mampu menyisihkan uangnya bagi pembangunan rumah, maka mereka adalah penyerap utama dari kayu negaranya. Gambaran untuk ini dapat kita kutip dari majalah TEMPO tgl. 15 Juli 1972 diruang Fokus Kita demikian :

"Menurut data yang dikemukakan oleh Direktorat Jenderal Cipta Karya Departemen PUTL hanya 5 - 10% rumah yang ada di Indonesia yang dapat digolongkan sebagai rumah permanen. Selebihnya 50-60% semi permanen sementara 20-30% termasuk non permanen. Jika kenaikan penduduk Indonesia tetap sekitar 2,3% dimana 20% diantara penduduk Indonesia hidup dikota-kota sedang rata2 keluarga di Indonesia 4,3 orang maka

diperkirakan dalam 20 tahun mendatang ini kebutuhan perumahan di Indonesia adalah 1,5 juta buah per tahun dari jumlah mana 300,000 buah diperlukan dikota-kota. Berdasarkan perhitungan kasar ini, maka Ditjen Cipta Karya Departemen PUIL mendapat kesimpulan bahwa untuk memenuhi kebutuhan perumahan bagi penduduk yang bertambah sekarang diperlukan 600,000 buah rumah setahun. Untuk menanggulangi kekurangan perumahan sekarang ini perlu dibangun 300,000 buah rumah setahun sedang untuk meningkatkan kondisi perumahan dari tingkat yang sekarang ketingkat yang bisa digolongkan permanen harus dibangun 600,000 rumah kategori ini setahun."

Bila apa yang dikemukakan diatas mendekati kebenaran dan bilamana saja rakyat yang membutuhkan rumah itu memiliki kemampuan, begitu pula bila saja untuk setiap rumah dibutuhkan kayu minimal 3 m3 (bahan2 lain bukan dari kayu), maka setiap tahun dibutuhkan kayu 4,500,000 m3 gergajian. Ini berarti 11,250,000 m3 kayu dalam bentuk logs. Agaknya perlu pula dikemukakan, bahwa umumnya untuk sebuah rumah dibutuhkan 5 m3 kayu gergajian. Bila saja dilihat dari jumlah logs yang disebutkan diatas, maka itu berarti lebih dari setengah produksi kayu dari hutan produksi 28 juta ha. diserap untuk perumahan rakyat.

Dan bila diperhitungkan pula dengan kebutuhan pembangunan kantor2, pelabuhan2, kapal2, meuble, pertukangan, kertas, plywood, kayu bakar, peti2 dan segala macam pengepakan barang maka hampir dan mungkin seluruh kayu produksi hutan Indonesia dapat diserap oleh kebutuhan dalam negeri. Kapan ini akan terjadi tampaknya masih lama.

Kemudian dari pada itu mengingat penyebaran penduduk Indonesia tidak merata, pada mana sebagian besar berada dipulau Jawa, maka kebutuhan kayu terbesar berada disana. Begitu pula ditempat-tempat lain yang padat penduduknya, misalnya Sulawesi Selatan, Sulawesi Utara, khususnya dikota-kota.

Bila dilihat dari kondisi Irian Jaya dengan Potensi Hutan yang ada pada mana ekspor logs agak berat bersaing, maka aktifitas usaha penggergajian dan industri lain dari hasil hutan merupakan jalan yang mungkin memberi harapan. Namun bila diperhitungkan kembali dengan kenyataan2 biaya eksploitasi yang tinggi sebagaimana disebutkan pada kalkulasi biaya dimuka, maka hal inipun



tampaknya sangat berat. Belum pula bila dilihat bahwa biaya transport kayu tidak kecil. Sebagai contoh, bahwa perusahaan pelayaran PELNI menetapkan biaya 1 m3 kayu ke Ambon dari Jayapura IERp.840,-- (Rp.15.876,--), Jayapura-Ujungpandang IERp.1.025,-- (Rp.23.625,--).

Menurut bahan yang ada harga kayu besi (Instia) di Ujungpandang yang ditetapkan oleh Dinas Kehutanan Sulawesi Selatan tgl. 12 Nopember 1971 dengan SK. No. 2990/VI/8/DKPSS sebesar Rp.30.000,--, kayu kelas II (matoa group) Rp.20.000,--, dan lebih rendah. Diperkirakan untuk kayu besi dipasaran Rp.37.500,-- (ketika tulisan ini dibuat kabarnya harga kayu di Ujungpandang/Surabaya khusus kayu besi telah naik, namun karena ongkos transport dan biaya eksploitasi naik, maka posisinya masih tetap sama).

Kini bila kayu besi dikirimkan ke Ujungpandang dari Jayapura (misalnya produksi FUNDWI-11), maka biaya eksploitasi Rp.25.515,-- (harga loco TPK) ditambah biaya transport kapal Rp.23.625,-- berjumlah Rp.49.140,--. Dengan jumlah ini tampak jelas usaha kearah pemasaran kayu Ujungpandang sukar dilakukan. Apalagi bila dihitung dengan angkutan truck, upah OPP/OPT pelabuhan.

Dengan gambaran2 diatas tadi, maka jelaslah usaha pengeksploitasian hutan Irian Jaya nampaknya belum menggembirakan bila beberapa pemecahan tidak dilakukan. Begitu pula bila tidak ada satu tindakan pengarahan dan pencarian pemasaran yang terjamin. Industri pulp oleh Chuetsu & Marubei Iida di Nabire tampaknya merupakan satu2-nya gambaran yang dapat memberikan harapan. Namun jadikah mereka menanam modal disini? Jawaban mengenai ini agaknya tidak dapat diberikan disini.

### Kesimpulan :

1. Hutan Irian Jaya memiliki potensi yang cukup banyak dan baik namun sayang bahwa jenis2 kayunya masih harus dipromosikan agar dikenal didunia perdagangan kayu baik nasional maupun internasional. Dengan kata lain masih dibutuhkan waktu Hutan Irian Jaya dapat memberikan sumber penghasilan daerah yang berarti.
2. Hendaknya usaha2 eksploitasi ataupun sawmill yang didirikan orientasi pertama kepada kebutuhan lokal (daya hisapnya bagaimana), disamping promosi

keluar dilakukan. Jumlah produksi kayu se Irian sebulan sebesar 1,750 m<sup>3</sup> (kehutanan) dan swasta lk. 500 m<sup>3</sup> nampaknya terlalu besar bila dibanding dengan kebutuhan (lk. 1,500 m<sup>3</sup>/bulan). Khusus di Jayapura sebagai penghisap kayu terbesar rata2 sebulan 600 s/d 700 m<sup>3</sup>, tetapi kayu masih tersisa.

3. Pengusahaan hutan di Irian Jaya baru akan memberikan harapan baik bila situasi moneter dapat memungkinkan biaya eksploitasi cukup rendah dan daya beli rakyat meningkat.
4. Guna menunjang terwujudnya harapan kayu menjadi sumber penghasilan daerah dalam waktu cepat, maka perlu dipikirkan kemungkinan adanya wajib angkut kayu oleh PELNI atau PT. Jayawijaya Shipping Line terhadap kapal2-nya yang kosong kedaerah lain dengan biaya transport yang masih memungkinkan pedagang kayu menerima laba sekalipun sedikit (lebih baik angkut kayu dari pada kosong).
5. Orientasi pemasaran kayu ke Australia (negara konsumen terdekat dengan Irian Jaya) menjadi usaha promosi utama.
6. Bila waktunya tiba pengusaha2 kayu bergerak di Irian Jaya, maka perlu penyempurnaan aparat2 kehutanan di Irian Jaya, baik kualitas maupun kuantitas. Up grading serta kursus2 penjenjangan karyawan seharusnya kontinu dilakukan (mempersiapkan diri).

KEMAJUAN INVENTARISASI HUTAN  
DIWILAYAH PROPINSI IRIAN JAYA

No. Urut	L o k a s i	Tafsiran Luas (Ha.)	Kelompok Hutan yang diinventari- sasi dan tahun opname
1.	<u>Warsamson dsk.</u> <u>Kab. Sorong</u>	47,380	- Dorohum-Makbon (1952)-KM. 12 (1955)-Sausapor (1956)-Klasa- man (1957)-Warsamson (1960), (1968)
2.	<u>Manokwari dsk.</u> <u>Kab. Manokwari</u>	68,738	- Prafi Sel. (1954)-Maripi (1955) Oransbari Ut.dan Sel.(1956)- Puncak Bonay (1956)-Auri (1956) Andai, Arfai, Wosi, Rondasi, Pami (1957)-Wariki, Sidoy (1958) Waryori, Prafi Ut. (1960)-War- mare (1961) Mansawui, Warbiadi, Momi, Mangopi (1963)-Andai (1967)
3.	<u>Biak - Supiori</u> <u>Kab.Tel.Cendr.</u>	96,219	- Bosnik (1959)-Supori (1963)- Wardo (1967)-Biak Timur (1969).
4.	<u>N a b i r e</u> <u>Kab. Paniai</u>	18,000	- Kali Papaya, Kali Wanggar, K. Bumi (1964)
5.	<u>Sarmi</u> <u>Kab.Jayapura</u>	67,505	- Bodom (1958)-Siduarsi Ut./Sel. (1959), Tor Apawar, Tor Wasko (1964)
6.	<u>Sekoli</u> <u>Kab.Jayapura</u>	6,400	- Sekoli (1959)
7.	<u>Holtekang,Tami,Mosso</u> <u>Kab.Jayapura</u>	10,450	- Holtekang (1954), Mosso (1955), Tami (1956)
8.	<u>Mapar - Muturi</u> <u>Kab. Manokwari</u>	20,000	- Mapar (1963)
9.	<u>P.Salawati-Batanta</u> <u>Kab. Sorong</u>	147,750	- Wailibi (1955), Kaloal (1956), Salawati (1965), (1969)
10.	<u>Bintuni-Babo</u> <u>Kab.Manokwari-Fakfak</u>	105,000	- Agonda Aroba (1966), Rintuni (1967)
11.	<u>Wasior dan Mioswar</u> <u>Kab.Manokwari</u>	76,500	- Mioswar (1955), Wasior (1967)
Jumlah dipindahkan		663,942	



No. Urut	L o k a s i	Tafsiran Luas (Ha.)	Kelompok Hutan yang diinventari- sasi dan tahun opname
	Jumlah pindahan	663,942	
12.	<u>Yapen Timur</u> Kab. Yapen Waropen	13,269	- Aisau, Sumberbaba (1960)
13.	<u>Numfor dan Miosnum</u> Kab. Tel. Cenderawasih	15,200	- Numfor (1954), Miosnum (1965)
14.	<u>Teluk Sebakor</u> Kab. Fakfak	30,000	- Teluk Sebakor (1966)
15.	<u>Pulau Adi</u> Kab. Fakfak	13,500	- Pulau Adi (1960)
16.	<u>Bombi</u> Kab. Merauke	16,000	- Bombi (1965), (1966)
17.	<u>Kebar</u> Kab. Merauke	2,388	- Kebar (1958), Aifat (1961)
J u m l a h		754,299 Ha	

Sumber : Dinas Kehutanan Propinsi Irian Jaya th. 1972.

DAFTAR PERUSAHAAN YANG PERNAH MEMPEROLEH HAK IJIN-TEBANG  
SESUAI DNG. KAP-EN NGASERECELING THN. 1951 NO.133 DAN THN. 1954 NO.94

No. Urut	Nama Pengusaha dan alamat	L o k a s i	Luas Ha.
1.	PT Bulan Purnama Cab. Fakfak Fakfak	Teluk Arguni meliputi Coa s/d Barari dan Kamuran	5,000
2.	CV. Gunung Moile Importir-Ex- portir Cab. Kab.Paniai Nabire	- Napan Saur - Pantai Anggaran Neos	3,000 2,000
3.	PT Tagor Cab. Fakfak Fakfak	Tl. Angiluli Tl. Salakiti Tl. Fatagur Tl. Togiu	3,000
4.	PT Bulan Purnama Cab. Fakfak Fakfak	Tg. Semena Tg. Wernitl Tg. Sukardi Tg. Swasac	2,000
5.	PT Bulan Purnama Cab. Fakfak	P. Api	6,000
6.	PT Bulan Purnama Cab. Fakfak	Nama Tota	2,000
7.	PT Bulan Purnama Cab. Fakfak	Tl. Arguni	5,000
8.	PT Bintuni Baru Cab. Fakfak Fakfak	Mou-Mou P. Karas - Laut	5,000
9.	PT Bintuni Baru Cab. Fakfak Fakfak	P. Matus, Tiwararuma- Tunggara	3,250
10.	PT Melati Cab. Fakfak Fakfak	Bomberai	3,000
11.	PT Melati Cab. Fakfak Fakfak	K o k a s	2,000
12.	PT Bulan Purnama Fakfak	Daerah Maras Tonggarai Distrik Fakfak	2,000
13.	PT Bintuni Baru Cab. Fakfak Fakfak	Katumi, Tl. Etna Weri	5,000
Jumlah Luas			: 47,250 Ha.

Sumber : Dinas Kehutanan Propinsi Irian Jaya.

DAFTAR PENYEBARAN EKSPORTIR KAYU INDONESIA  
DALAM TAHUN 1971

Propinsi	Banyaknya Eksportir	
<u>Sumatra :</u>		
Aceh	15	
Sumatra Utara	5	
Sumatra Barat	4	
Riau	38	
Jambi	4	
Sumatra Selatan	31	
Lampung	7	
		104
<u>DCI Jaya</u>	2	
<u>Jawa :</u>		
Jawa Tengah	8	
Jawa Timur	12	
		27
<u>P. Kalimantan :</u>		
Kal. Barat	41	
Kal. Teng.	42	
Kal. Timur	123	
Kal. Selatan	3	
		209
<u>Sulawesi :</u>		
Sulawesi Tengah	4	
Sulawesi Selatan	12	
Sulawesi Tenggara	2	
		18
Nusa Tenggara Timur	4	
Maluku	5	
Irian Jaya	1	

Kesimpulan : Dari daftar ini, maka tampaklah bahwa daerah terbesar pengusaha hutan di Kalimantan dan Sumatra. Ini berarti pula bahwa daerah tersebut benar2 memiliki Potensi Hutan yang dilihat dari berbagai sudut sangat baik. Termasuk dalam jenis kayunya.

Bila saja perusahaan2 diatas dalam waktu singkat bergerak dalam usaha2 penggergajian kayu, maka bertambah berat pula saingan bagi kayu Irian Jaya didalam negeri. Apalagi mereka dekat kepada konsumen disamping umumnya kayu daerah2 tadi telah dikenal mutu dan kualitasnya pada waktu ini.

Sumber data : Berita perdagangan, industri, pengusaha Hasil-Hutan bln. Juni 1972.  
Terbitan Dirjen Kehutan-an.



DAFTAR PERMOHONAN  
HAK PENGUSAHAAN HUTAN DI IRIAN JAYA

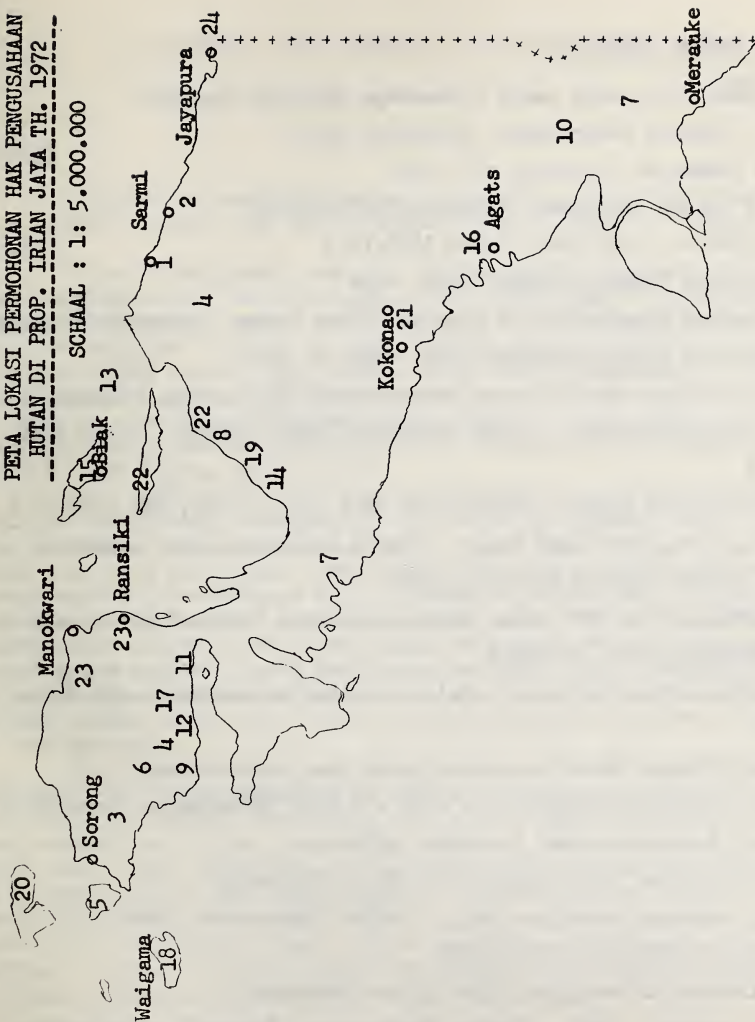
No. Urut,	Pemohon	Lokasi	Luas Ha.
1.	PT Nusantara Plywood	Sarimi antara S. Mafin-Apawar.	225,000
2.	PT Rathitara Wided	Sarmi S. Tor-Biri	100,000
3.	Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih	Warsamson-Kelagu	200,000
4.	FA. Astuty Kusno	Mamberamo-Apawar	300,000
5.	CV. Salawati	Batanta-Salawati	150,000
6.	FA. Atang	Lembah Kaibus-Klabun Teminabuan-Ayamuru	250,000
7.	PT Hasani Lumber	1. S. Kumbe/Merauke 2. Teluk Etna	200,000
8.	PT Latimojong	S. Wapoga dsk	200,000
9.	PT Bintuni Utama	Teluk Beran/Bintuni	200,000
10.	Trans Sumatra Trad. Coy	S. Digul-S. Cooks. Merauke	750,000
11.	CV.Gn. Moile	Sekitar Teluk Bintuni Utara/ Selatan	180,000
12.	Yayasan Daan Mogot	Teluk Beran	100,000
13.	PT Semey	Yapen Timur S. Mamberamo	+ 250,000
14.	Chuetsu Pulp & Maruboni Lida	Paniai/Nabire	235,000
15.	PT Sukardi	P. Biak	100,000
16.	Dana Karya	Merauke/Agats	100,000
17.	B r i m o b	Bintuni	200,000
18.	Kodam XIII/Merdeka	P. Misol	100,000
19.	Wijaya Kusuma	Waropen	100,000
20.	D.G.I.	P. Waigeo	200,000
21.	Freeport Sulphur Indonesia	Kokonau	1,000,000
22.	Green Delta	Yapen Timur & Waropen	100,000
Jumlah dipindahkan			5,140,000

No. Urut,	P e m o h o n	L o k a s i	L u a s H a.
	Jumlah pindahan		5,140,000
23.	P.D. Kehutanan Irja/PKN. Manokwari	Dataran Arfak	75,500
24.	Fundwi 11/Jayapura	Holtekang. Tami & Mosso	10,000
25.	PT Wanafiri Wilis	Hutan Aroba-S. Kuri (Utara) & Kompleks S. Bintuni S. Digul	
26.	PT Suwas	B a t a l	
J u m l a h			5,325,000

Sumber : Dinas Kehutanan Daerah Propinsi Irian Jaya.

PETA LOKASI PERMOHONAN HAK PENGUSAHAAN  
HUTAN DI PROP. IRIAN JAYA TH. 1972

SCHAAL : 1: 5.000.000



Tempat2 bernomor : Sudah ada rekomendasi/clearing areal  
dari Gubernur Kepala Daerah Prop. Irian Jaya



Daftar bacaan sumber penulisan :

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Oleh : Ir. Widajat Eddypranoto, Manokwari 1965
2. Statistik Kehutanan Indonesia th. 1969  
Terbitan : Dirjen Kehutanan, Nopember 1970 Jakarta
3. Rencana Kegiatan Eksploitasi Hutan 1972/1973  
Dinas Kehutanan Daerah Propinsi Irian Jaya
4. Scope & Prospek Sasaran2 Pokok Proyek2 Pelita Sektor Kehutanan Irian Jaya  
Dinas Kehutanan Daerah Propinsi Irian Jaya th. 1970
5. Tinjauan Kegiatan & Perkembangan Proyek Fundwi-11 Logging Holtekang &  
Saw-mill Hamadi Jayapura - Dinas Kehutanan Daerah Propinsi Irian Jaya,  
April 1972
6. The Role of Forest Based Industries in West Irian - UNO, New York 1968
7. Laporan No. 4 th. 1968 LPPK Bogor - Forest Industries And Consumption  
Oleh : M. Sinner (German Forestry Team)
8. Laporan Tahunan 1971/1972 Dinas Kehutanan Daerah Propinsi Irian Jaya
9. Masalah Perkapalan di Indonesia  
Oleh : Sadikin Djajapertjunda - Maj. : Berita Perdagangan Hasil Hutan  
Nop. 1970
10. Kemungkinan2 Ekspor Kayu Indonesia dimasa yang akan datang  
Oleh : Ir. Harsono Reksowardoyo - Maj. : Berita Perdagangan, Industri &  
Pengusahaan Hasil Hutan Th. I Januari 1972
11. Peranan Hutan dalam Perdagangan Hasil Hutan Indonesia  
Oleh : Ir. E. Zainal Abidin - Maj. : Berita Perdagangan, Industri & Peng-  
usahaan Hasil Hutan Th. I Feb. 1972
12. Tinjauan Industrialisasi Kehutanan Bidang Pemasaran  
Oleh : Ir. Suparmo - Maj. : Berita Perdagangan, Industri & Pengusahaan  
Hasil Hutan April, Mei, Juni 1972
13. Kehutanan Irian Jaya dalam masa Untea  
Oleh : Ir. Priyono Hardjosentono - 1963
14. TEMPO - Fokus Kita, 15 Juli 1972
15. Lain-lain

## LEADERSHIP AND AUTHORITY AMONG THE KEENOK, ASMAT

Johsz R. Mansoben

Abstrak :

Tulisan ini membicarakan cara2 kepemimpinan dan pola2 kekuasaan pada masa lampau dan masa kini pada kelompok Keenok, salah satu bagian dari suku Asmat.

Secara tradisional pimpinan selalu berada pada pemimpin2 dari bagian2 je. Je adalah rumah laki-laki atau rumah bujang yang dibangun memanjang dan bersegi empat, pusat segala kegiatan2 yang bersifat religius maupun kegiatan2 yang non religius. Satu je biasanya terbagi atas dua bagian, masing2 bagian dinamakan aipem sebutan yang dipakai oleh orang2 dibagian pantai dan sebutan aipmu, dipakai oleh orang2 dibagian pedalaman. Je atau rumah laki-laki biasanya didiami oleh kaum laki-laki menurut kata sifatnya. Namun demikian, je dapat juga didiami oleh keluarga2, hal ini biasanya terjadi apabila terdapat sedikit anak2 bujang dalam je itu.

Pemimpin2 je adalah orang2 yang diakui oleh anggota2 je-nya sebagai pemimpin berdasarkan kemampuan2 yang ditonjolkan secara pribadi oleh orang2 itu. Beberapa pemimpin pada bagian2 je (aipmu) adalah juga kepala2 perang. Siapa saja yang menunjukkan keberanian dalam suatu pertempuran dapat memimpin perang pada kali berikutnya bila ia mendapat support dari anggota2nya, hanya sedikit saja dari orang2 ini yang namanya harum. Mereka ini adalah orang2 yang sukses dalam mengatur dan merencanakan strategi2 penyerangan besar2an secara bertahap dan meliputi lebih dari satu kampung. Orang2 semacam ini dapat mengurus dan membangkitkan rakyatnya dalam satu gerak. Kekerasan adalah sifat pribadi orang2 serupa ini. Sifat ini sangat membantu mereka dalam mempertahankan kekuasaan2nya.

Pada saat sekarang cara kepemimpinan seperti tersebut diatas tidak terdapat lagi karena pembuatan je atau rumah2 bujang sudah dilarang dan dimusnahkan, maka dengan sendirinya hancur pula pola2 kepemimpinan tradisional yang bersendikan je itu. Kebanyakan pemimpin2 perang sudah mati, beberapa yang masih hidup sudah sangat tua dan tidak mempunyai banyak pengaruh lagi. Pimpinan sekarang berada pada tangan Kepala Desa serta pembantu2nya. Kebanyakan dari mereka ini adalah orang2 muda yang telah mendapat sedikit pendidikan dari Misi pada akhir tahun lima puluhan. Dalam menjalankan kepemimpinan dan kekuasaan, mereka biasanya bertindak seperti pemimpin2 besar pada masa lampau yang menjalankan seluruh pemerintahannya dengan kekerasan.

When asked to identify the "leaders" in a village most Asmaters today will give the names of those village officials who together make up the pamong desa (village organization). Each village which has been designated a desa has a kepala desa (village head) and one or more assistants, a secretary

and a village policeman. The pamong desa is elected for an indefinite period under the guidance of the kepala distrik -- the government appointed district head. Virtually all villages are amalgamations of two or three villages. Each village will have a kepala (one of whom is designated as kepala desa) and his assistant. It is customary that either the kepala desa or his assistant will be a younger man with some schooling who can speak Indonesian with a degree of fluency. Such a person will have a greater understanding of government and its functions and thus is able to interpret instructions to his fellow villagers. More often than not the other official will be an older man who has prestige stemming from some aspect of traditional society. In Sawa-Er, for example, the kepala desa is a young man from Sawa but his assistant is a man in his late 50's who has five wives and speaks with great authority. In Er the kepala is a man in his late 40's who has three wives and who has a number of killings to his credit from headhunting days. His assistant, like the kepala desa, is a man in his early 30's. In earlier times, neither of these younger men would have exercised any authority.

The practice of appointing young men as village heads was begun during the time of the Dutch administration. The concern then was to pacify the region as quickly as possible and young men who seemed to have leadership qualities and who had learned to speak some Indonesian were used as spokesmen by government officials. The authority which the men exercised did not rest on any traditional basis but emanated from outside the village. At the present time the traditional authority structure has been undermined drastically, although many features of the old structure remain.

### Traditional Leadership

The Keenok had two types of dwellings--bachelors' houses (je) and family houses which were similar to houses found in the villages at the present time. The family houses of each je were ranged on either side of the building. The je was the living quarters for men and boys but family groups sometimes lived in them as well. The je was divided into two named moieties. The building had a number of entrances and fireplaces and these were owned by



the heads of families belonging to the je. Each moiety had a leader and it seems that this position of leadership was achieved; it was not a status necessarily accorded to the oldest living ascendant in the moiety. Upon the death of a moiety leader there could be a considerable time before another man became recognized as leader, but sooner or later, a spokesman for the moiety would emerge.

Bishop Sowada, who was the parish priest in Erma from 1962 to 1965, states that there were 44 je section leaders in Sawa-Erma in those years. The leaders of one je did not interfere in the affairs of another but when there were matters of common interest to be discussed the je leaders would gather together in the je of one of their number. This man would be more vociferous and more highly respected than the others. At times, if the je leaders of Erma were to discuss things in Sona, they would walk to the other village in solemn procession, decorated in all their finery and with stone axes on their shoulders. From time to time, a song feast was held and this would take place in front of one of the je buildings. People would sit on the porch or on mats on the ground. In front were the drummers and singers and then, in a line, the je section leaders. These were the only ones who danced; the people merely looked on.

The je section leaders would take the initiative in deciding when to collect sago, when to build canoes and when particular rituals and ceremonies should be held. However, these decisions were made after lengthy discussion and only for the section of the je concerned. No je section leader could speak for the whole je or for je sections other than his own. There was no tradition for chieftanship in the popular sense among the Asmat although the position of some war leaders did approach this, as will be shown presently.

A man became leader of his je section mainly by dint of his personality and the prestige he had built up. Age was also an important factor. Young men were of no account until they had had children and had proved their courage in war. The leaders of je sections, then, were men of strong personality who could exert their will on others. Almost invariably they were men who had killed in battle and, in some cases, they were war

leaders. It seems that any man, if he could rally the support, could initiate a raid but it would be presumptuous for a man to do so who had not already displayed leadership in battle and had taken a number of heads. Numbers of men at various times led raids and therefore could claim the status of "war leader" but of these only a few achieved recognition as great warriors. These men were the leaders of the big attacks in which, at times, the combined villages took part. Their names are remembered and their feats are commemorated still in stories and songs. In Erma-Sona, over the years, there was a succession of eight such men (Sowada, 1970: 84-87). It appears that fewer war leaders in Sawa-Er ever achieved this status.

Men who were renowned war leaders were not only brave in battle and competent in planning attacks but they also had a quality of ruthlessness and it seems they were feared by their own people. A remarkable number of them had killed their own wives or brothers in a fit of rage. In many ways these men set themselves above the norms of society that others had to observe. No action was taken against such a man who had killed his wife or brother. Such men were also renowned adulterers and boastful of their conquests in this field. They practised deceit not only against the enemy but also at home. In discussing the famous war leaders informants always stress that they spoke "with a big voice". The war leader could shout down others and it was his opinion that eventually prevailed. They were vain, arrogant men given to much boasting and displays of aggression. These men were the only ones who could regularly initiate action beyond the limits of their je section.

On certain occasions, a leadership role was played by "experts" in various fields. Some men, for instance, are considered experts on ritual and it is these men who would direct others on ceremonial occasions and ensure that everything was done correctly. Men who are singers and drummers play the leading part on many ceremonial occasions. These are generally older men and apparently even among these experts different degrees of skill are recognized. In Er, for example, when Basirim Yur, the leading singer died, it was made known that his position would be taken by Kaim Yur, although he is only one of four men recognized as expert singers. There are also younger men who are

apprentices to the experts but it is said that only the older men really understand the songs properly. Young people do not know them as they contain expressions that are intelligible only to the older people. The songs tell of early wars, feasts and mythological heroes. Story tellers enjoy high status and so, too, do master carvers and canoe makers. The early work of burning and then hacking out the log in canoe making can be done more or less by anyone but the finishing work requires great skill and this must be done by an expert. There are also men (and some women) who are recognized as curers; others, through certain spiritual powers can recover things that have been lost and can identify the thief when something has been stolen. These men, or others, can also see into the future and tell the outcome of a raid and some can work magic such that the enemy would be weakened and made more vulnerable to attack. Frequently, men with powers of this kind were war leaders. The skillful pig hunter is accorded particular status. Pig hunting is hazardous and, to be successful, the hunter not only must be skillful, but courageous as well. In Er, Bes Pysiwbis, the kepala kampung confesses quite candidly that he cannot carve, cannot sing and is no story teller but boasts that he is the best pig hunter in the village. In part, the success of this man in pig hunting is attributed to certain magical skills he is believed to possess but his skill and bravery in hunting are recognized by all. Bes was also a warrior with a number of killings to his credit.

Renown in any of these activities will earn a man prestige but this does not necessarily make him a leader. It should be added that the fact one has killed in battle will earn a man high status but, in itself, this does not bestow leadership. One of the best known carvers in Sawa is also recognized as the authority on village history. This man claims eleven kills in various wars. He is deferred to and enjoys considerable prestige but has never been considered a leader. He does not speak "with a big voice" and is not at all assertive. Rather, he seems to be a mild-mannered old gentleman, not at all given to shouting and displays of anger.



### The Impact of Government

Government contact with the Keenok people is very recent. In the Sawa-Erma area, warfare continued until 1957. The last major attack launched by Keenok people was probably in August, 1963, when Bu Agani attacked Weo and Pupis, killing 22 people. A police post was established in Erma in 1960, but it was not staffed permanently until 1963, when Erma was made a district headquarters.

Notwithstanding this brief period of contact, the pace of change has been tremendous. The missions established churches and schools and endeavoured to forbid polygyny. Warfare was brought to an end by force; culprits were jailed and, in some cases, shot. Villages were tied to particular locations and the movement to alternative sites was forbidden. In 1964, the destruction of all je buildings was begun in the belief that it was in the je that headhunting raids were planned. This was true but the je was also the centre of village social life. Villages were re-planned so that houses stretched in neat rows separated by elevated walkways. All traditional ceremonial life was forbidden on the grounds that these activities took up too much time and meant that people were constantly in the jungle. This sort of life was incompatible with schooling and various village projects that were initiated. In a number of villages the cutting of ironwood for export became a major activity; in some village the Catholic mission initiated timber co-operatives. Through timber work and also by selling crocodile skins, people were able to acquire trade goods of various kinds. The desire for trade goods, including clothing, is now great indeed.

The cessation of warfare meant that the principal channel by which men rose to positions of powerful leadership was blocked. The prohibition on ceremonial life and the destruction of the je houses not only greatly weakened social life but also undermined the authority of the je section leaders. Many ceremonies took place in the je or in temporary feast houses and were initiated by the je leaders. The je section groupings continue to exist because of their kinship function but the position of je section leaders has been rendered largely redundant. In Sawa-Er today, few people

are able to give the names of the various je section leaders; these men no longer meet together to discuss matters of village concern.

### Present-day Leadership

Virtually all the young men who today exercise leadership as village heads were educated in mission schools in the late 1950's. In these schools they received religious instruction, learned to speak Indonesian and were also taught some reading, writing and arithmetic. Most of these men today are only semi-literate but they do have some understanding of government and how it functions. A number of them have travelled to Merauke and therefore know something of town life. They have a great hunger for trade goods, particularly clothing, and like to be seen in long pants, shoes and shirts with buttons. One man who is a kepala in Sawa-Er likes to affect a turtle neck sweater and a wind jacket even on the hottest of days; on his head he wears a fur-lined hat of the sort one associates with Russians.

At an earlier point, it was stated that traditionally, young men such as these would enjoy little status unless they had killed in war; their status as leaders would have to be earned. These young men were mere boys when headhunting ceased and they never took part in any of the wars. However, they well understand the style of leadership that used to be exercised by the great war leaders and in various ways try to emulate this style. Principally, they rely upon the "big voice" and also the use of force.

The kepala desa and his assistants are responsible for law and order in the village and it is also their responsibility to see that the village is kept clean, that houses are kept in good order and walkways maintained. The village policeman, in theory, uses his authority at the behest of the kepala desa. Generally, the village policeman is the head of the local hansip organization. Hansip is something like a home guard. Members wear uniforms but the young men who join hansip receive no training of any kind and they are not paid. It is not at all clear what the exact purpose of hansip is. According to some, hansip is supposed to set an example to others in village work projects and thus act as a kind of task force in village development.

Most hansip men do not mention this as being their function but say, rather, that their task is to maintain law and order in the village. In two villages near the coast the hansip men maintain an all night guard on the village although it is not clear what they are guarding against. Hansip men are not armed but they do have clubs or rods of thick rattan. At times they use these freely to beat people. Each village has its own contingent of hansip; each numbers from about eight to fifteen.

At each district post there is a kepala distrik, his assistants, a number of police and, in some cases, a soldier. When a serious offence occurs within the village, the culprit should be taken to the post and is then up to the kepala distrik to make a judgement. If the offence is serious enough, the offender may be jailed but if this is not warranted, he may be punished at the post. The most common form of punishment is public labour such as cutting grass or repairing village walkways. Most offences are settled locally in the village and punishments, when they are meted out, are administered by the kepala desa or hansip.

Increasingly, it seems, hansip has become the guardian of public morality. Adulterers, if they are found out, are likely to be punished by hansip and so too are young people who engage in premarital sexual relations. The police at the post are essentially responsible to the kepala distrik. Hansip, on the other hand, appear to be responsible to the local army figure who, in turn, represents a source of power independent of the civil administration. This apparent division of powers at the district level creates difficulties for the district officers. The division is reflected at the desa and village levels by the relative independence of hansip. The kepala desa and his assistants, for their part, are hardly in a position to give orders to hansip people because they have their own local head. Under these circumstances they cooperate locally with hansip and use them to back up their authority. In effect, this means the use of a group of strong arm men who can be used as a threat or, when necessary, called upon to mete out punishments.



At an earlier point, it was stated that war leaders who achieved fame to an extent set themselves above the norms of conduct that governed other men. The abuse of power was customary and it is perhaps to be expected that Asmatters today who attain positions of authority will use this power for their own ends. Interestingly enough, however, it seems that young men who gain power as top village officials use this power not to enrich themselves materially (actually, few at the present time have the necessary economic understanding to know how to do this) but to enhance their prestige. They enjoy lording it over their fellows and, in various ways, attempt to emulate the behaviour of the former war chiefs. Orders are never given quietly but are always shouted. The kepalas like to walk up and down the walkways berating people and making threats. Frequently, when they walk through the village, they are attended upon by a small group of followers not unlike courtiers of old. In public the kepala generally carries a club of rattan; in one village the kepala desa carries a length of platted wire which may be used as a whip. The kepalas will announce not only when village work projects are to commence, but like the je section leaders of earlier times announce when people are to collect sago and when they are to return to the village. All this is not to suggest that people always do as they are told but more often than not they do comply.

It may appear that what is being described here is authority but not necessarily leadership. It is to be stressed that those who behave in this extreme way are generally young men; older men who hold the position of kepala desa or assistant tend to rely more on persuasion and less on the use of force. It is also true that in some villages, while legal authority is in the hands of young elected officials, leadership is still exercised by older men who have status as former war leaders. This seems to be the situation in Komor, for example. When there is any serious disruption in Komor, the kepala desa and his assistant tend to defer to three older men who were former war leaders. One of these three is recognized as being particularly powerful. This man was a war leader of some fame as was his father before him. The fact is, however, that most of the former war leaders of any fame

are now very old or have died. In Jamasy there is one - a very old man who cannot walk without assistance; in Erma-Sona there is one yet living but in Sawa-Er the last of the war leaders died this year.

The young men who were appointed to kepala positions during the Dutch administration found it impossible to exercise any authority without the support of the older men. When they tried to act on their own authority they were ridiculed by men and women alike. A common charge (which at times one still hears today) was, "You are only a young man and have never killed anyone.." The situation today is very different. The old system of leadership is in decay and these new men are the only ones who can now initiate any type of communal action. They do exercise leadership. Whether or not this leadership is always willingly accepted is beside the point.

If the situation we have described does not yet hold for all Keenok villages there is reason to believe that it will do so in the future. The behaviour of these young kepalas clearly conforms to a pattern. Moreover, as we have attempted to show, the pattern is not a new one but represents a cultural continuity from the past.

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NOTE: This article is one of the articles contained in the Asmat Papers. Research was carried out during nine months of field work in the Asmat Region, on the south coast of Irian Jaya. The field work was done by the Institute of Anthropology staff members, assisted by Dr.M.T.Walker, then Professor of Anthropology, University of Cenderawasih and was made possible by a grant from the John D. Rockefeller 3rd Fund, New York.

# RUMAH JEU DAN FUNGSINYA

Abraham Kuruwaip B.A.

## Abstract :

Among the Asmatters we found two types of dwelling houses, the family house which was lived in only by married couples with their children, and the Jeu or bachelor house which was usually lived in by young unmarried men and widowers. Jeu houses were always surrounded by family houses. Each village had as many Jeu houses as it had clans. A Jeu was a long building constructed on poles using local materials such as sago leaves for the roofs and palm bark (*Oncosperma filamentosum*) for the floors. In a Jeu house we found many fire-places and many doors according to the number of households in the clan. Each family had its own entrance facing the river or sea, while at the back of the Jeu we found three entrances, one in the middle and the other two at the corners. These were used by each aipem (moiety) in the Jeu. Besides the special fire-places and entrances belonging to each family there were also general ones in the middle of the Jeu. Here around the general fire-place the elders of the clan negotiated about reconciliation, warfare or other social problems. In addition, within the Jeu the traditional festivals were held, such as mbis pole feasts, sago grub feasts as well as satan feasts. Here, too, all the men's weapons and religious objects were kept. Traditionally a Jeu was a secrete place: here lived the spirits of the invisible world and from here they controlled the entire life of the people. That is why children and women could not enter the Jeu house, except when there was a feast.

Since the region was opened to the outside world, the Jeu houses have been destroyed, causing a great deal of traditional social life which was normally controlled by the Jeu house to be lost. Today there are no more Jeu houses in the villages, except in some villages in the north, but it is believed that these may be destroyed, too, in the near future. What we find today are those communion buildings called BALAI DESA, established by the government. Here in the Balai Desa, Desa officials or government officials, while passing through the area, have held meetings with the villagers or announced government construction projects. It is suggested that the Jeu house be replaced by the Balai Desa in order to use it as the centre for technical skills training as well as for festivals, not only for men but for women and children also.

## Pendahuluan

Mempelajari dan menyelidiki struktur sosial masyarakat Asmat sangat berguna bagi kita sebagai pedoman untuk membangun manusia dan daerah. Tentu saja penyelidikan semacam ini bukan hanya untuk daerah Asmat saja, melainkan juga untuk daerah2 lain. Karena itu penting sekali untuk mengetahui susunan



masyarakat, perumahan, pimpinan didalam kampung, dll.

Dalam artikel yang sangat sederhana ini, saya hendak mengemukakan arti dan fungsi dari pada rumah yang disebut jeu dalam masyarakat Asmat. Tentu saja ada tulisan tentang rumah jeu ini dalam bahasa Inggris atau bahasa Belanda.

Mudah2an dengan membaca bahan yang saya sodorkan ini, pembaca dapat mengetahui sedikit tentang susunan perumahan masyarakat Asmat waktu dahulu yang kini masih dapat pengaruhnya.

Bahan ini tentu jauh daripada lengkap, namun saya yakin bahwa pembaca mendapat pengetahuan dan khususnya bagi mereka yang hidup dan bekerja didaerah Asmat dapat memperhatikan dan memetik kegunaan daripada jeu demi perkembangan dewasa ini.

#### 1. Letak dan susunan jeu dalam kampung

Perkampungan Asmat pada umumnya terletak ditepi-tepi sungai. Dahulu biasanya sebuah kampung dibagi dan dibangun sebelah menyebelah sungai. Dalam perkampungan itu dapat kita jumpai dua jenis rumah:

- Rumah keluarga. Dalam rumah keluarga ini didiami oleh suatu keluarga. Laki2 dewasa hidup juga disana. Tetapi mereka sering kali keluar dan pergi menginap didalam rumah yang disebut jeu. Rumah2 dalam suatu kampung Asmat waktu dahulu berbentuk panjang. Baik rumah keluarga maupun rumah jeu, kedua-duanya didirikan dari bahan2 setempat; yaitu atap dari daun sagu atau nipa, tali dibuat dari rotan dan kayu.
- Jeu. Rumah ini menjadi pusat segala kegiatan dalam masyarakat, seperti pesta2, upacara patung bis dll.

Menurut keterangan seorang informan, David Simni dari desa Syuru bahwa dahulu orang2 Asmat membuat rumah dari kulit kayu. Kulit kayu Yimenbot dipakai sebagai atap dan dinding. Hanya perkembangan kemudian orang memakai daun sagu dan nipa untuk atap dan dinding. Dahulu orang Asmat tidak memakai gaba2 untuk dinding. Untuk lantai dipergunakan orang kulit kayu dan kayu atau

nibung.

Baik rumah keluarga maupun rumah yang disebut jeu, didirikan diatas tiang2 (rumah panggung) yang tingginya dari 2 sampai 3 meter.

Tiap2 rumah, termasuk jeu terdiri dari tempat-api yang jumlahnya sama banyak dengan jumlah pintu. Tiap2 tempat api atau perapian itu adalah milik daripada sebuah keluarga. Demikian pula pintu2. Banyaknya perapian dan pintu itu tergantung dari banyaknya keluarga yang menghuni sebuah rumah. Meskipun tiap2 keluarga memiliki sebuah perapian dan pintu, masih ada sebuah perapian dan sebuah pintu yang menjadi milik bersama. Perapian dan pintu itu disebut tempat api dan pintu umum.

Setiap perkampungan Asmat mempunyai jeu. Banyaknya jeu yang terdapat dalam sebuah kampung tergantung dari banyaknya marga (Clan) yang mendiami sebuah kampung. Jeu biasanya dikelilingi oleh rumah2 keluarga, dan mempunyai halaman yang cukup luas, sehingga dapat dipakai untuk menari, menguburkan mayat seorang kepala perang, mengukir dan upacara2 lain.

Didalam jeu terdapat sebuah kamar yang disebut ecawor. Ecawor adalah tempat, dimana patung2 yang terpenting diukir dan disimpan. Ditempat ini pula sebuah patung disucikan dengan darah manusia.

Ditengah-tengah jeu terdapat sebuah tempat api umum dan pintu umum. Tempat api dan pintu itu melambangkan kesatuan marga atau clan. Perapian umum itu digunakan oleh kaum tua2 untuk sekedar memasang api dan duduk berkeliling untuk bercakap-cakap tentang perdamaian, peperangan, pesta2 dll. Pintu2 selalu menghadap kesungai atau laut, karena sungai2 dan laut itu merupakan satu2nya jalan lalu lintas didaerah Asmat.

Jeu biasanya dibagi dalam dua bagian yang masing2 disebut aipen atau ayipim. Dua bagian itu masing2 didiami oleh satu kelompok keluarga yang dikepalai oleh salah seorang yang tertua.

## 2. Daerah dan fungsi jeu

Jeu terdapat hampir seluruh daerah Asmat. Menurut daerah jeu dan penghuninya, jeu dapat digolongkan menjadi dua.

a. Jeu dipedalaman.

Yang dimaksud dengan jeu dipedalaman ialah jeu yang terdapat di-daerah utara daerah Asmat (daerah Keendok). Dalam jeu didaerah ini biasanya didiami juga oleh wanita2 dan anak2. Keluarga yang ber-diam dalam jeu pada umumnya keluarga yang tertua dan berpengaruh dalam masyarakat. Keluarga yang tertua itu biasanya menjadi pena-sehat keluarga2 muda. Selain itu didalam jeu itu didiami oleh pe-muda dan pemudi.

b. Jeu yang terdapat didaerah pantai.

Jeu yang terdapat didaerah pantai merupakan tempat bagi para pemu-da. Pemuda2 tinggal disana dan suatu ketika mereka mengadakan upacara pendewasaan atau inisiasi. Mereka berdiam disana sebelum mendirikan keluarganya sendiri. Anak2 kecil dan wanita dilarang masuk dalam jeu, kecuali pada waktu upacara peresmian jeu baru dan pesta perdamaian.

Adapun jeu mempunyai fungsi2 yang tertentu dalam masyarakat; yang mempengaruhi seluruh kegiatan dalam masyarakat. Fungsi2 jeu itu adalah sbb.:

a. Jeu sebagai tanda keturunan.

Telah dikatakan diatas bahwa jeu merupakan tempat suatu marga (clan). Hal ini berarti bahwa jeu merupakan tanda atau bukti suatu garis keturunan. Garis keturunan itu dinyatakan dengan tempat api dan pintu2 yang terdapat dalam jeu itu. Tempat api dan pintu2 itu biasanya diserahkan oleh ayah kepada anaknya atau oleh paman kepa-da kemanakannya. Dapat juga terjadi bahwa tempat api atau pintu itu diserahkan oleh seorang ayah kepada anak angkatnya.

b. Jeu sebagai tanda pembagian kelompok.

Sebuah ruangan jeu dibagi menjadi dua bagian. Masing2 bagian itu merupakan tanda pembagian satu marga atau clan menjadi dua cabang keturunan. Tiap2 cabang itu mempunyai pemimpinnya sendiri2. Tiap2 cabang keturunan itu disebut cabang keturunan atau moiety.



Biasanya diadakan hubungan perkawinan diantara kedua kelompok itu. Demikianlah terjadi hubungan perkawinan diantara dua bagian keturunan didalam jeu yang sama itu. Perkawinan semacam ini disebut jeu-endogam. Tetapi perkawinan itu terjadi diluar aipen, maka perkawinan semacam itu dapat disebut aipen exogam. Selain itu perkawinan dapat terjadi diluar jeu itu sendiri, yang disebut jeu exogam.

c. Jeu sebagai pusat upacara.

Ditempat inilah segala upacara seperti upacara patung bis, yipai atau pesta rumah baru, topokmbui (pesta ulat sagu), upacara pendewasaan (initiation ritual) dll. diadakan. Tidak mengherankan, bila jeu dianggap sebagai rumah kebaktian. Biasanya mereka membaca mantera, memohon bantuan nenek moyang didalam ruangan ini. Dengan demikian jeu menjadi tempat pertemuan antara orang2 yang masih hidup dan mereka yang telah gugur atau telah meninggal dunia. Berkenaan dengan upacara pemujaan nenek moyang, orang2 biasanya berkumpul dan memukul tifa didalam jeu. Pada waktu upacara pendewasaan, para pemuda diperkenalkan dongeng2 yang berhubungan dengan adat istiadat, kebiasaan2, belajar menyanyi, memukul tifa dan lain-lain. Demikianlah jeu berfungsi sebagai gedung sekolah atau tempat belajar.

d. Jeu sebagai pusat kegiatan sosial dan politik.

Orang2 tua dan pemuka2 masyarakat biasa berkumpul dalam jeu untuk membicarakan dan memecahkan persoalan2 tentang hak milik tanah, perairan, tentang kekuasaan dan lain-lain. Ditempat ini pula diadakan pembicaraan tentang perang, perdamaian, menerima tamu2 asing, dan lain-lain.

e. Jeu dianggap sebagai gudang senjata.

Semua perlengkapan perang, pesta dan lain-lain disimpan didalam jeu. Alat2 perang yang disimpan didalam jeu ialah tombak, kapak batu, salawaku dan tulang kasuari atau tulang manusia yang berfungsi sebagai pisau. Alat2 pesta yang disimpan didalamnya ialah

tifa, perhiasan2 seperti kulit kuskus, bulu kasuari dan lain-lain. Alat2 itu diambil sebelum pesta atau perang dan kemudian dikembalikan sesudah pemakaian. Disana alat2 itu disimpan untuk kesempatan yang lain.

f. Jeu sebagai tempat penginapan.

Jeu sebagai tempat penginapan ini dapat dibagi menjadi dua macam:

- Jeu didaerah pantai.

Jeu didaerah pantai ini pada umumnya dikatakan bahwa jeu ini menjadi tempat tinggal atau tempat penginapan untuk orang2 bujang dan laki2 dewasa. Jeu ini bukan semata-mata tempat tinggal daripada laki2 bujang, sebab laki2 dewasa yang sudah berkeluarga-pun tinggal disana. Memang kaum wanita dan anak2 jarang sekali datang disana, kecuali pada pesta peresmian jeu pertama dan pesta perdamaian yang diadakan dengan orang2 dari kampung lain.

- Jeu didaerah pedalaman.

Jeu dari daerah pedalaman ialah jeu yang terdapat didaerah orang2 Keendok, yaitu mereka yang berdiam didaerah utara dari daerah Asmat. Penghuni jeu didaerah ini bukan hanya orang2 bujang dan laki2 dewasa saja, melainkan juga para pemuda dan wanita2 dewasa. Seorang bapak bersama isteri dan anak2nya dapat hidup juga dalam jeu itu. Keluarga itu memegang peranan sebagai penasehat untuk anak2, pemuda-pemudi dan keluarga2 muda.

Dari keterangan nomor f diatas ini, ternyata terjemahan kata jeu untuk Rumah Bujang belum tepat, karena terjemahan itu hanya menunjukkan sebagian pengertian dan kepentingan daripada jeu dengan pengertian sebenarnya. Jeu mempunyai pengertian yang lebih daripada rumah bujang, tempat penginapan para bujang. Untuk memberikan suatu terjemahan ataupun peristilahan yang tepat bagi jeu hampir tidak mungkin. Tetapi dilihat dari arti, kedudukan dan fungsi jeu yang begitu penting dalam masyarakat, maka saya menyebut rumah ini Rumah Utama. Tetapi untuk menjamin pengertian jeu yang sesungguhnya, maka sebaiknya kata jeu tetap dipertahankan dan malahan mungkin dapat dimasukan

kedalam bahasa Indonesia.

### 3. Dongeng singkat tentang jeu

Tentu saja dongeng tentang jau tidak terlepas dari ceritera tentang kejadian alam dan manusia. Dalam tulisan ini saya hanya mencatat suatu catatan singkat tentang kejadian jau pertama. Ceritera tentang jau pertama adalah sebagai berikut :

Pada suatu hari Fumeripitsy, seorang pencipta dan pembawa kebudayaan Asmat mengadakan perjalanan keliling daerah. Pada waktu menyeberangi sungai Siretsy, perahu Fumeripitsy kemasukan air sehingga tenggelam. Fumeripitsy terbawa oleh arus sungai Siretsy sampai kelaut dan terdampar disebelah barat muara sungai itu.

Ketika Fumeripitsy tertidur dipantai karena sangat lelah, datanglah seekor burung untuk membantunya. Tetapi ketika burung itu sampai ketempat Fumeripitsy, maka Fumeripitsy menghembuskan nafasnya yang terakhir.

Burung rajawali itu segera menghidupkan kembali Fumeripitsy dengan memijit seluruh bagian tubuhnya yang luka2.

Fumeripitsy segera mendirikan sebuah rumah yang besar untuk upacara dan mengukir patung2. Fumeripitsy mengukir patung2 wanita dan pria dan menempatkannya didalam rumah itu. Sesudah mengukir patung2 itu Fumeripitsy membuat sebuah tifa, em.<sup>\*</sup> Selanjutnya Fumeripitsy memukul tifa itu sambil menari-nari. Semua patung dalam rumah itu mulai turut bergerak dan lambat-laun patung2 itupun berubah menjadi manusia. Demikianlah tercipta manusia pertama. Dan rumah yang dibuat Fumeripitsy disebut jau. Mulai sejak itu orang Asmat mendirikan sebuah rumah dengan fungsi2 seperti yang telah diuraikan diatas, dan menamakannya jau.

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\* em .... tifa.



#### 4. Kesimpulan

Dalam masyarakat Asmat, rumah yang disebut jeu itu menduduki tempat pertama dari segala perumahan. Tempat itu dianggap sebagai tempat yang utama dan keramat yang dapat menentukan jalan hidup masyarakat desa, justeru karena didalamnya hidup nenek moyang dan roh2 lain yang berkuasa atas manusia dan alam sekitarnya.

Boleh dikatakan bahwa jeu mempunyai arti suci dan arti profan. Dengan demikian segala kegiatan yang diadakan berdasarkan jeu ( Misalnya: Keputusan tentang perang yang diambil didalam jeu ) diwarnai dengan pengertian suci dan profan juga.

Dengan adanya hubungan dengan dunia luar, arti dan fungsi2 jeu yang sesungguhnya mendapat tekanan dan lambat-laun hilang lenyap. Memang dengan adanya jeu dengan segala akibatnya merugikan masyarakat, bila dinilai menurut norma2 masyarakat dari luar. Hal itu bukanlah berarti bahwa dengan adanya jeu, orang Asmat tidak mempunyai norma2 yang baik yang sesuai dengan ukuran umum. Namun kita harus akui bahwa dengan adanya jeu ada pula hal2 yang merugikan masyarakat. Dari sebab itu mendirikan jeu dengan segala upacara dan segala akibatnya yang biasanya diadakan didalam jeu seperti sediakala tidak diijinkan. Tetapi kemudian diganti dengan sebuah rumah yang disebut Balai Pertemuan. Dalam pemakaian kata se-hari2 disebut saja balai.

Syukurlah bahwa banyak balai desa sekarang ini dapat mengganti sedikit keadaan jeu dahulu. Fungsinya telah diubah dan disesuaikan dengan keadaan sekarang. Misalnya: Kepala Desa dapat mengumpulkan rakyatnya untuk menyampaikan berita2 penting atau pengumuman2 dari pemerintah.

Di Syuru, yaitu sebuah desa yang letaknya dekat dengan Agats, mempunyai satu balai yang bentuknya panjang. Balai itu mempunyai lima pintu, sesuai dengan lima marga atau clan yang hidup dalam desa itu.

Berhubung banyak hal yang baik yang terdapat dalam jeu waktu dahulu, yang masih baik juga untuk perkembangan sekarang; maka diajak supaya mempertahankan hal2 yang baik dari jeu dan mengadakan percobaan2, bila perlu.

- Mungkin baik diadakan kegiatan2 seperti pelajaran agama didalam balai, memukul tifa didalam atau didepan balai, kursus kaum wanita, dan lain-lain.
- Alangkah baiknya dalam balai disiapkan tempat untuk mengukir, menyimpan benda2 umum seperti perkakas pertanian umum, alat2 pertukangan umum, dan lain-lain.
- Memang untuk kaum wanita begitu saja datang ke balai sedikit sulit, terlebih bila balai itu bersifat jeu melulu, karena wanita waktu dahulu jarang masuk dalam jeu kecuali dalam kesempatan2 tertentu. Dari sebab itu lambat-laun harus diberi keterangan bahwa balai adalah tempat pertemuan umum, baik pria maupun wanita dan anak2. Diberi kesadaran bahwa wanita mempunyai kedudukan yang sama, sehingga pada akhirnya tidak segan memasuki balai untuk turut mengambil bagian dalam perkembangan dan kemajuan dewasa ini.

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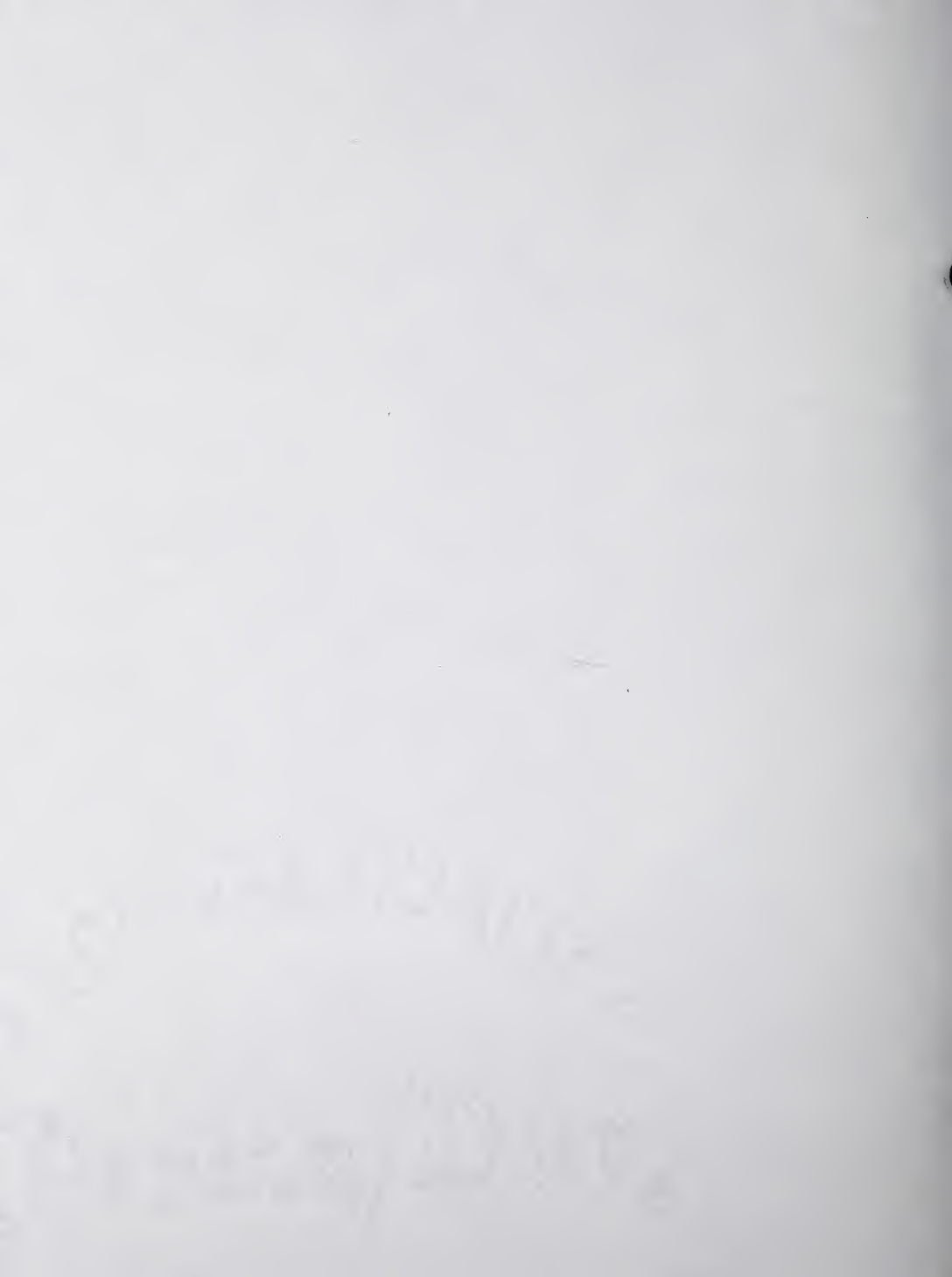
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